

THE INDIAN WORLD

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Two Distinguished Authorities on Two Important Questions Discussed in THE INDIAN WORLD

Sir Henry Cotton, K.C.S.I., on "The Constitutional Government in India" :—

"I always read *The Indian World* with great interest and have given special attention to your article in the October number on "Constitutional Government in India." It appears to me full of commonsense and sound suggestions, and though I do not agree with every detail of it, I trust it has had a good effect in moulding public opinion and turning it in the directions you have so ably indicated. The article seems to me to be specially valuable from the economic side and I quite concur with your important remarks on that head."

Mr. W. C. Bonnerji on "The Partition of Bengal" :

"*The Indian World* is a periodical I always read with pleasure and profit and I am in general agreement with the views it advocates. Your article on the "Partition of Bengal" which appeared in a late issue seemed to me admirable in every way, in tone, in argument and in the analysis of the facts. If Lord Curzon ever read the article, he must have felt many qualms of conscience. He may be said to have unconsciously made our nation stronger, better and more united in his endeavours to weaken, worsen and divide it. Good sometimes comes out of evil and it has done so in this instance."

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“The Indian World is the most interesting and suggestive periodical that reaches this office from Hindustan. Its Editor is an editor. He has a faith and he preaches it, and the selections which he makes from Indian and Anglo-Indian publications are varied and thoroughly up-to-date.”—*Review of Reviews : April, 1906.*

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A Gold Medal

Or a sum of Rs. 50 will be awarded to the writer of the best article on "How to make the Indian National Congress a more Representative and Influential Organisation ?"

Terms of the award are as follows :

1. The article should be written on one side of foolscap paper and must not exceed 20 pages of the same.

2. No history of the Congress movement need be detailed in the article.

3. No lengthy extracts are to be made in the article.

4. The article for which the medal will be awarded will be published in the October number of *The Indian World*.

5. The article should be addressed to the *Editor, The Indian World*, 121, Dhurumtollah Street, Calcutta and must reach him on or before the 30th Sept., 1906

THE INDIAN WORLD

Vol. III]

JANUARY, 1906

[No. 1

THE LAST OF *POUS* : AN INDIAN STUDY

(*Friday, January 13, 1906*)

It is empty now, the place on my desk where the little ship of flowers has stood all day. But out on the chill edge of the Ganges, as darkness comes on, the tiny bark lies drifting hither and thither, scarcely determined yet betwixt ebb and flow, as we, with a few of the children, launched it an hour ago. It was early still, when we went down to the riverside, and as we turned away, but one worshipper had arrived besides ourselves—a solitary girl of eleven or twelve—to send her offering out to the Great Unknown. We stayed awhile then and watched her as she carefully removed the sacramental food from her birch-bark vessel, and set in the stern the little light, and then floated it boldly on the waters. But after that, what could we do but stay and watch and watch with breathless interest, as long as ever the star shone clear in the fragile craft, that we knew, with the turn of the tide, would reach the main current and be carried far out to sea ?

Ah, innumerable fleet of little nameless boats, floating on tanks and rivers in all the villages of Bengal to-night, bearing each your twinkling lamp into the all-enshrouding dark, how like ye are to life, how like to death !

For this is the last day of the Bengalee month of *Pous*. It is the day for pilgrimage to *Gangasagar*—the island where the river meets the sea. And more than this, it is the day of prayer for all travellers, all wanderers from their homes, and for all whose footsteps at nightfall shall not lead to their own door. It was in a crowded street this morning, as I passed the end of a small bazaar, that I noticed the eager faces and hurrying feet of men and women, hastening to carry to those at home their ships of flowers. They were rude enough, these little ships, that I too bought forthwith, to load with spoil of prayer and loving thought. Roughly pinned

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together, they were of the shining white core of the plantain-stem and masted and arched from stem to stern with splinters of bamboo run through the hearts of yellow marigolds. Here and there the dealers had made attempts to imitate more closely with coloured paper, flags and string, the sails and cordage of the old country-boats. But for the most part they were mere suggestions, glistening vessels and burning-hearted flowers.

Mere suggestions truly, but of what? Can we not see the quiet women, sitting absorbed before the symbol at their feet, loading it with offerings, *bel* leaves, flowers, consecrated fruits and grain; and praying, with each fresh gift, for some beloved life, that through the coming year it may go safe amidst whatever tide, that even now, if peril somewhere threatens it, it may be brought safe back? Have we not here today the perfect picture of humanity, man battling on the distant frontier-line of toilsome life, and woman for love's sake, not for God's, holding fast to prayer? One thinks of the cry of the Jew, sonorous through the ages, the Jew, who loved not the sea, but lifted his eyes to the hills to find his help, and lost himself between "I" and "thee" in an inflood of blessedness. "The Lord shall preserve thy going out and thy coming in, from this time forth, and even for evermore." One thinks of the churches of Brittany and of the small model of a ship, *barque de ma vie*, that hangs before every altar and in every private oratory. And there comes back the echo of the sailor's cry, amidst surf and storm, *Sainte Anne! Sainte Anne!*

Here too, in Bengal, we have a maritime people, once great amongst the world's seafarers, and here on the last day of *Pous* we celebrate the old-time going forth of merchant enterprise and exploration. It was a traffic cut off from that of Phoenicia, and the well-omened people of the Middle Sea, but unmistakably great in the East. China and Japan, Cambodia and Burma have welcomed the coming of these mariners of Bengal to their ports, being glad thereby for gain of wealth and honour. Fa-Hian, Hiouen-Tsang and I-ching are but three names out of the countless host of pilgrims to whom they belonged, who sought the shores of India and left them in the name of the knowledge and impulse that she had power to send to other and less-favoured peoples. But why cast our memory so far back? It is little more than a hundred years ago that Indian ship-building was famous through the world. And how should the seacraft of India win renown, if her merchants and sailors had not the courage to dare and die?

All day long from the altar-shelf above my desk, the flaming

marigolds, like a curved line of sanctuary-lamps have shone down upon me and stirred a maze, a multitude of dreams and memories in heart and brain. "The Lord bless—the Lord bless—going out coming in—and evermore. * * *" Hold we a moment ! Let others pray for the well-being of their beloved ! But as for me and mine, we pray for nations. And to-night we load our ship with the name and vision of a future glory, greater than that of the marigolds, greater than that of the past, the glory of Bengal that is to be.

Nivedita of R.K.-V.

INDIA WITHOUT THE ENGLISH*

M. PIERRE LOTI'S 'L'INDE SANS LES ANGLAIS'

Specially Translated for The Indian World.

M. Pierre Loti dedicates his book in the following terms :—

To President Krüger and the Heroes of the Transvaal I dedicate this book, in order to add my humble tribute to the immense and unanimous homage of all, who, in our times, can still lay claim to a heart, or, at all events, to a conscience.

ON THE ROAD TO INDIA

Noontide, in the Red sea. Light, light, so much of light that one admires and wonders, as if he had come out from a kind of half-night or semi-darkness ; the eyes open to their utmost extent and see most clearly. And very soon the change is effected, with our modern sea-ploughers, which no wind influences and which carry you from the autumn of the North to the perpetual summer of equatorial regions, without any apparent transition.

On the waters, bluer than ever, dance glittering streaks of silver. And the sky appears to be removed far away from the earth, the clouds more clearly defined-looking as if merely suspended in the void ; the depths of it are disclosed before your vision, you plunge deeper and deeper into the distances, and very soon you get a better conception of the immensity of space.

Always more of light. Indeed, the eyes dilate and then contract in order the better to perceive the rays and the colours. Then, is it that one did not really see before this ? From what a profound darkness must they have emerged ? And then what is this feast of white and golden light, which, silently and without any body's ordering, appears to be filling every nook and corner of the space all around ?

* M. Pierre Loti, distinguished member of the French Academy, has put down his impressions on India in this masterly work.

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Here, in the hoary East, on the dust of disappeared human races, the gloomy fête continues without intermission ; only one forgets as soon as he returns to the North, from whence he came ; but again it is a surprise for one every time he returns to these latitudes to find them unchanged. The light always shines over the same old gulfs, warm and languid, over the same rock-bound or sand-strewn shores, over those ruins, and over the world of dead stones which guard the mystery of Biblical races and ancestral religions, so much so, that in our imaginations of a day, the gloomy feast of light becomes associated with the sacred legends of antiquity, and all these things conspire to give us illusions of stability and duration almost without commencement and without a likely ending.

Now, all the past history of the Biblical periods, whose relative antiquity makes illusions for us and gives us confidence, is but of yesterday's growth if we compare it for a moment with the overwhelming past of the Cosmos. And all this sunshine, this radiance, for us superb and which intoxicates our eyes, is only a transitory effect of our little Sun, while slowly descending over a more privileged zone of this littlest of little planets we call the Earth, which holds itself quite close to the luminary, quite close as though in fear and trembling of the outer darkness through which revolve less in considerable planets than ours in their vaster orbits. The blue firmament, in which an incessant phantasmagoria of clouds ever plays, and which appears to us profound, is only a very thin veil spread to deceive our eyes and to hide from our view the darkness beyond ; no, all this is as nothing ; the real thing is the darkness hidden behind it. The eternal, the supreme, the thing which has no beginning and no end, is the darkness, the black void, in which the silent decline of worlds innumerable is never arrested in the course of hundreds, and thousands and millions of centuries.

Seven or eight days more of the route in the midst of this resplendant blueness of sky and sea, and I will be at the end of my voyage.

With what anxiety of finding nothing, with what dread of final deceptions, I betake myself to this India, the cradle of human thought and prayer, not as before to make a plunge into frivolity, but, this time, to demand peace and contentment from the custodians of Aryan wisdom, to humble myself before them that they might bestow on me their sterner faith in an indefinite prolongation of souls, in place of the inexpressible christian hope which has already vanished.

It is just now the time of the magnificent sinking of day, the time of sunset. A moment more and we will lose from our sight our sun—of all the numberless suns, the one who holds us in space and draws us into the whirligig of his perpetual progression. The side of the earth on which we stand has turned towards the great black void, the limitless expanse of profound darkness, the dread which it excites we will understand a little better by and bye, through the transparency of the nocturnal atmosphere. But first, let us give ourselves to the magic of the evening, and let us drink in with our eyes the burning copper and rose-hued flames in the west. Beyond the sea to the east, very high above the horizon, rises a chain of wild and desolate mountains, almost entirely of blood-stained granite, and shining red like a live coal. It is the Sinai, the Serbal, and the Horeb. Then, once more, the grandeur of the Mosaic traditions overawes our spirit, so carefully prepared as it is by successive imports of heredity for the rendering of religious respect thereto.

But the fiery mountain-tops, naturally, do not tarry in the course of being extinguished. Beyond the waters of the sea the Sun sinks, and the brief enchantment of the evening is no more. The Sinai, the Serbal, and the Horeb lose themselves in the twilight gloom and disappear. One does not distinguish even their outline—and, after all, what are they but heaps of stones of sorts on the surface of the land, which assume immense proportions, in our dreams by the supreme poetry of the Exodus ?

The immense, serene night very soon gives juster proportions to all things. Already, in the limitless expanse of space, roving colonies of suns had commenced to show themselves. And, of the black void in which they all as well as ourselves fall, we picture ourselves in the ungovernable track of some one or other of them. Around the one who sustains and carries us, oh ! what a miserable course is supplied to our little planets, precipitated towards him but without the power of ever touching him, and thus "maddened by the enormous neighbour, describing even to the end of time their furious revolutions, instead of rolling freely in space like all those suns.

Not a cloud anywhere from the zenith to the horizon ; the same wonderful limpidity everywhere. Before our eyes is revealed as much as could be, the endless void where in monstrous worlds fall by myriads, fall, fall with the rapidity of sparks in an incessant rain of fire. And meanwhile, with the coming of the night, a delicious peace descends on us from the star-decked firmament.

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One might call it *solicitude*, a pity from on high, which little by little spreads over and surrounds our pardoned souls.

My God ! Could they bring me a little of the conviction regarding this solicitude and this pity ? Will they, the sages of India, to whom I am going ?

TO CEYLON : THE BURIED CITY*

And now it is India, India of the forest and jungle. And for me the day rises over a world of branches of trees and of pasturage ; over an ocean of eternal verdure, over a limitless expanse of mystery and silence, reaching from where I stand to the extreme lines of the horizon.

From the top of a hill, which rises up in the plain like an island in the ocean, I look upon the mute immensity of greenery lighted up by the rising sun. It is India veiled by her clouds, India of the forest and the jungle. In the centre of the great island of Ceylon is the spot of profound peace, protected on all sides by the inextricable entanglements of trees ; it is the place where, for two thousand years, the wonderful city of Anuradhapur lies extinct, hidden under the darkness of foliage.

Through the thickness of a leaden sky, where storms and rain are brewing, the day slowly comes, the while it is the hour of midnight down there in my country of France. Once more, the old mother Earth presents to the light of her Sun this region of great ruins which complete their annihilation in the sovereign verdure of the virgin forest.

Where was it, then, the wonderful city ? Like the man on the main top of a ship scanning the monotonous circle of sea all round, one casts his eyes in all directions without seeing any thing of human origin to indicate the site of the city. Everywhere trees, trees, and trees whose tops magnificent, and exactly alike, succeed each other ; a rolling wave of trees, which loses itself in the farthest length beyond the reach of one's vision. Down below lie the lakes dominated by the crocodiles and to which go herds of wild elephants for watering in the twilight. It is the forest, the jungle, from which now commences to rise towards me the morning calls of birds. But as regards the wonderful city, not even the faintest trace is to be seen anywhere.

Meanwhile strange hills, wooded and green like the forest but of much more regular outlines, in form like the pyramids or cupolas

* It is the literal translation of the name they give it in India. Anuradhapur was destroyed at the commencement of our era by the great invasion from Malabar.

stand up here and there by themselves, above the uniform expanse of foliage. Well, these are the towers of the old temples, the giant *dagobas* or topes, built two centuries before the advent of Christ ; the forest has not been able to destroy them, though it has covered them with its shroud or winding-sheet of greenery, gradually taking, little by little, over them, its earth, its roots, its bushes and brush-wood, its bind-weeds, and lastly its apes, baboons, and monkeys. Nevertheless, they mark superbly the place where men worshipped in days long past, in the commencement of the Buddhistic faith,—and the holy city must be somewhere here in the vicinity, sleeping in all directions under the spot where I now stand, hidden under the vaults of spreading branches of trees.

And the hillock, from the top of which I look around, was itself a sacred tope, which thousands of believers had laboured to erect to the glory of their prophet, the brother and precursor of Jesus. The base is protected by a series of elephants hewn out of the rock, by figures of gods whose outlines have disappeared under the stress of ages,—and long ago was heard here every day the din of sacred music and the frenzy of the worships and worshippers.

"Innumerable are the temples and mansions of Anuradhapura, their cupolas and standards of gold shining in the sun. In the streets are a multitude of soldiers armed with bows and arrows. Elephants, horses, chariots, and thousands of men pass and repass—come and go continuously. There are jugglers, dancers, and musicians from various countries, their timbals and other musical instruments having the ornaments and fittings of gold."

But now profound silence rules everywhere, it is the mere shadow, the green darkness. The men have gone and the forest has swallowed up everything. And over these ruins, very soon wiped out, the morning rises as calm and tranquil as of yore when it dawned on the primitive forest in the most ancient period of the earth.

* * * *

Before setting foot on the grand soil of India, I had to receive in the island of Ceylon a reply from a certain gracious Maharaja, whose guest I was going to be ; and during these few days of compulsory waiting, I desired to seek refuge here, being disgusted with the odious, cosmopolitan, coast towns.

The road I traversed yesterday in order to reach here was itself a long preparation, favourable to the enchantments of this place.

It was necessary to start before day-break from Kandy, the capital of the old Cingalese kings, and travel through the country of great

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palms, where the equatorial magnificence of nature was displayed to the fullest extent. But in the afternoon, nature put up a transformation scene, the large plumes of the cocoanut and the betel-nut palms gradually disappeared from view : we had now penetrated a zone which was less hot than the neighbourhood, and the forests in it were more akin to those in our latitudes. Under a falling rain, warm and perfumed but incessant, by tracks in the diluted soil, in a little vehicle which continued to convey us throughout the five leagues of the distance, we went at the sweet will of our horses, sometimes at a triple gallop, but more often at a stubborn pace, relieved by many kicks from the hind quarters of our steeds. More than once we were on the point of being precipitated on to the earth, because one of the beasts, who was more savage than his companion and who probably was making his debut in the harness, wished to make a grand smash of every thing. There were two Indians to lead the wicked team, who were always on the alert. One of them took up the reins, while the other held himself ready always to leap to the horse's head in critical moments. A third Indian blew the trumpet in order to keep away from our path slow carts drawn by zebus, or, when we went past villages hidden under palm groves. They had promised to take us to our destination at eight o'clock, but the heavy rain which fell without ceasing delayed us considerably on the road.

Towards evening, the villages became rarer, and the jungle denser. We had already ceased to meet in our progress the little clearings—oh ! so little, and lost or swallowed up in the all-conquering might of the trees—made by human hands in the wilderness ; and our trumpeter had no longer any need of blowing his instrument, for there was no body to take warning therefrom.

The palms had altogether disappeared from our view. From the hour of the day's decline, in this land of eternal summer, one might have likened the place to some solitary region of our own fields of Europe, with forests of high lofty trees, more magnificent, it is true, and of more stupendous entanglements of bind-weeds than those of Europe ; but an arborescent cactus cropped up from time to time to remind one of the exotic nature of the place, or a great red lily of disordered petals, or yet again an extraordinary butterfly crossed our path pursued by a bird very much struck by the unfamiliar colours. But the illusion, the illusion that one was in his European fields and woods, reasserted itself the next moment and took possession of his mind.

From sunset we met no villages, or saw any trace of human

habitation. Silence reigned everywhere in the green depths where our road made its interminable meanderings and over which we now went rapidly under the warm caress of the rain.

With the invading darkness an insectual music mounted up little by little from all the surrounding land, changing the form of the silence. Myriads of elytrons and wing shells vibrated in crescendo over the wet soil of the forest and this has been the music of every night since the beginning of the world.

Presently when it became quite dark, under the cloud-laden sky, our drive at the rapid trot, continued for hours, became very solemn, between the two rows of tall trees decorated just below with bind-weeds in chevelure, which succeeded each other like the lofty and fantastic yoke-elms of an endless park.

Sometimes we saw our passage barred by some big black beasts, dimly perceived in the dark : stupid and inoffensive buffaloes whom it was necessary to frighten away by cries and crackling whip-cuts. Leaving such diversions behind we resumed the blank monotony of the road—with the silence enlivened only by the joy of insects.

And one insensibly fell to thinking of the nocturnal life held by the forest in its calm immense depths, so many fawn-coloured deer, large and small, on the watch or sluttish, so many alert ears, so many pairs of dilated pupils, spying the least movement of the shadows.

The *coupee* in the mysterious trees always lengthened out in our front, straight on, pale grey between two high black walls ; one knew, besides, that forward or in the stern, on all sides in fact, over leagues on leagues, the impenetrable and alarming medley of branches extended its supreme oppression.

The eyes became used to the night, one saw as one sees in a dream, and at times one distinguished, emerging from the woodland one instant only to disappear the next, unprecise forms of prowling beasts with soft velvety footfalls.

At last about eleven o'clock, some little lights appeared in sight ; the sides of the road became strewn with long stones, stones of the ruins, and, outlined against the gloomy sky above the tree-tops, were seen the giant silhouettes of Buddhistic topes : I was already informed, and I knew that these were not hillocks, but the ruined temples of the buried city.

There we found lodgings for the night in an Indian *dharmshala* or inn (*auberge* M. Loti calls it,) ensconced in a little paradisaical garden, the blossoms of which we perceived in the shaft of light cast by our lantern while passing.

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Now, then, the day is rising, and I hear the awakening of birds in the forest down below. On this temple-tower, I am surrounded by bushes and herbage as in the heart of a jungle ; the bats, whose peace I have disturbed, turn round and round in the morning light, grey-winged beasts of the ruins that they are, and the diminutive nimble squirrels, wonderful in speed as in grace, watch me over the intervening foliage.

At my feet, some of the great trees, which make a fitting shroud to the dead city, are decked out as if for the rejoicings of Spring, with red, yellow, and pink blossoms. Presently a shower passes swiftly over the beautiful blossoming tree-tops to lose itself, to dissolve, in the mist at the bottom of the far-off wilderness.

But the sun, who mounts up rapidly behind the clouds and rain, has warmed my head heavily ; it is time to go back to the wood, in the shade, the green night in which the men of this place dwell, and I retrace my steps from the holy tower, descending by a staircase improvised from branches of trees.

* * * * *

Below is the confused world of debris and ruins, in the red soil, midst the monstrous roots of trees twisted and turned like the coils of innumerable serpents. Hundreds are the shattered divinities lying about here, the granite elephants, the altars, and the chimeras testifying to the frightful hecatomb of symbols made, it must be now two thousand years ago, by the Malabar invaders.

Around the indestructible topes, the Buddhists of to-day have piously gathered the most venerable of these things ; they have lined the steps of the ruined temples with the severed heads of the ancient gods, and, by their care, the old altars, defaced and shapeless to-day, are lying in a straight and upright position, are covered with exquisite flowers every morning, and little lamps still continue to burn there. In their eyes Anuradhapur is still the sacred city, and pilgrims from far and near, cheated out of their terrestrial incarnations, still go there to wrap themselves up in pious meditation and prayer in the peace of the virgin forest.

The dimensions and plans of the great sanctuaries are still pointed out by the series of marble-slabs, flag-stones, and colonnades, which start from the towers and are lost in the wood ; to reach this most holy place one must go by interminable vestibules which guard the inferior gods and the monsters, hewn out of rock, to-day lying about, broken and pulverised.

Compared with most of these temples which dominate the bushy

jungle, for a considerable distance, there are hundreds of others buried deep everywhere, and in like manner the vestiges of palaces without number ; many are the granite columns stowed away in the heart of the forest along with trunks of trees, all intermingled under the all-devouring eternal verdure.

At the commencement of our present era, Princess Sanghamitta, who was a great mystic, had brought with her from Northern India, in order to plant it here, a branch of the tree under which Gautama Buddha acquired Supreme Knowledge—and the branch is still there, now become an enormous, multiple tree, all of whose branches have shot out, banyan-fashion, innumerable roots ; it is surrounded by the ancient altars, with the little religious lamps which still burn uninterruptedly in the green twilight, and with the fragrant flowers faithfully strewn over them, and renewed daily.

But, above all, what gives to this forest its strange melancholy is the fact that we come across so many thresholds in it, magnificent thresholds of white marble covered with fine sculptures ; so many leading steps which guarded the deities of welcoming smiles—but which now lead to nowhere in particular : the dwellings which were timber-built and which have left no other trace of their presence across centuries except their entrance-steps and flag-stones ; these sumptuous entrances take you today only to a medley of roots and branches and untouched soil.

There has been also, for some years, in a corner of Anuradhapur, an inhabited village ; but it is a pastoral village which does not disturb in any way the melancholy of the place, for like the ruins themselves it hides itself under the branches of trees. The Indians who have come to live here in the buried city have in no way cleared the great trees of the forest, they have only uncovered in a few places the bind-weeds and the briars, thus redeeming a few fine greenswards where their zebus and goats graze in the shade, like happy beasts on the soil of a sanctified wood. They, the Indians whose life glides away in the midst of the sacred ruins and who bathe in the piscinas or cisterns of ruined Palaces, firmly believe in the evenings of wandering phantoms of princes or kings of the past, and avoid going into the shadow of the topes in moonlit nights.

Above everything here lies the shady refuge for meditation or prayer. A peace as in a deserted church hovers over the foot-paths and over the delicate green carpet spread by nature, on which flowers like those of the large azaleas fall in showers from the heads of trees.

And in front of the statues demolished since two thousand years,

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how touching is the site of the little lamps constantly lighted in the wood, and of the flowers always fresh placed on the old stones !

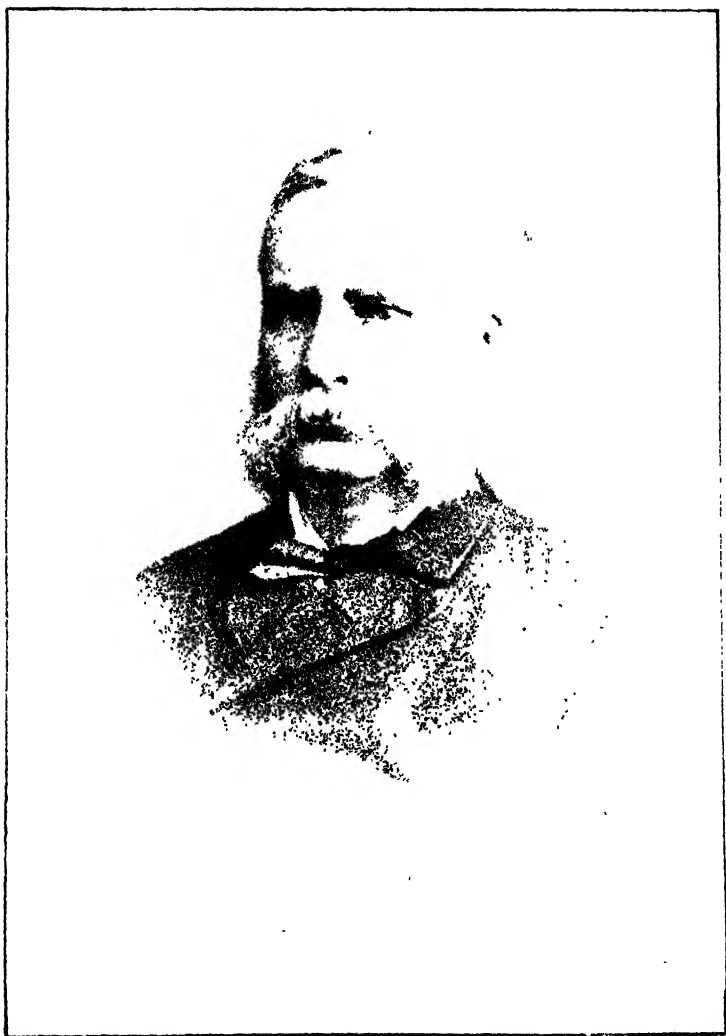
In India they do not take bouquets of flowers as offerings to their gods, but instead they strew in an admirable manner flowers on their altars : jasmines in profusion—nothing but corollas plucked off the stalks—and gardenias, and thick flowers with the perfume of the tuberose, the whole forming a fragrant carpet, on the white ground of which they afterwards spread some Bengal roses, or some hibiscus blooms of a deep red hue. And all that is reproduced here, on the flag-stones of the fallen temples which are being slowly absorbed in the soil.

R. K. Athavale

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AKBAR'S RELIGIOUS OPINIONS

The subject of Akbar's religion has perhaps been too often discussed. A great deal has been written about it both by Christians and Agnostics, and Tennyson has given to it the glory of verse. But religion was, after all, only the amusement of Akbar's leisure hours. He took an intellectual pleasure in listening to the discussions between Rodolf Acquaviva and the Muhamadan doctors, but he never had any serious intention of adopting the Christian faith. Acquaviva found this out after a time and left the capital in despair. To dwell so exclusively, as many have done, on Akbar's pursuit of religious truth, is to ignore his real character and achievements, and to substitute a dreamer for a man of action. Akbar was, above all, a politician and a man of the world, and however much he enjoyed postprandial talks about religion, he never forgot his real business in life and after a night in the "House of Worship" he turned quietly to the secular business of the day. Whenever he found that his religious notions, real or supposed, interfered with his politics or his administration, he abandoned or suppressed them. In fact, he was not the stuff that religious reformers are made of, and consequently he had no success in that line. Surely, if he had been in earnest about his religion we should have found him making some sacrifices for it. We should have found him, like one of the Zamarins, renouncing his throne in order to retire to Mecca, or like his descendant, Aurangzeb, toiling forty years and ruining his empire in order to put down idolatry. At least, we should have found him endeavouring to equip himself for the task of a religious inquirer by becoming acquainted with what had been written on the subject. But Akbar never even acquired the elements of learning and to



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the end of his days could neither read nor write. He was the son and grandson of educated men, and his son Jahangir was not without book-knowledge, but he himself was quite illiterate.—*aami mahz*, “totally ignorant,” is what Badayuni calls him. He was thus but poorly qualified for presiding at, or taking part in, the theological discussions of which he was so fond. He had not, like Julian, studied in the schools, and must often have been at a loss to understand the terms used by the disputants. Perhaps, like the rustic at the Sorbonne his pleasure consisted in watching the gestures of the speakers, and he drew his conclusions from what Charles Lamb considered as the popular fallacy, that of two disputants the warmest is generally in the wrong. In former years he had taken a cruel pleasure in seeing two sets of Hindu devotees cut themselves to pieces at Thaneshwar after the manner of the Clan Chattan and the Clan Kay, and now in his calmer years he took a milder interest in observing the war of tongues. When Akbar had advanced further on the path of his religious development and had come to consider himself as a religious teacher and entitled to use the “*mifarmudand*,” the “He spake thus” of the prophet and sage, he came to think, apparently, that his ignorance of letters was an advantage for we find him saying “The prophets were all illiterate. Believers should therefore retain one of their sons in that condition.” The word translated “believers” is the somewhat unusual one, *girawidagan*, and apparently the remark was addressed to the followers of the Divine Faith, and referred to those who believed in Akbar. No doubt Akbar’s flatterers encouraged the view that ignorance was best, and we find Abul Fazl inculcating such doctrine; but if Akbar sincerely held it, it is singular that it did not lead him to a greater reverence for Muhammad and did not prevent him from despising him as an “ignorant Arab.”

Most eastern Kings, like most eastern men, have had a fancy for dabbling in religious questions. Timur, Babar, Humayun, Shaibani, Sulaiman of Badakshan and Sulaiman of Bengal, and Abdullah Khan Uzbeg, the ruler of Bokhara, had the same propensity, and it was also a characteristic of Nadir Shah and Tippoo Sultan. The peculiarity about Akbar is that his interest in religion did not make him, like his contemporaries, Tahmasp of Persia, or the rulers of the Deccan, a bigoted Shia or Mahdavi, or induce him to join any other of the seventy-two sects of Muhamadanism. On the contrary he became a Gallio who thought that every religion had a share, and no more than a share, of truth and error. The appeal to miracles did not touch him, for as he said they “occur in the

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temples of every creed." The main reason, I think, of this difference between Akbar and his contemporaries must have been the superior vigour of his understanding. He could not rest in the narrow views of a small-minded man like Shah Tahmasp. "His Majesty," writes Badayuni, "has passed through the most various phases, and through all sorts of religious practices and sectarian beliefs, and has collected everything which people can find in books, with a talent of selection peculiar to him, and a spirit of enquiry opposed to every (Islamic) principle. Thus a primitive and elementary faith (*ʿitiqadi hayulani*) took shape in the mirror of his mind, and the treasure-house of his ideas, and an impression, as permanent as if graven upon stone, was produced that reasonable men were to be found in all religions, and saints and prophets and workers of miracles in all the nations of mankind, and that Truth (*Haqq*) had her dwelling everywhere. How then could she be shut up within the limits of one religion or creed which had come into existence less than a thousand years ago? Why should one sect assert and another deny, and why should there be a claim to pre-eminence without the reality thereof?" If this be as correct, as it is a striking, description of Akbar's views it shows that he was a little unjust to Muhammadanism, for no devout Muhammadan admits that his religion began with Muhammad. Neither did Muhammad ever claim to be the founder of the religion. It might suit Abul Fazl to speak of the Din Ahmadi, as if Ahmad, i.e. Muhammad, had introduced it, but Muhammad himself only claimed to be the seal, that is, the last, of the prophets. The light of Islam shone upon Adam according to the Muhammadan creed, and hence he and all the other patriarchs are claimed as having been true believers.

Elsewhere Badayuni ascribes Akbar's defection from the faith partly to his having associated from his early years with Hindu debauchees (*Hinud ranud*, which perhaps means Hindu enthusiasts). But this view is negated by the fact that Akbar began by being a zealous Muhammadan. For years he was very orthodox, had an oratory in his camp, and said his five prayers daily. Year after year he paid his devotions at Ajmere to the Indian proto martyr of Islam and was zealous in promoting pilgrimages to Mecca. All this delighted Nizamud-din,* the simple-minded and straight-forward

* In describing Akbar's return in the 25th year (it should be the 24th) from one of his pilgrimages to Ajmere, he says that on the way back Akbar had a lofty tent constructed and provided with *mihrahs* or prayer-niches and that he called it a mosque. It was put up on one side of the Hall of Audience and there Akbar used to pray five times a day in the presence of the congregation. See *Tabaqat Akbari*, Lucknow lith. p. 344. This piety was displayed after the issue of the decree about *Mujtahids*.

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soldier, who chronicled Akbar's achievements. He prudently, or tenderly, passed over his master's subsequent developments, but he tells us that no former King of India ever spent so much money on pilgrims. Akbar even thought of going to Mecca himself. He donned the pilgrim-dress and accompanied the caravan for a little way, and apparently was only dissuaded by the expostulations of his ministers from carrying out his intentions. According to his own account, he had been at one time a persecutor, like St. Paul. "Formerly," he said, "I persecuted men into conformity with my faith, and deemed it Islam. As I grew in knowledge, I was overwhelmed with shame. Not being a Muslim myself, it was unmeet to force others to become such. What constancy is to be expected from proselytes on compulsion?" It is unfortunate that Akbar did not always adhere to these excellent sentiments for we are told by Badayuni that he sent a number of shaikhs and faquirs to Qandahar and other places and sold them as slaves, getting horses in exchange for them. He also did the same thing to an apparently harmless set of fanatics who called themselves, or were styled as the public Ilahis, *i. e.* followers of a Divine faith. "At the command of his Majesty, they were sent to Bhakkar (in Scinde) and Qandahar, and were given to merchants in exchange for Turkish colts." It will not do to say, as Colonel Malletson does in a sentence quoted by Tennyson in the notes to "Akbar's Dream," that Akbar's persecutions took place when he was a minor. The barterings of men for horses took place in 1581-82, several years after Akbar had broken with Muhammadanism. Perhaps he punished the unfortunate Ilahis in order to win favour with the orthodox, or perhaps he regarded them as bringers-into-contempt of his own more refined Faith. In either case he was unjust, and his conduct worse than that of Calvin when he burnt Servetus some forty years earlier, for at least Calvin believed he was doing God's service and was not actuated by desire for men's praise. And in truth, in spite of all the talk about Akbar's clemency and all his own claims to the possession of that quality, he was a far more cruel man than the bigoted Aurangzeb. In order to gratify a puerile curiosity he made a massacre of the innocents, as great as that of Bethlehem, by the establishment of his Gang-mahal or Dumb-House, and he had many men trampled under elephants. The statement made by the historian of Aurangzeb's reign that one of the causes of that king's failures was his too great leniency may appear strange. Nevertheless, it is true. "Out of regard to the Muhammedan law he did not punish people, and government cannot be maintained without punishment." Akbar shines as a merciful

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prince, because he was seldom carried away by passion, and because he is contrasted with his brutal son ; but he was somewhat cold-hearted, and he had not the easy good nature of his father, Humayun.

While Akbar's emancipation from the trammels of Muhamedanism must be mainly ascribed to the vigour of his mind, there were no doubt secondary causes which contributed to the result. One of these, certainly, must have been his position as sovereign of India and as the husband of Hindu wives. The spectacle of millions of people, not to speak of his wives and of some of his best servants, leading good lives inspite of their having no tincture of the Muhammedan religion must have had an effect upon him and led him to doubt the connection between faith and morality that had been instilled into him. A similar effect may be noticed among Christians when they are brought young to dwell among millions of heathen and find that these multitudes having no Law are a Law unto themselves. Perhaps it was this revelation which influenced the life of General Charles Stuart and earned for him the name of Hindoo Stuart and made him lie buried in the Park Street Cemetery of Calcutta in a tomb which is the model of a Hindu Temple ! We must also allow something for the influence of the Portuguese Missionaries, and especially of the nobly-born and nobly-minded Italian, Acquaviva, whose influence on Akbar was both direct, and also indirect through Faizi and Abul Fazl and their father, Mubarak. Reform and inquiry were in the air, and as material earthquakes in Europe cause perturbations in India so must moral earthquakes such as the upheavals in Germany, France and England have made themselves felt in the East.

In the matter of religion, Akbar's destructive work is more remarkable than the constructive. His intellect enabled him to shake off Muhammadanism, but his attempt to substitute another religion for it was a failure. His Divine Faith perhaps never had a single sincere convert, and it died with him. Indeed, as we have already said, he was not the stuff that religious reformers are made of. He had not the fervour of his Afghan contemporary, Bayazid, the founder of the Raushanis, and consequently in spite of his position he made nothing like the impression made by his rival. The Indian idea of a religious reformer is of one who is void of passions, as the word *Bairagi* signifies, and who forsakes everything earthly in order to seek the Kingdom of Heaven. And the great Eastern religion—Christianity—has the same idea. It is Buddha abandoning his crown, his wife and child, and Ibrahim-bin-Adham, the King of Balkh, who left his throne to become a woodcutter who attract the popular admiration. Akbar, it is said, once had such a call or

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attraction—*jazba* is the technical name. He was hunting when suddenly he became struck by the emptiness and sinfulness of human pursuits, abandoned the hunt, and released thousands of animals who had been gathered within the toils. But the mood did not last long. The good seed, if it was good seed, was choked by the care of the world and the deceitfulness of riches, and became unfruitful.

Akbar found that his supposed heresies interfered with his political schemes and he straightway abandoned or at least conceded them. Abul Fazl tells us that the great Bengal rebellion was partly caused by Akbar's principles of toleration, his "peace with all" as he called it, and that Akbar took this fact to heart is proved by the circumstance that the Christian missionaries found him much less accessible after the rebellion. In a similar spirit of temporising we find Akbar helping to shoulder a stone brought from Mecca which was supposed to bear an impression of Muhammad's foot. But the most remarkable instance of Akbar's practice of *taqiya* or dissimulation occurs in a letter which he wrote to Abdullah Khan Uzbeg, the King of Turan, in the 31st year of his reign, 994 A. H. or 1586. Abdullah Khan had for a time ceased to communicate with Akbar on account of his supposed heresies and now he had written him a letter, conveyed by an ambassador, which I have not seen, but which James Fraser, the author of the life of Nadir Shah, speaks of as one calling Akbar to severe account for being so fond of the Brahmans or Indian priests, and so indifferent as to the Muhammadan religion. Mr. Blochmann* says that Akbar replied by quoting an Arabic verse which Abdoolah "could construe into a denial of the alleged apostacy." But Akbar did not content himself with a quotation or only leave Abdoolah to conjecture his denial. On the contrary, though he prefaces his remarks by saying that silence is best on such a subject, he goes on to make an elaborate defence of his orthodoxy. He says, with an evident reference to the invocation in the opening verse of the Koran, that he thanks God that the straight path of faith and religion has been the desire of his eyes from his earliest years. And he appeals to his great successes in life as proofs of his orthodoxy for, says he, Faith and Fortune (*al-mulk-u-al-din*) are twins. He has striven to subdue India and by God's favour he has succeeded. Regions which from the rising of the Sun of Islam had never been trod by the steeds of victorious Sultans, and where their swords had

The *Ain-i-Akbari*, p. 468.

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never gleamed, had become the abode of "the men of good-will." The churches (*kanais*) and the temples of the infidels had been turned into mosques and the oratories of men of sound faith; the haughty and stiff-necked leaders of the Hindus had put the ring of obedience into their ears, and enrolled themselves in his army, etc. etc. The letter then proceeds to say, in language which contrasts oddly with the sentiment expressed in "Akbar's Dream" of Tennyson, that Akbar's cherished wish had been that when he had completely overcome the Hindus he might proceed to extirpate the infidel Franks who had taken possession of the isles of the sea and the peninsulas and were oppressing the pilgrims to the Holy Shrines.—May God enhance their glory! He had however been prevented from this by a desire first to assist a brother-Musalman *viz.* the Shah of Persia. And here Akbar takes occasion to insinuate that he is a *Sunni*—as of course his correspondent was—and that he does not approve of the *Shia* proclivities of the King of Persia, but desires to assist him on account of old friendship and of his descent from the family of the prophet!

Elphinstone remarks that Akbar's religion seems to have been pure Deism. But the Deism was hardly pure, for Akbar had certainly the idea that he too was Divine and that he could work miracles. He played with the double meaning of Allah Akbar and allowed Faizi to say that he was more than God's shadow. Indeed he fell into evil hands when he allowed himself to be flattered and almost deified by Mubarak and his sons. These men added Hindu extravagances to the simple creed of Islam which places an impassable barrier between the Creator and the creature. He subscribed to the theory of transmigration and he even seriously believed that he had been a Hindu ascetic in a former state of existence. It was Mubarak who drew up the famous document which proclaimed Akbar to be higher than a *Mujtahid* and authorised him to issue decrees in religious matters which were binding on the nation. It even went on to say in language which looks like an echo of the Athanasian creed that "any opposition on the part of the subjects to such decrees would involve damnation in the world to come, and loss of religion and property in this world." It is true that there was the saving clause that the decree must be in accordance with the Koran and of benefit to the nation. But then if Akbar was to be the supreme arbiter, who was to gainsay him if he asserted that any decree he issued was in accordance with the holy book? It is impossible to suppose that Mubarak, who had spent his life in study, really believed that an illiterate man like Akbar who had spent his

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life in camps was competent to decide knotty points of divinity. His drawing up of such a document then was a piece of gross flattery and a very bad example to his sons. It would almost seem as if Abul Fazl himself was somewhat ashamed of his father's share in this proceeding, for he does not set forth the document and he does not tell us that his father drew it up.* For a further account of Akbar's Divine religion and of his relations with the Missionaries, I must refer my readers to Blochmann's *Ayeen*, to Father Goldie's *First Christian Mission to the Great Mogul*, to General Maclagan's *Jesuit Missions to the Emperor Akbar* in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1896, together with my own observations thereon in the same Journal for 1904, and also to the early accounts of the Missions in Du Jarrie and to the life of Acquaviva by Bartoli.

H. Beveridge

(To be continued.)

* Abul Fazl's short abstract of the document occurs at p. 270 of vol. II of the *Akbarnama*, Bib. Ind. Ed. He there mentions four names of subscribers, two of them being notorious sticklers for orthodoxy and determined opponents of Mubarak and his family, but he sinks his father's name under the general phrase of "other learned men." Nizam-ud-din, as well as Badayuni, mentions that Mubarak was a subscriber.

REVIEWS & NOTICES

SWAMI VIVEKANANDA

[*Swami Vivekananda : His Speeches and Writings : Published by Messrs. G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras.*]

It is notorious that we value speech not so much for what it says as for what it leaves unsaid. It is for the peep that we get into the heart and soul of the author, the immense fund of his power that it indicates rather than expresses, that we prize most the finest literary productions of the world. It is for the great train of thought and imagination that it calls up in the minds of the reader rather than for its face value that the best writings are most appreciated. As the eloquent indicators of this fund of the unsaid, as a remarkable evidence of a great and powerful mind struggling to give itself out, the speeches of Swami Vivekananda are worthy of taking a very important place in the modern literature of India. Eloquent as the words are, it is pre-eminently for the peep into the great and noble heart, for the intensity of noble fervour and for the glow of enthusiasm for the true, the noble and the great that it inspires in every reader that we most prize the speeches and writings of Swami Vivekananda. Such words are worthy of careful preservation, and the publishers of the volume under review deserve the congratulation of all Indians for the nice way in which they have sought to perpetuate the memory of a man who was lost to his land all too soon. The volume is neat and handy, beautifully got up and is a valuable possession. Every admirer of the late Swami will be glad of such a lovely memorial to the great man.

Swami Vivekananda was a great man. "Some," says Shakespeare, "are born great, some achieve greatness and some have greatness thrust upon them." People are disposed to imagine that Vivekananda belonged to the last class and that he was the creature of circumstances. When he was alive, the innumerable wards and passes of everyday life through which great men are condemned to pass might have caused an aberration of contemporary judgment, but now that the calmness of death has settled upon the controversies let us be just and say that he 'achieved greatness' and owed it to no accident. He shot like a rocket to the public gaze, but behind the amazing appearance of a sudden luminary there had been years of patient labour at the workshop. The Swami prepared



Swami Vivekananda

himself for his great vocation with an assiduous application that has scarcely any parallel in modern India. For eighteen long years beyond the public gaze and under the fostering influences of the spiritual fervour imparted to his soul by the Great Ramakrishna, and by patient study, extensive travels, unparalleled energy, application and powers of thought and feeling he had developed within himself that masterly personality and towering grandeur of character which was sure to work out his high destiny under any circumstances. Few men came better prepared for high position than he, when he appeared for the first time before the public to make his *debut* before the Parliament of Religions. Of his profound learning, we get the surest indications not in pedantic display but in occasional flashes of scholarship which come to him so naturally and so easily and which fit in so nicely with his popular expositions of the profoundest truths. Of earnestness and lofty character his life was a living embodiment, and with all the qualities of the head and heart that go to make a genuine reformer he was most richly endowed.

Reformers are apt to cry down Vivekananda as a revivalist as if that were a name for all that was petty and narrow. Yet there was nothing so opposed to his nature as anything that smacked of pettiness or narrowness. He had no patience with the prohibition of sea-voyage and petty nonsense of that type. With the senseless iniquities of caste he was in endless war. "Was there ever a sillier thing in the world," said he, "than what I saw in the Malabar country? The poor Pariah is not allowed to pass through the same street as the high caste man, but if he changes his name to a hodge-podge English name or Mahomedan name it is all right. * * Shame upon them that such wicked and diabolical customs are allowed; their own children allowed to die of starvation and, as soon as these children belong to somebody else, feed them fat." The Swami was a great advocate of equal rights for equal worth. "The days," says he, "of exclusive privileges and exclusive claims are gone, gone for ever from the soil of India and it is one of the great blessings of British Rule in India."

In fact, the Swami did not lack the broad mind and large sympathies of a genuine social reformer. He was in ardent sympathy with the wretched down-trodden 'lower classes,' to whom society seems to have a license to be cruel; he recognised all the evils that were eating like canker into the vitals of society; he realised the evils of child-marriage, of caste, of Hindu widowhood and all that. The only difference between the Swami and the fire-brand reformer is

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that the Swami would not plunge into a heated struggle to uproot a tree which had a bad sore in it. He preferred to take an unimpassioned view of the whole thing, to look at an institution from within, from the standpoint of the founder, to understand all its lights and shades so that upon a proper understanding of its true meaning may be grafted such a principle of reform, as, without destroying the good of it, without destroying its adaptability to the circumstances which it was made to meet, would purge it of all its evils. The recognition of this truth is an essential requisite of a true reformer. He must not only be inspired with a selfless zeal for the alleviation of distress and suffering and for the dissipation of ignorance and superstition, he must not only start from absolutely pure motives to do good to society, no matter with how little success or with what reward, he must also have a clear perception of the fact that "the old ideas may have been all superstitions, but in and around these masses of superstition lie nuggets of gold and truth" and that means must be discovered to keep the gold alone without any of the dross.

This then was the Swami's ideal. An earnest, dispassionate, first hand study of Hindu social institutions had convinced him that they were excellent institutions in more ways than one and they served some noble purposes towards the formation of the peculiar national life of India in which, unlike western societies, spirituality forms the predominant element. At the same time he perceived with anguish that each one brought in its train a series of most patent evils. To uproot them in the light of western ideas would be to anglicise the Indian people to an extent which, even if possible, would be undesirable. To patch up individual evils too would be of no use, for, says the Swami, social maladies are in the nature of rheumatism ; cure it in the leg, it rises to the head, and cure it there it goes elsewhere. If you want any reform you must strike at the root of the evil and extinguish it root and branch.

The root of evil in Hindu Society lies not so much in its particular institutions as in the tone of unmanliness and weakness that runs through its whole frame. It is this vital weakness that generates unwholesome abuses of an excellent social system and if society were purged of this ruling malady the branches of evil would fall off of themselves. With the wealth of information about the various peoples of India in which none could equal him, he had discovered that while the meanest Hindu was the heir to the undefiled well of spirituality developed by his great ancestors, the best fruits of that noble heritage was lost to him for the weakness

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that ran to the lowest depths of his heart. The first work of a reformer who took a comprehensive view of his vocation was thus to attempt to eradicate this ruling malady by an effective system of education.

To Swami Vivekananda education appeared to be the crux of the whole situation. A national system of education, which would impart a healthy tone to the life of society, was what the Swami laboured for during the short course of his public life. We make no apology for making the following extracts showing his ideas on education :

" Education is not the amount of information that is put into your brain. We must have life-building, man-making assimilation of ideas. If you have assimilated fine ideas and made them your life and character, you have more education than any man who can get a library by heart. If information would make education, libraries are the greatest sages in the world and encyclopædias are Rishis. The ideal therefore is that we must have the education of our country, spiritual and secular, in our own hands and it must be on national lines through national methods as far as practical. We must begin work. How ? We must start a temple ; must have a temple, for with Hindus religion must come first. We will make a non-sectarian temple giving only *Om* as a symbol. Secondly, along with the temple there should be an institution to train teachers and preachers. These teachers must go about giving both religion and secular education from door to door. Then the work will extend until we have covered the whole of India. Aye, we will go to every country under the sun and our ideas must be within the next ten years component of the many forces that are working to make up every nation in the world. We must enter into the life of every race inside India and outside India ; we will work."

I extract these passages to show not only the great importance that the Swami attached to popular education but also to some the indications of the actual line of work to be followed. He recognised that to reorganise our society, which have been thoroughly demoralised we must have a proper man-making education based on religion—which appeals to the Hindu more than anything else—and that this education must be brought to the very doors of the people or they would not make any advance by themselves.

We are all aware of the wholesale secularisation of education in Europe and India. The creed has its advocates as well as its opponents. The Swami was decidedly against it and that for good

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reasons. He was not only convinced that religion and spirituality appeal to the people here more than anything else, but he thought more. It was no diplomacy on his part to work on the feelings of the people and draw them to education through the bait of religion. He was most firmly convinced that to impart a new life to our country we could only take our stand on religion. The toning influence of Vedantism was with him an absolutely necessary remedy for the ruling malady of Hindu social life,—its helpless unmanliness. A proper appreciation of the philosophy of the Vedanta was to him the only stuff that could set right all our failings by promoting strength and confidence in ourselves.

It has the additional merit of being indigenous. The teachings of the Vedanta are ingrained in our constitution and it has always made a very large part of the intellectual and moral life of Hindu India. If, therefore, the source of strength is found in such a teaching, it is all the more to be welcomed in preference to what belongs to a different type of civilisation. In importing our institutions and ideas from Europe where a long course of evolution has made it a part of the life of the people, we take a chance—they may or may not take root in the life of our people. But if the graft is of our own soil there is a practical certainty that it would thrive, provided that it has life in it.

The Swami recognised this fact. A careful study of history had assured him that there had not been only one course of civilisation as Europeans are apt to affect. Historians of civilisation in Europe have all along been busy with what they have known to be the only type of civilisation, which has been aptly called by a great Indian scholar, the Greco-Romano-Gothic civilisation of the west. But side by side with this, there has been another distinct type of civilisation in the great continent of Asia which has been almost independent of all touch with the Western movement. This movement one may trace in the literature, philosophy and culture of Arabia, Central Asia, China and Japan. It is daily becoming clearer that the much discussed idea of the unity of the Asiatic continent is in truth not the product of a flight of poetic fancy but based on the solid foundation of historic facts. Between India, China and Japan on the one hand and India, Arabia and Central Asia on the other there have been traced considerable indications of sympathy and community of culture. Altogether, in spite of the necessary diversity of the races, a common type of civilisation is faintly traceable in this immense tract of land and it will be the pride of the future historian of civilisation to bring out and

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elucidate this unity and string together in one common history the civilisations of the various countries of Asia. In the mean time one may be pardoned if, encouraged by the daily increasing evidences, one takes for granted an independent Indo-Asiatic civilisation which in its magnitude and loftiness would not compare unfavourably with the dominant civilisation of to-day.

If this is true, if our entire constitution is built up of ideas and sympathies of a type which does not quite harmonise with the civilisation of the west, we should certainly look first of all into the mine of our ancient spiritual wealth for the rectification of evils of our society. If in these we can find such a principle as has not sufficiently been realised in the constitution of our race and which contains within it rich promises of moral strength to the people, such an idea should by all means be first adopted for the removal of our weakness. Yet the Swami while he held this never contended that our future was to be a reduplication of our ancient history. He was a firm believer in synthesis, he believed that no two things could for ever exist as two in the universe ; they must sooner or later be harmonised into a synthetic unity. The two types of civilisation which have grown up side by side in the East and the West have now come into full and free contact with each other, and the end of the material aggression of Europe in Asia seems to be the most beneficent coalescence and synthesis of these two types and the creation of a higher and more perfect type of civilisation before which the mere oriental or the mere occidental civilisation will pale. This is the great adjustment that looks out in the future. It will be "the harmonising, the mingling of the two ideals" of the East and the West.

To return to where we started from, Swami Vivekananda clearly realised that the source of our national strength and the tonic for national depression must be looked for first in the ancient literature and culture of India. He found it, as we have already seen, in the Vedanta. The Vedanta, at any rate in its earliest exponent, the Upanishads, has been grossly misunderstood by Europeans who in their natural tendency to think not by character but by the type have declared it to be simply Pantheism. The greatest European philosopher of the past century has declared it to be the grossest form of Pantheism.* So acute a philosopher and

* Wollen wir den sogenannten Pantheismus in seiner poetischen, erhabensten oder wenn man will, krasssten Gestalt nehmen so hat man sich dafür in den morgenländischen Dichtern umzusehen, und die breitesten Darstellungen finden sich in den Indischen.—Hegel, quoted by Gough.

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an upholder of the Hegelian banner in England as Principal Caird has found in this Pantheism the philosophical basis of a supposed moral laxity of the Hindus. He has devoted a number of pages to an altogether fanciful account of the philosophy and morality of India which, in spite of its great ingenuity, is spoilt by the falsity of the premises and the utter baselessness of the conclusions which were foregone.*

Swami Vivekananda evidently did not think so. He thought unlike Caird that Vedantism was the source of strength and not weakness. It was with him the foundation of a genuine morality and not the abolition of moral laws. The Swami's gospel was activity and strength. "I have no objection," says he, "to dualism in many of its forms but I have objection to every form of teaching which inculcates weakness. This is the question I put to every one. Are you strong? Do you feel strength? for I know it is truth alone that gives strength. I know that truth alone gives strength and nothing but going towards reality will make us strong and none will reach truth until he is strong. Strength therefore is the one thing that we want. Strength is the great medicine for the world's disease."

One would suppose that such an ideal was against the prevailing tenet of non-resistance in Hindu religious life. Yet there is such a thing as *Karma Yoga* in Hindu religion and if that is a part of Hinduism in its health, the prevailing tenet of submission and inactivity, the results of a weak fatalism, cannot but be regarded as the signs of a degenerated Hinduism. The ideal of *Karma Yoga* is certainly non-resistance, "which is indeed the highest ideal and the most beautiful manifestation of power in actual possession," but the *Karma Yogin* also understand that mere non-resistance and inactivity is but another name for sloth and cowardice which is always evil. "The resisting of evil is but a step towards the manifestation of the highest power which is non-resistance. Before reaching fittingly this highest ideal, man's duty is to resist evil: let him work, let him fight, let him strike 'straight from the shoulder.' Only when he has gained power to resist will non-resistance be a virtue."

This is the ideal that the Vedanta preaches and this is the natural consequence of Vedantic monism. Life has gone out of the Hindus only because the undefiled well of Vedantic spirituality has been lost to us or dimmed to a very large extent by spurious ideals of cowardice and weakness. It is this which has made us weak, and to

* See Introduction to *The Philosophy of Religion* by John Caird.

make us strong again we must learn to make short work of all misgivings and doubts, of all the enervating ideas of sin and evil and Hell, of all our ghosts and devils and the entire paraphernalia of the creed of weakness, and dive deep into our self and perceive it in all its glory as Brahman himself. We must learn to say *Sivoham, Sivoham* and work with confidence upon our eternal life and our godliness, not as imitating or participating in the life of God but as God himself. "The room is dark," says Vivekananda, "the constant feeling and complaining of the darkness will not take it off. But bring in the light. Let us know that all that is negative, all that is destructive is bound to pass away ; it is the positive, the affirmative, the constructive that is immortal, that will ever remain. Let us say 'We are,' 'God is' and 'we are God' ; 'sivoham, sivoham' and march on. This is the eternal truth that the *Srutis* preach. Bring in the light, the darkness will vanish of itself. Let the lion of Vedanta roar, the foxes will fly to their holes. Throw the ideas broadcast and let the results take care of themselves. Bring forth the power of the spirit and pour it over the length and breadth of India and all that is necessary will come of itself."

The one idea which has got to be dinned into our ears is that we are not low or humble, that we are great, aye the greatest. With this consciousness will come an adequate sense of responsibility and man would desist from doing what is unworthy of his divine calling. This sense of dignity is the ruling thought in the religious teachings of Europe, but in India where the most magnificent gospel of the dignity of man was preached its thundering note seems to have been awfully dulled. If Hinduism and the life of the Hindu is to be rejuvenated we should bring out this sense of dignity from the background and make it our ruling tenet. It is suggested by some that monistic ideas preached to the world would produce immorality and weakness and so forth. But says Vivekananda : "I have reason to believe that it is the only medicine there is. If this be Truth, why let people drink ditch-water, when the stream of life is passing by ? If this be Truth, that they are all pure, why not teach it at this moment to the whole world ?" "Teach it to them, why make their life miserable, why let people fall into all sorts of superstition ?" Rather let man be fully conscious of his greatness that he may think it beneath his dignity to be weak or evil. Let him give up all the mean ideas of his extreme insignificance and be inspired with his own greatness. Let him tremble, as Fichte says, "at the majesty in form of man, and at the divinity which resides in the temple

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that bears his impress, though perhaps concealed in mysterious darkness."

It is impossible to do anything like justice to the philosophy of Swami Vivekananda and to the question as to how far it accords with the Vedantism of the past, within the limited space of an article in the pages of the *Indian World*. The school of thought which the Swami represents has been called neo-Vedantism. Vivekananda himself stoutly stuck to the idea that his teaching was orthodox and one can only contest his claim after he has become as learned in Vedantic literature as he was. But, as the late Prof. Wallace aptly pointed out, the prefix *neo* need not be objected to by any new expositor of an old philosophy. Our ideas to-day are not those of the days of yore when the *Upanishads* were composed, our apperception masses, to borrow from Herbart, are not those of our predecessors. To instil therefore those old truths into our minds a new garb of ideas and imageries must be given to them. It must be adapted to suit modern consciousness and by virtue of this adaptation we may call this new exposition of Vedantism—which takes its stand upon all the progress that the world has made since Sankaracharyya on the one hand and on the deep mine of spiritual wealth in the Vedanta on the other—we may call it neo-Vedantism without offence.

Of this neo-Vedantism, Vivekananda was a most notable exponent. In the course of his speeches, while on the one hand he brought forth the real spirit of Vedantism with a genuine scholar's insight on the other hand he popularised the idea as only a master can, made it suitable for the reception of every one for his eternal benefit and instilled into the hearts of his audience with that intensely fervid eloquence which won for him a most well-earned reputation in America. The great pivot of his philosophical creed is the dignity and divinity of Man. Man is not a sinner but God ; he has in him the principle which reveals itself as eternal as God himself and beside which all that is in him is *maya*. That he is the child of immortal bliss and one with the Great *Purusha*—that he is destined for the great work of realisation of his infinite self and unification with Brahman ;—not to hell but to *Moksha* is his destiny—this thought, this consciousness brings hope and strength to the Soul of Man and elevates him. It is the knowledge of this truth—of this great *Purusha* who is self-revealed in ourselves that alone can lead to the attainment of the *summum bonum* of freedom.* This

* अस्तु विद्महे अस्तस्य पुत्राः ।
अये धामनि दिव्यानि तस्युः ॥

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is the old Gospel that Vivekananda preached, this the doctrine he sought to find realised in the heart of his countrymen.

To Vivekananda Vedanta was the most liberal and the most universal expression of the deep religious feeling of man under whatsoever clime and with whatsoever *Sanskaras* he is born. They give the law of the eternal life of man and hence they are eternal. The truth in them may take new garb and appear in fragments in new cults ; yet the central truth is eternal. Man is not a sinner—he is a child of eternal bliss. He is destined to work out his self-realisation through a cycle of metempsychosis which leads a man only to the eternal bliss of *moksha*. Viewed in this light, metempsychosis ceases to be the prospect of a “dreary vista” that lies before a man of “death after death to be born that he may suffer and may die again”* and becomes the cheery journey towards a “heavenly destiny” where one is freed from all “the heavy and the weary weight of all this unintelligible world. This Emancipation is not, as it has been described, the hopeless prospect of loss and annulment of all that is good or desirable in a formless infinitude of Pure Being ; “it is not the falling of the drop into the infinite ocean, it is the whole ocean becoming free from the fetters of ice, returning from the frozen state to what it is really and has never ceased to be, to its own all-pervading eternal almighty nature.”†

Thus viewed, and to view it so we do not require to torture texts or wring out unforeseen meanings but to take it literally—Vedantism is a gospel of hope and love, of the universal brotherhood of man, of the dignity and divinity of the Ego of the principle which the great Fichte sought to recommend as his last words to his pupils : “All individuals are included in one great unity of pure spirit,” a principle that he considered as the fittest rounding off of his magnificent ethical philosophy.‡ Of this great gospel, Vivekananda was a very noble exponent and the more he is studied and appreciated by the people, the better it would be for the world ; for, as Denssen observes, “The Vedanta in its unfalsified form is the strongest sup-

*
वेदाङ्गेतम् पुरुषम् महान्तम् ।
आदित्य वर्षम् तमसः परस्तात् ।
यमेव विदित्वा अतिमृत्युमेति ।
नान्यः पन्था विद्यते अयमाय ॥

* Gough's *Philosophy of the Upanishads*.

† P. Denssen : *On the Philosophy of Vedanta in its Relation to Occidental Metaphysics*.

‡ Fichte : *The Science of Knowledge* : Translated by A. E. Kroeger : 1889 p. 336.

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port of pure morality, the greatest consolation in the sufferings of life and death " * and we may add a prolific source of all noble action.

We can only conclude this review with quoting the words of exhortation from the lips of Swami Vivekananda which at once epitomises his mission and serves as a most fitting appeal that one would like to make to the people of India as the message of a man than whom none felt more for the ancient land of ours. " Do not talk of wickedness of the world and all its sins. Weep that you are bound to see wickedness yet. Weep that you are bound to see sin everywhere, and, if you want to help the world, do not condemn it. Do not weaken it all the more. For what is sin and what is misery and what are all these but the results of weakness? The world has been made weaker and weaker every day by such teachings. Men are taught from childhood that they are weak and are sinners. Teach them that they are all glorious children of immortality, even those who are the weakest in manifestation. Let positive, strong, helpful thoughts enter into their brains from very childhood and not weakening and paralysing thoughts. Lay yourselves open to those thoughts. Tell your minds, ' I am He, I am He.' Let it ring day and night in your mind like a song and at the point of death declare ' I am He.' That is the truth ; the infinite strength of the world is yours. Drive out the superstition that has covered your minds. Let us be brave. Know the truth and practise the truth. *The goal may be distant but awake, arise and stop not till the desired goal is reached.*"

" उच्छिष्टं जायत ब्रह्म ब्रह्मिणेव । "

Nares Chandra Sen-Gupta

CHANDRA SEKHAR

[*Translated from Bengali* By Debendra Chandra Mullick, B.L.—Thacker, Spink & Co., Calcutta]

The place of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee in the Bengali literature is too well-known to require any note so late in the day. He was undoubtedly the greatest novelist that Bengal has ever produced. His illimitable style, the conception of his stories, his powers of expression and last, though not the least, his delineation of character are unparalleled in the annals of Bengali Literature.

* Denssen op. cit. p. 337.

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It was well said by an expert critic that the attempt at translating Bankim's novels into a foreign language was an extremely 'venture some task'. It gives us a good deal of pleasure to note that the translation under review has been highly successful in keeping up the sense of the original—a *desideratum* not often to be found in works of similar nature.

We welcome this publication from another point of view. Bankim's novels should be largely translated into the European languages in order to instil oriental thoughts and sentiments into the occidental intellect. Some of his other novels have long been translated into alien tongues and it would have been a pity had not *Chandra Sekhar*, perhaps the best of his romantic sketches, been done into English.

Mr. Mullick's rendering of *Chandra Sekhar* is pleasant reading and his style is good and expressive. Much of the beauty and humour of the original has also been preserved in this translation. We commend this English version of *Chandra Sekhar* to all who care to understand Eastern ideals and thought.

B. N. S.

LIST OF RECENT BOOKS ON INDIA & BURMAH

1. BUCKLAND, C. E., C. I. E.—The Dictionary of India Biography (Swan Sonnenschein & Co.)
 2. CHINTAMANI, C. Y.—The Speeches and Writings of Sir Pherozechah Mehta, K.C.I.E.—(The Indian Press, Allahabad : Rs. 6)
 3. DEL MAR, WALTER—India of To-day (with 32 full-page illustrations ; Crown 8vo., Rs. 5/4).
 4. FURTHER PAPERS RELATING TO THE RE-CONSTITUTION OF THE PROVINCES OF BENGAL AND ASSAM (Parliamentary Blue Book ; Foolsap : Re 1-12).
 5. GRIFFITH, M.—India's Princes (Short Life-Sketches of the Native Rulers of India ; Demy 4 to Rs. 5/-).
 6. HARBARD, BEATRICE M.—The Pen of Brahma (Peeps into Hindu Hearths and Homes : Rs. 3-2).
 7. HAVELL, E. B.—Benares.
 8. KENNEDY, PRINGLE—A History of the Great Moghuls or a History of the Badshahate of Delhi, from 1398 to 1739 A.D. (Volume I, Royal 8vo., Thacker, Spink & Co., Rs. 10/-).
 9. MENPES, MORTIMER—India (Text By Flora Anne Steel : Black's Colour Book Series ; 4 to, Rs. 17/8).
 10. STATISTICAL ABSTRACT RELATING TO BRITISH INDIA—From 1894 to 1903 (Parliamentary Blue Book ; Re. 1-2).
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ARTICLES ON INDIA IN OTHER REVIEWS

BRITISH & AMERICAN

1. BLACKWOOD'S MAGAZINE (November)—Lord Curzon—A great Viceroyalty
2. CHAUTAUQUAN MAGAZINE (October)—Some Modern Indian Idealists (Illustrated : By D. L. Pierson)
3. NATIONAL REVIEW (December)—Playing with Fire: Mr. Brodrick and Lord Curzon—By Sir John Strachey and Lieut-General Sir Richard Strachey
4. NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW (October)—Lord Curzon : By Anglo-Indian
5. OCCULT REVIEW (December)—Among the Adepts and Mystics of Hindostan (Illus) Dr. H. H. Hensoldt
6. OPEN COURT (October)—Modern India (Illus) By Christian Albers
7. OPEN COURT (Nov.)—Modern India (concluded)
8. POSITIVIST REVIEW (November)—Lord Curzon's Indian Career : By S. H. Swinny
9. RAILWAY MAGAZINE (Dec.)—The East Indian Railway (Illus) G. Huddleston
10. UNIVERSITY REVIEW (Nov.)—Indian University Problems : H. R. James
11. UNITED SERVICE MAGAZINE (November)—
 - (i) The Indian Army in Transition : *Punjabi*
 - (ii) The Indian Army as it is : Another *Punjabi*

FRENCH

1. NOUVELLE REVUE (Nov.)—India and the Anglo-Japanese Treaty : Rovire.
2. REVUE DES DEUX MONDES (October)—England in India : Paul Mimande
3. REVUE FRANCAISE DE L'ETRANGER ET DES COLONIES (October)—Lord Curzon : J. Joubert

SELECTIONS

EXTRACTS FROM THE HON. MR. G. K. GOKHALE'S PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS AT THE LAST CONGRESS

THE SWADESHI MOVEMENT

The devotion to motherland, which is enshrined in the highest *Swadeshi*, is an influence so profound and so passionate that its very thought thrills and its actual touch lifts one out of oneself. India needs to-day above everything else that the gospel of this devotion should be preached to high and low, to Prince and to peasant, in town and in hamlet, till the service of motherland becomes with us as overmastering a passion as it is in Japan. The *Swadeshi* movement, as it is ordinarily understood, presents one part of this gospel to the mass of our people in a form, which brings it within their comprehension. It turns their thoughts to their country, accustoms them to the idea of voluntarily making some sacrifice for her sake, enables them to take an intelligent interest in her economic development and teaches them the important lesson of co-operating with one another for a national end. All this is most valuable work, and those who undertake it are entitled to feel that they are engaged in a highly patriotic mission. But the movement on its material side is an economic one; and though self-denying ordinances, extensively entered into, must serve a valuable economic purpose, namely, to ensure a ready consumption of such articles as are produced in the country and to furnish a perpetual stimulus to production by keeping the demand for indigenous things largely in excess of the supply, the difficulties that surround the question economically are so great that they require the co-operation of every available agency to surmount them. The problem is indeed one of the first magnitude. Twelve years ago, the late Mr. Ranade remarked at an Industrial Conference held at Poona :— "The political domination of one country by another attracts far more attention than the more formidable, though unfelt domination, which the capital, enterprise and skill of one country exercise over the trade and manufactures of another. This latter domination has an insidious influence, which paralyzes the springs of all the varied activities, which together make up the life of a nation." The

question of production is a question of capital, enterprise and skill, and in all these factors, our deficiency at present is very great. Whoever can help in any one of these fields is, therefore, a worker in the *Swadeshi* cause and should be welcomed as such. Not by methods of exclusion but by those of comprehension, not by insisting on every one working in the same part of the field but by leaving each one free to select his own corner, by attracting to the cause all who are likely to help and not alienating any who are already with us, are the difficulties of the problem likely to be overcome. Above all, let us see to it that there are no fresh divisions in the country in the name of *Swadheshism*. No greater perversion of its true spirit could be imagined than that.

Take the question of cotton piece-goods, of which we import at present over 22 millions sterling worth a year. This is by far the heaviest item among our imports and our present *Swadeshi* agitation is directed mainly towards producing as much of these goods in our own country as possible. So far as cotton fabrics are concerned, even strict Free Traders should have nothing to say against the encouragement, which the *Swadeshi* movement seeks to give to their manufacture in India. In the first place, many of the usual objections that may be urged against a system of State protection do not apply to helpful voluntary action on the part of consumers, such as the *Swadeshi* movement endeavours to promote. Moreover, the essence of Free Trade is that a commodity should be produced where the comparative cost of its production is the least and that it should be consumed where its relative value is the highest ; and if accidental circumstances have thwarted such an adjustment in a given case, any agency, which seeks to overcome the impediment, works in the end in the interests of true Free Trade. Now everyone will admit that with cheap labour and cotton at her own door, India enjoys exceptional advantages for the manufacture of cotton goods ; and if the *Swadeshi* movement helps her to regain her natural position in this respect—a position which she once occupied but out of which she has been driven by an extraordinary combination of circumstances,—the movement works not against but in furtherance of true Free Trade. Even at present the Cotton Industry in India is an important one. It is the largest industry after agriculture in the country ; it is also the only one—agriculture excepted—in which the Indians themselves have a substantial share. It is represented by a paid up capital of about 17 crores of rupees or a little over 11 millions sterling, the number of mills being about 200, with five million spindles and fifty thousand power-looms. In addition to

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this, there are, according to the Census of 1901, about a quarter of a million persons engaged in handloom weaving in the country. Our mills consume nearly 60 per cent. of the cotton produce of India and produce 58 crore lbs. of yarn. Of this quantity, Mr. Vithaldas tells us, about $23\frac{1}{2}$ crore lbs. is exported to China and other foreign countries, about $13\frac{1}{2}$ crores is used in our weaving mills, and about 19 crores is woven by hand-loom weavers, the remaining 2 crores going to the manufacture of rope and twine. In addition to this, 3 crore lbs. of yarn is imported from the United Kingdom, and is consumed by the hand-looms. The hand-loom industry of the country thus absorbs, in spite of its hard struggles about 22 crore lbs. of yarn, or nearly double the quantity woven by power-looms, and this is a most interesting and significant fact. The yarn used by the weaving mills produces about 55 crores of yards of cloth, of which about 14 crore yards is exported to foreign countries and about 41 crores is left for consumption in the country. If we put down the production of the hand-looms at about 90 crore yards, we have about 130 crore yards as the quantity of *Swadeshi* cloth consumed at present in India.

The quantity of piece-goods imported from the United Kingdom and retained for use in the country is about 205 crore yards a year. Of the total cloth consumed, therefore, over one-third is at present *Swadeshi*. This is an encouraging feature of the situation. But the imported cloth is almost all superior in quality. "While our mills," Mr. Vithaldas says, "produce the coarser cloth, say from yarn up to 30s count and in a few cases up to 40s, the bulk of the imported cloth is of the finer quality, using yarn over 30s count. The Indian weaving mills are obliged to restrict themselves for the most part to weaving coarser cloth owing to the inferior quality of cotton now grown in the country." It may be noted that even from existing cotton, hand-looms can, owing to their greater delicacy of handling the yarn, produce finer cloth than the power-looms. Fortunately owing to the exertions of the Agricultural Department of the Bombay Government—exertions for which it is entitled to the best thanks of the whole country—Egyptian cotton has just been successfully introduced into Sind, and this year a thousand bales of a quality equal to very good Egyptian have been produced. A much heavier crop is expected next year and there is no doubt that its cultivation will rapidly extend. The main difficulty in the way of our manufacturing the quality of cloth that is at present imported is one of capital. Now if we turn to the Statistical Abstract of British India, we shall find that the total increase in the capital invested in cotton mills

during the last ten years has been only about 3 crores. Capital from other quarters must, therefore, be induced to come forward and undertake this business. If we again turn to the Statistical Abstract, we shall find that our people hold about 50 crores of rupees in Government Securities and about 11 crores in Postal Savings Banks. In the Presidency and other Banks, the private deposits stand at about 33 crores of rupees, but there are no means of ascertaining how much of the amount is held by Indians. Considering the extent of the country and the numbers of the population, these resources are, of course, extremely meagre. Still they might furnish some part of the capital needed. In this connection, may I say that a special responsibility now rests in the matter on the Aristocracy of Bengal ! And this is not merely because the *Swadeshi* movement is being so vigorously advocated in their Province, but also because owing to the Permanent Settlement of Bengal they are enabled to enjoy resources, which, in other parts of India, are swept into the coffers of the State.

OUR AIMS AND ASPIRATIONS

Gentlemen, this is the twenty-first session of the Indian National Congress. Year after year, since 1885, we have been assembling in these gatherings to give voice to our aspirations and to formulate our wants. When the movement was first inaugurated, we were under the influence of that remarkable outburst of enthusiasm for British Rule, which had been evoked in the country by the great Viceroyalty of the Marquis of Ripon. That best beloved of India's Viceroys was not content to offer mere lip-homage to the principle that righteousness alone exalteth a nation. He had dared to act on it in practice and he had braved persecution at the hands of his own countrymen in India for its sake. Lord Ripon's noblest service to this country was that he greatly quickened the processes by which the consciousness of a national purpose comes to establish itself in the minds of a people. The Congress movement was the direct and immediate outcome of this realization. It was started to focus and organize the patriotic forces that were working independently of one another in different parts of the country so as to invest their work with a national character and to increase their general effectiveness. Hope at that time was warm and faith shone bright, largely as a result of Lord Ripon's Viceroyalty, and those who started the Congress believed that by offering their criticism and urging their demands from a national platform, where they could speak in the name of all India, they would be able to secure a continuous improvement of the administration and a steady advance in the direction

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of the political emancipation of the people. Twenty years have since elapsed and during the time much has happened to chill that hope and dim that faith, but there can be no doubt that work of great value in our national life has already been accomplished. The minds of the people have been familiarized with the idea of a united India working for her salvation ; a national public opinion has been created ; close bonds of sympathy now knit together the different Provinces ; caste and creed separations hamper less and less the pursuit of common aims ; the dignity of a consciousness of national existence has spread over the whole land. Our record of political concessions won is, no doubt, very meagre, but those that have been secured are of considerable value ; some retrogression has been prevented ; and if latterly we have been unable to stem the tide of reaction, the resistance we have offered, though it has failed of its avowed purpose, has substantially strengthened our public life. Our deliberations have extended over a very wide range of problems ; public opinion in the country is in consequence, better informed, and the Press is steadily growing in authority and usefulness. Above all, there is a general perception now of the goal towards which we have to strive and a wide recognition of the arduous character of the struggle and the immense sacrifices it requires.

The goal of the Congress is that India should be governed in the interests of the Indians themselves, and that in course of time a form of Government should be attained in this country similar to what exists in the self-governing Colonies of the British Empire. For better, for worse, our destinies are now linked with those of England and the Congress freely recognises that whatever advance we seek be must within the Empire itself. That advance, moreover, can only be gradual, as at each stage of the progress it may be necessary for us to pass through a brief course of apprenticeship before we are enabled to go to the next one ; for it is a reasonable proposition that the sense of responsibility, required for the proper exercise of the free political institutions of the West, can be acquired by an Eastern people through practical training and experiment only. To admit this is not to express any agreement with those who usually oppose all attempts at reform on the plea that the people are not ready for it. "It is liberty alone," says Mr. Gladstone in words of profound wisdom, "which fits men for liberty. This proposition, like every other in politics, has its bounds ; but it is far safer than the counter doctrine, wait till they are fit." While, therefore, we are prepared to allow that an advance towards our goal may be only by

reasonably cautious steps, what we emphatically insist on is that the resources of the country should be primarily devoted to the work of qualifying the people, by means of Education and in other ways, for such advance. Even the most bigoted champion of the existing system of administration will not pretend that this is in any degree the case at present. Our net revenue is about 44 millions sterling. Of this very nearly one-half is now eaten up by the army. The Home Charges, exclusive of their military portion, absorb nearly one-third. These two, between them, account for about 34 millions out of 44. Then over 3 millions are paid to European officials in civil employ. This leaves only about 7 millions at the disposal of the Government to be applied to other purposes. Can any one, who realises what this means, wonder that the Government spends only a miserable three-quarters of a million out of State funds on the education of the people—primary, secondary and higher, all put together! Japan came under the influence of Western ideas only forty years ago, and yet already she is in a line with the most advanced nations of the West in matters of mass education, the State finding funds for the education of every child of school-going age. We have now been a hundred years under England's rule, and yet to-day four villages out of every five are without a school house and seven children out of eight are allowed to grow up in ignorance and in darkness! Militarism, Service interests and the interests of English capitalists,—all take precedence to-day of the true interests of the Indian people in the administration of the country. Things cannot be otherwise, for it is the Government of the people of one country by the people of another, and this, as Mill points out, is bound to produce great evils. Now the Congress wants that all this should change and that India should be governed, first and foremost, in the interests of the Indians themselves. This result will be achieved only in proportion as we obtain more and more voice in the government of our country. We are prepared to bear—and bear cheerfully—our fair share of the burdens of the Empire, of which we are now a part, but we want to participate in the privileges also, and we object most strongly to being sacrificed, as at present in order that others may prosper. Then the Congress asks for a redemption of those promises for the equal treatment of Indians and Englishmen in the Government of this country, which have been so solemnly given us by the Sovereign and the Parliament of England. It is now three-quarters of a century since the Parliament passed an Act, which the Court of Directors pointed out, meant that there was to be no governing caste in India. The governing caste, however, is still

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as vigorous, as exclusive as ever. Twenty-five years later, the late Queen-Empress addressed a most memorable Proclamation to the Princes and people of India. The circumstances, connected with the issue of that Proclamation, and its noble contents will always bear witness to the true greatness of that great sovereign and will never cease to shed lustre on the English name. The Proclamation repeats the pledges contained in the Charter Act of 1833, and though an astounding attempt was made less than two years ago by the late Viceroy to explain away its solemn import, the plain meaning of the royal message cannot be altered without attributing what is nothing less than an unworthy subterfuge to a Sovereign, the deep reverence for whose memory is an asset of the Empire. That the Charter Act of 1833 and the Queen's Proclamation of 1858 have created in the eyes of reactionary rulers a most inconvenient situation is clear from a blunt declaration, which another Viceroy of India, the late Lord Lytton, made in a confidential document, which has since seen the light of day. Speaking of our claims and expectations based on the pledges of the Sovereign and the Parliament of England, he wrote :—"We all know that these claims and expectations never can or will be fulfilled. We have had to choose between prohibiting them (the Natives of India) and cheating them and we have chosen the least straight-forward course. . . . Since I am writing confidentially, I do not hesitate to say that both the Governments of England and of India appear to me, up to the present moment, unable to answer satisfactorily the charge of having taken every means in their power of breaking to the heart the words of promise they had uttered to the ear." We accept Lord Lytton as an unimpeachable authority on the conduct of the Government in evading the fulfilment of the pledges. We deny his claim to lay down that our "claims and expectations never can or will be fulfilled."

Our whole future, it is needless to say, is bound up with this question of the relative positions of the two races in this country. The domination of one race over another—especially when there is no great disparity between their intellectual endowments or their general civilization—inflicts great injury on the subject race in a thousand insidious ways. On the moral side, the present situation is steadily destroying our capacity for initiative and dwarfing us as men of action. On the material side, it has resulted in a fearful impoverishment of the people. For a hundred years and more now, India has been, for members of the dominant race, a country where fortunes were to be made, to be taken out and spent elsewhere. As

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in Ireland the evil of absentee landlordism has in the past aggravated the racial domination of the English over the Irish, so in India what may be called absentee capitalism has been added to the racial ascendancy of Englishmen. A great and ruinous drain of wealth from the country has gone on for many years, the net excess of exports over imports (including treasure) during the last forty years amounting to no less than a thousand millions sterling. The steady rise in the death rate of the country—from 24 per thousand, the average for 1882—84, to 30 per thousand, the average for 1892—94, and 34 per thousand, the present average,—is a terrible and conclusive proof of this continuous impoverishment of the mass of our people. India's best interests—material and moral—no less than the honour of England, demand that the policy of equality for the two races promised by the Sovereign and by Parliament should be faithfully and courageously carried out.

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In a speech made in London shortly after Lord Curzon's appointment to the Viceroyalty of India, he explained his readiness to undertake the exile, the toil, and the responsibility of that great office in these words: "I accepted it because I love India, its people, its history, its Government, the absorbing mysteries of its civilisations and its life." In this sentence is summed up the underlying explanation of Lord Curzon's connection with our eastern dependency, it gives the key-note of his whole administration which prompted alike his internal reforms and his foreign policy. Ardent sympathy with India, with the dumb millions of its population, with the fascination of its past and the great possibilities of its future,—this has been the mainspring of his energy, the motive of his every word and deed since he landed at Bombay nearly seven years ago. This it is which we must bear in mind if we would truly understand the secret of his success, the cause even of his mistakes and failures. This it is which has mainly contributed to the achievement by him of a position on a plane entirely different from that of all but a very few of his predecessors. For how different was the spirit in which he approached India from that of most of the public men who have held the Viceroyalty! As he himself has told the world, the great problem of Asia, the wonderful mystery of India, had thrown its spell over him since the days of his boyhood at Eton, and had furnished the most engrossing study of his life; he had given the best

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powers of his early manhood to making himself acquainted with the details of its history and its ethics, its past, its present, and the promise of its future ; while yet fresh from Oxford he had dreamed of holding that great position, when his official home would be the white Government House of Calcutta, modelled on his childhood's home at Kedleston. In short he had set this before him as the foremost goal of his public life. Compare this with the record of Lord Dufferin. Of him we read that he applied indeed for the post of Viceroy of India while yet a young man, but merely because he did not " see much chance of any opening occurring " at home and was therefore " forced to look abroad." The dignity of high office, it mattered not much whether it was in India or in Canada, attracted him, but no special love for or fascination of the East turned his eyes in that direction ; and when at length the tide of fortune brought him to the shores of India, it was no particular enthusiasm for the country which animated him during his four years of arduous and not wholly congenial toil. Lord Curzon's enthusiasm may have partaken somewhat of the Utopian dreams of youth, too roseate to be fully realised ; but who shall say that this fault, if fault it be, was not on the right side, or that the sympathy which it engendered with the people over whom he ruled has not already borne fruit, to the consolidation of our Indian empire ? " If I were asked," he once declared, " what appears to me to be the secret of the proper treatment of those (frontier) tribes, or of Oriental races in general I would reply that it consists in treating them as if they were men of like composition with ourselves." He was not slow in applying this doctrine of sympathy to every one of the many sides of his work in India. It is the underlying principle of the frontier policy which will long be associated with his name. Indeed, it may be said that even before the idea of his ever becoming Viceroy had taken definite shape, this principle and this policy were foreshadowed in his travels along the borders of India and in his letters from those lands, then seething with fanatical and internecine strife. As far back as 1894, when we were on the verge of our troubles in Chitral, he wrote from that place to ' The Times ' that he was confident he could effect more by an hour's talk with the Khan of Dir than had been achieved by months and years of formal correspondence. So, too, in regard to all his dealings with the native princes of India. Probably no Viceroy ever was so genuinely trusted and looked up to by them as the real and responsible representative of the paramount power ; certainly no other ever did so much, or succeeded so well, in gaining their confidence by personally visiting them, by making

himself acquainted with their individual views and their various needs, by unaffected and obviously sincere sympathy with their position, their aspirations, and their troubles. Such measures as the foundation of the Imperial Cadet Corps, and the employment on field-service of the Imperial Service Troops in line with our regular regiments (an innovation which gave intense satisfaction in all the States concerned), are instances which may be cited of the reality of Lord Curzon's interest in the development of the native States and their rulers ; the unmistakeable loyalty of the princes at the great coronation Durbar, and the expressions of genuine regret at his departure which have poured in from every side, whether from the far-off Mehtar of wild Chitral or from the cultivated and liberal ruler of Gwalior, are sufficient proof of his success, and of the bonds with which he has strengthened our empire in the East.

If we turn to Lord Curzon's treatment of the many measures of internal reform which have been dealt with during the strenuous years of his Viceroyalty, we find on every side the expression of the same ever-present sentiment of sympathy with India and its people. Above all is this sympathy shown with " the patient, humble millions toiling at the well and at the plough, knowing little budgets, but very painfully aware of the narrow margin between sufficiency and indigence. It is to them," he exclaimed, in one of the last and most illuminating of his speeches in India—" it is to them that my heart goes out." Nor is the same feeling absent even from those speeches which have most aroused discussion and hostility by reason of their blunt directness and their criticism and exposure of the foibles prevalent among educated natives, especially in Bengal. If there is one thing more than another to which Lord Curzon is hostile, it is superficiality and sham ; and it was because of his earnest desire to see the people of India develop and advance, because, too, of his confident belief in the possibility of their development, that, when he saw them moving on wrong lines, following false ideals under the guise of education, he not only set about correcting and controlling the direction of their development by means of legislation in regard to educational matters, but also lost no opportunity of impressing on them what paths they should follow, what errors they should avoid. " What are the perils," he asked in one of his Convocation addresses at the Calcutta University, " against which you have to be on your guard ? I think that they are two in number. The first of these is the dull and lifeless performance of duty. . . . The second is the corollary of the first. You must not only learn to be self-reliant, but you must be thorough.

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. . . Efficiency is the final test, and self-reliance is the golden rule." In the same spirit was that address delivered before the same body last February, when he inculcated the importance of truthfulness in every walk of life, and warned his hearers against that tendency to untruthfulness which manifests itself in the insidious forms of flattery and vituperation. The exaggerated indignation aroused by the very moderate terms of this address amongst the so-called babu class of Bengal and Madras was as characteristic of the sensitive vanity of "young India" as its delivery was indicative of Lord Curzon's fearlessness in the attack of whatever seems to him to be deserving of censure.

"Nothing is easier," he said on a former occasion, "than for a speaker to flatter his audience. I think I could without difficulty construct a catalogue of Indian virtues, for I know them both by contact and repute. You might applaud, but you would not go away any the wiser. . . . I want you rather to see the dangers to which you are liable." Finally, "Avoid superficiality ; put your soul into your work ; be strenuous, and assuredly you will not fail of honour in your own time and country."

Certainly he has never failed to practise the precepts which he preached. "My view of every question," he declared in addressing the Calcutta Chamber of Commerce in February 1903, "is that the way to deal with it is to understand it, and the way to understand it is to dig down to the bed-rock of concrete fact and experience." This sentence gives us an epitome of the manner of Lord Curzon's work in India, just as his declaration of faith before he left England indicated the spirit which has ever prompted that work. The range of his inquiries and investigations, the extent of the reforms and legislation undertaken by him, are astonishing ; but far more astounding is the grasp which he has displayed of every subject however intricate it might be, the knowledge of detail however small, and yet at the same time, the breadth and liberality of his view. Well might he claim, when he left India last year, "Reform has been carried through every branch and department of the administration ; abuses have been swept away, anomalies remedied, the pace quickened, and standards raised." There lies the secret of his immediate success. Great as have been many of the reforms which he has carried through, their full effect will not, in many cases, be realised for years to come, by reason of their very greatness and far-reaching character ; but the influence of Lord Curzon's indomitable will, energetic enthusiasm, and vigorous intellect had made themselves felt in India before he had been a year in the country ; there

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is not a department of the State but has been galvanised and vivified by that all-pervading energy. "The pace has been quickened, the standard raised."

Let it not be supposed that the noble sentiments which ushered in this great Viceroyalty, and with which from time to time during the last seven years the Viceroy has expounded the principles of government, were words only, unsupported by a substantial edifice of deeds accomplished. It is impossible here to attempt to deal in detail with the many and varied measures that have been undertaken and brought to maturity, but some of the more important and striking may be briefly reviewed, and these will suffice to show how fully Lord Curzon's love of India, its people, and its history has borne fruit in the results of his administration.

Soon after he assumed office he took occasion to inform his Council that he had already compiled a list of twelve important reforms to which he hoped to address himself while in India ; two years later, when some of the twelve had already been dealt with, he enumerated the whole list, and indicated the action which he proposed to take on those which had not yet been touched. Since that time the original twelve have all been disposed of, and the number of important measures to which Lord Curzon has addressed himself has been doubled and even trebled ; but the original dozen contain some of the most striking as well as the most important, and from amongst them most of our instances may be drawn.

Foremost in importance—according to the Viceroy's own classification, which no one is likely to dispute—was "the creation and pursuit of a sound Frontier Policy." Every one will remember that in 1897 several years of almost continuous disturbance and warfare on the Punjab frontier culminated in an outbreak which extended from Waziristan in the west to Swat and Buner in the north, which was prolonged for a period of nearly nine months, and was so serious as to necessitate the employment of a very large proportion of the available field army of India. The fanaticism and fury of this outbreak were undoubtedly the direct consequence of the policy with regard to Chitral, but beyond this was the equally fatal fact that for years the Government of India had had no definite or continuous policy at all with regard to the frontier. The advocates respectively of the "forward policy" and the "Lawrence policy" argued interminably and prevailed by turns. When the former were in the ascendant, the British soldier "trailed his coat" in isolated outposts, from the Black Mountain to the Gomal Valley ; when the other side in turn obtained the upper hand, a general

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scuttle from all outlying positions proclaimed to the tribesmen the nervousness of the party in power. When Lord Curzon assumed the Viceroyalty, the "forward policy" was the order of the day, and he found that small British garrisons were holding isolated positions, all more or less untenable against serious attack, in the Swat Valley, in the Khyber, in Kurram, on the Samana, and in Waziristan. As he himself put the case when revising his policy last year: "We seemed likely once more to tread the vicious circle that has beguiled us so often before." One of his first cares was to inaugurate the policy on which he had already set his heart, and which he has summed up in these principles: "Withdrawal of British forces from advanced positions; employment of tribal forces in the defence of tribal country; concentration of British forces in British territory behind them, as a safeguard and a support; and improvement of communications in rear." The novel and striking feature of this policy was the employment of tribal forces to hold that tribal country which had hitherto been occupied only by small detachments of British troops. It was the application to the frontier of the principles of conciliation, of treating the frontier tribes with sympathy and with confidence, "as if they were men of like composition with ourselves," to which Lord Curzon had already expressed his adherence. It was an experiment not without risk, and many were found to prophesy its failure. But, nothing daunted by gloomy prognostications, the Viceroy proceeded to carry out his scheme. Frontier levies and tribal militias were raised, officered by Englishmen, and gradually replaced the British garrisons all along the frontier. Of course there were difficulties and checks here and there, but there has been no serious breakdown in the pursuance of the policy. For seven years there has been no tribal outbreak, nor any military operations worthy of the name, and when it is stated that between 1852 and 1898 scarcely any consecutive two years passed without such outbreaks or operations, it will at least be conceded that Lord Curzon's frontier policy bids fair to prove more successful than what went before it.

Closely connected with that policy was the partition of the Punjab, and the creation of the North-West Frontier Province—a measure which was strongly opposed at the time, and the necessity form which is still denied by many. Lord Curzon's object was to bring the question of the defence of the frontier more directly under the Government of India than could be the case when the authority of a local administration intervened, and this object has successfully been attained, and with good political results. His opponents

declare that the new province has too small an administration to give opportunities for healthy life, and that internal development will be sacrificed to the more interesting duties of political charge. The point is not one which need be argued here, nor is it of an importance at all comparable with the question of the preservation of peace on the Indian borders and the establishment of good relations with the frontier tribes. If, as seems likely, Lord Curzon's policy shall prove to have solved this difficult problem, it may be counted as one of his principal triumphs.

Another reform which is prominent amongst the measures of the last seven years, in view of its effect upon the prosperity of India, is the establishment in that country of a gold standard. Most people at home have heard something more or less vaguely of the depreciation of the rupee and the consequent losses to India, but no one who was not in the East some twelve to eighteen years ago can at all realise what these words mean. The continuous and incalculable fluctuations in the value of the rupee from day to day were not only fraught with incessant inconvenience to traders and even to private persons in the relations of daily life,—worse than this, they resulted in an atmosphere of uncertainty and instability in all commercial matters which was fatal to economic progress ; and, above all, this unfortunate instability so discredited India in the eyes of owners of capital at home that it was impossible to induce them to put money into undertakings in that country, however profitable, and all industrial and commercial development was starved for want of funds. Then, in 1893, came the closing of the Indian mints, which up to that time had been open to the free and unlimited coinage of silver. This measure, undertaken by Lord Lansdowne on the advice of his able finance minister Sir David Barbour, was the first step towards the recovery of the situation, and paved the way for Lord Curzon's legislation of 1899, by which a gold standard was established and the currency system started that, in the course of a few months, practically fixed the exchange value of the rupee at 16d. Since that time Lord Curzon has gone further, and has created a gold reserve fund which has risen from three millions in 1900 to nearly seven millions in 1904 ; while the currency reserve fund, which is intended to secure the stability of the Indian note circulation and to meet any demand for gold, has now reached the considerable total of upwards of ten and a half millions sterling. No measures or reforms have done more than these to improve the credit and the financial position of India. The distrust which formerly existed has not yet been wholly laid to rest, and British capitalists have not yet come to

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appreciate what a rich field for enterprise exists in our great dependency. In no quarter is that "colossal ignorance" concerning India, about which Mr George Wyndham spoke last session, more marked than amongst our financiers ; but that this ignorance will ere long be dispelled cannot be doubted, and to this end the financial policy of Lord Curzon has already largely contributed.

Nor was his currency reform the only direction in which Lord Curzon assisted the commercial development of India. The attainment of this object has been constantly prominent amongst his schemes of improvement as well as amongst his less public acts during his tenure of office. He spared no pains to bring the mineral and commercial wealth of the country to the notice of a wider public than that existing in the East. By personal effort he facilitated relations between the Government and the commercial community, he quickened the somewhat ponderous procedure of Government offices, and laboured "to purge the administration from the reproach of dilatoriness or indifference to commercial development." More than this, by the imposition during the first few months of his Viceroyalty of countervailing duties on imported sugar in order to protect the indigenous sugar industry from the overwhelming competition of State-aided beet sugar from continental Europe ; by the passing of an Act for the better control and regulation of mines ; by the institution of a Mining Department, and the issue of more liberal mining rules ; by the development of the coal industry and by measures for facilitating its carriage ; and by various efforts to open up new trade relations between India and her neighbours, or to improve those already existing,—by all these measures has Lord Curzon evinced his sympathy with the commercial classes of India and endeavoured to assist and develop its industries. Finally the present year has witnessed the accomplishment of a reform for which he has laboured for some time past, namely, the constitution of a new department of Government, under a separate Member of Council, for the special purpose of dealing with all matters connected with Commerce and Industry. This measure promises to have important results. "We must have special departments," Lord Curzon declared in 1903, "and special men over them, to deal with special jobs, instead of allowing technical subjects to be dealt with at the end of a day's work by a tired-out civilian."

This enlistment of the services of specialists is a noticeable feature of the late Viceroy's policy. It has been applied to Education, Architecture, Archæology, and—most important of all—to Agriculture. It has already been remarked that Lord Curzon's

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enthusiastic and active sympathy was shown to none more warmly than to the vast masses of the agricultural population. No one also recognised more clearly than he how much the prosperity of those classes, "the bone and sinew of our strength" as he called them, means to the prosperity of India. During his first year in India he was confronted with a famine which, within the range of its incidence, was the severest that the country had ever known. We cannot here go into the statistics of this terrible visitation, but an idea of its extent and its severity may be gathered from the statements that it affected an area of 400,000 square miles, and a population of 60 millions. "It was not merely a crop failure, but a fodder famine on an enormous scale, followed in many parts by a positive devastation of cattle—both plough cattle, buffaloes, and milch kine. In other words, it affected, and may almost be said to have annihilated, the working capital of the agricultural classes." Moreover, it followed so closely upon the prolonged famine of 1896-97, and in so many cases affected the same area, that the distress, destitution, and disease which it occasioned were greatly aggravated. Coming as it did when the eyes of English people all over the world were fixed with deep anxiety and concern upon the war in South Africa, it attracted less attention and enlisted less sympathy at home than would at any other time have been the case; but in India it engrossed the whole attention of Government, and placed a terrible strain upon Indian resources and officials. That it was combated with a success and an energy unsurpassed—nay, more, unprecedented—in Indian history, was due no less to the personal efforts of the Viceroy than to the experience gained from the unhappy lessons of the previous few years. It hardly needs to be added that this energetic action was fully equalled by the heartfelt sympathy of the rulers of India. In a statement of extraordinary interest, in which at the end of the famine Lord Curzon reviewed its statistics and described the relief measures which had been taken, there occur these memorable passages:—

"Every man, woman, and child who has perished in India in the present famine has been a burden upon my heart and upon that of the Government. Their sufferings have never been absent from our thoughts. . . . There has never been a famine when the general mortality has been less, when the distress has been more amply or swiftly relieved, or when Government and its officers have given themselves with a more whole-hearted devotion to the saving of life and the service of the people. . . . It is with the object of demonstrating to the Indian public that, in the administration of the recent famine, we have not been unworthy of our trust, and that the year of strain and suffering will not have passed by without our profiting by its lessons, that I have made this speech."

That these words contained no empty boast is proved by the statistics of the famine. That their promise for the future was

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equally real has been shown in many ways during Lord Curzon's Viceroyalty. Immediately after the famine a commission of inquiry was appointed under Sir Antony MacDonnel, to examine the methods of famine prevention and relief, and to put forward proposals for future guidance. As a result—

“There is no branch of the subject of famine relief, famine administration and still more famine prevention, which has not been diligently ransacked and explored; and there is no portion of the recommendations submitted to us by the able chairman and his lieutenants which has not been discussed with the local governments, and been already made, or, if not, is about to be made, the subject of definite orders . . . The value of the revised (famine) codes will only be seen when the next struggle comes. Then they will be found to provide the armament with which each local government in India will fight the battle.”

Closely allied to this problem of famine prevention, and equally important in the interests of the agricultural population, is the great question of the extension of irrigation—a question which involves not only the safety of millions of the people in years of drought, but also the extension of agricultural enterprise and the expansion of agricultural production of India by converting thousands of acres of hitherto barren waste into fertile fields. The extension of canal irrigation has been favoured by the Government of India for many years past. It was a subject in which Lord Elgin displayed special interest, but to which he was unable to devote as much pecuniary support as he would have liked, owing to the constant drain of military operations and of famine, which added so greatly to the difficulties of his administration. Lord Curzon, after the first terrible experience of 1899-1900, was fortunate in experiencing in India years of prosperity and plenty, and he was not slow to take advantage of these favourable circumstances in the direction of extending irrigated areas and developing the railway system, as well as by considerably lightening the burdens of taxation on the labouring and industrial classes. But he went further than this. A commission to investigate the possibilities of irrigation and of water storage was appointed in 1901 under Sir Colin Scott Moncrieff. The report of that commission, submitted after an inquiry extending over eighteen months, has been exhaustively and carefully considered by Government, with the result that a scheme of widely extended operations has now been prepared and matured, to be put into execution in the near future.

Lord Curzon's further measures of agricultural reform such as the Punjab Land Alienation Act, and his endeavours to secure throughout India greater elasticity in the collection of land revenue, are perhaps too local in their interest or too technical to appeal to readers at home, although to our great Indian empire they are of an

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importance commensurate with the immense interests involved in the prosperity of the agricultural classes. The first mentioned item of legislation has been so much criticised that we may pause for a moment to notice it. It is designed to prevent the alienation of the land, owing to the gradual increase of agricultural indebtedness, from the hands of its traditional owners, the yeomen and peasant proprietors, who fill the ranks of our Indian army, and are in every respect, as has already been quoted, "the bone and sinew of our strength," and its acquisition by the money-lending and shop-keeping classes. This process of land alienation has become constantly more threatening during the last twenty-five years, until it endangered the prosperity and even the existence of the most vigorous and valuable class of the community. The Act passed by Lord Curzon's government limits the periods of mortgages on land, and restricts the alienation of land to others than *bonâ-fide* cultivators. The measure has been attacked as an instance of unnecessary and hasty legislation, interfering with the rights of property, and calculated to impair the credit and wealth of the land-owning class. The latter prognostications can only be disproved by the lapse of time. So far, at least, the measure promises to be beneficial in its results. As to the necessity for some such legislation the balance of expert opinion is entirely on Lord Curzon's side; while in reply to any charge of rashness or want of consideration, the period over which the discussion of this difficult problem has extended, a period of twenty-five or thirty years, may be quoted as ample disproof of the justice of such assertions.

Space does not permit of more than a passing mention of other improvements connected with agriculture—the establishment of a scientific agricultural research institute (due to the munificence of an American visitor to India, Mr. Phipps,) the strengthening of the Veterinary Department, and the creation of a scientific Board of Advice. Nor is it necessary to do more than name the reform effected in railway administration, the immense increase in the productiveness of railways, the cheapening of telegraphic charges both on inland lines and between India and Europe, and the reform of the system of education in all its branches. Something more than such cursory notice might well be given to the question of police reform, a subject which so closely affects the welfare of every individual of the two hundred and thirty millions of people in British India. The subject is, however, too large to be dealt with here. It was examined—as in the case of education, railways, irrigation, and famine—by a special commission, whose report has formed the basis

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for extensive and far-reaching measures of improvement. In this connection Lord Curzon's remarks regarding the reasons and objects of all these commissions may be quoted. "I can quite believe," he said in the budget discussion of March 1902, "that there will be people who will say that the present administration is earning a strange and abnormal repute, as one of Commissions, Committees, and inquiries. The charge is quite true. I do not for one moment dispute it. . . . The object of all these inquiries is in every case the same—viz., to arrive at the truth." Here we have again the principle so characteristic of Lord Curzon's methods—to do nothing without thorough and careful research, to understand a question completely in order to deal with it adequately, and in order to understand it "to dig down to the bed-rock of concrete fact and experience."

There remains one of the original twelve tasks set himself by Lord Curzon which should be noticed before we leave these questions of internal reform. This is the attention which he gave to the preservation of ancient monuments and historic buildings. Its principal manifestations were the appointment of a specialist as Director of Archaeology, and the passing of an Act for the "Preservation of Ancient Monuments and objects of archaeological, historical, and artistic interest." This measure, so characteristic of Lord Curzon's many-sidedness, so indicative of his love for the past history of India, aroused no controversy and attracted but little notice at the moment. But its importance must not be measured by such a criterion as this. No one will dispute the principle on which it is based, that the care of a nation's historic buildings is closely bound up by ties of history, sentiment and expediency with the people's interests and that it is amongst the prominent obligations of a Government. Moreover the enactment of such a measure in India is of more than indirect interest to the people of Great Britain. Year by year, in constantly increasing numbers, visitors from home make the voyage to India intent on exploring its wonders and viewing the treasures of archaeology and art which it has to show. It will be well if some of these recognise a tithe of the debt which they owe to Lord Curzon in this matter. Who that has seen the incomparable beauty of the Taj, surrounded by acres of sandy waste ground and approached through a squalid bazar, but must be ever grateful to the hand that has cleared the entrance courts of all mean and unsightly features, and has turned the surroundings into a green and undulating park? Who that visited the exquisite little tomb of Itmad-ud-Dowlah, near Agra, any time up to

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half a dozen or so years ago and beheld it smothered in a tangled maze of overgrown shrubs and weeds, but must delight to find it now set in well-ordered and grassy lawns, whose greenness serves to emphasise the delicacy of the fabric? A similar work is in progress or about to be undertaken round the beautiful Mogul palace at Delhi, the tombs and mosques of Lahore, and the deserted city of Fatehpur Sikri; with equal care and reverence other relics of the past throughout India are being tended and cared for, and if this alone were Lord Curzon's claim to gratitude, both from Indians and from lovers of art all over the world, it would be due to him in no small degree, in that he has been mainly instrumental in enabling our generation "to expiate the carelessness of the past and escape the reproaches of posterity."

It has been said that the debt which the empire owes to Lord Curzon for the work of his Indian Viceroyalty will not be fully known until the history of the foreign relations of India during that period is made public. This much is, however, already known to the world, that both in his speeches and by his deeds he never failed to maintain the integrity and the prestige of the great empire of which India is no longer merely an ornament, "the brightest jewel of the imperial crown," but the strategic frontier where lies, in Lord Curzon's words, "the true fulcrum of dominion the real touchstone of our Imperial greatness." One of his earliest duties was to assert our rights and maintain our paramount position in the Persian Gulf, and his visit two years ago to the same great highway of Indian commerce—the first visit ever paid to those waters by a Governor-General of India—was strikingly successful in securing the same object. The tour in question attracted far more attention throughout the world than is usually paid to the movements of the Viceroy through the territories of India. Its meaning was not difficult to find, and was as patent to the Arab chiefs who assembled at the seaports to do honour to the representative of the suzerain power, as it was to those great powers of Europe who watched from a distance, each eager to take advantage of an error of judgment or a sign of weakness. But they watched in vain. Lord Curzon's capacity for managing difficult and delicate affairs was never shown to better advantage. His discretion was as marked as was the decision and firmness with which he expounded to the assembled chiefs the fixed determination of British policy. "We are not going to throw away this century of costly and triumphant enterprise," he declared; "we shall not wipe out the most unselfish page in history. The peace of these waters must still be maintained ;

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your independence will continue to be upheld, and the influence of the British Government must remain supreme."

The recent mission to Kabul under Sir Louis Dane is still fresh in men's minds. It has been attacked in many quarters, and its assailants have scoffed at it as a failure. Those who express these views show little knowledge of the circumstances. Since Abdur-Rahman's death various small difficulties had arisen between the Governments of India and Kabul. Comparatively insignificant though these were individually, yet the previous history of our relations with Afghanistan furnished proof only too clear of the ease with which such matters may be exaggerated until the breach occasioned by them becomes too wide to be bridged. To clear up these difficulties and to re-establish those perfectly friendly relations which prevailed during the lifetime of the old Amir were the important objects of the mission, and these objects were fully attained. Whatever hopes the Government of India may have entertained of establishing close commercial relations with Kabul by means of telegraphic communication or railways, it is certain that Lord Curzon is far too well versed in the foreign politics of the past to lay himself open to a rebuff by putting forward unasked any definite proposals for changes of the sort. It is clear that the Amir has no desire for such closer relations either with us or with Russia. One point there is which, if obtainable, would have been of tangible value both to ourselves and to our ally—namely, some method of ensuring that our annual subsidy shall—as was its original purpose—be spent upon strengthening the military defences of Afghanistan and rendering it more secure against attack. But in view of the very open terms of the Durand agreement, it is difficult to see how such an object was to be achieved. That Sir Louis Dane was not able to make conditions in this and in other similar respects was no fault of his or of Lord Curzon.

Lord Curzon's attitude with regard to Afghanistan has been the same in all essentials as that which has been described in regard to the Persian Gulf, and the same as he himself outlined in such striking words when speaking of the difficulties with Tibet :—

"I have had no desire to push on anywhere," he said, "and the history of the past five years has been one, not of aggression, but of consolidation and restraint. It is enough for me to guard what we have without hankering for more. But I would suffer any imputation sooner than be an unfaithful sentinel at my post, or allow the future peace of the country to be compromised by encroachment from the outside as to whose meaning there cannot be any question."

The consideration of Lord Curzon's attitude in regard to foreign politics brings us naturally to the question of his administration of the army of India. This is no occasion, nor have we space, to enter

into the details of the controversy which has resulted in India being deprived prematurely of one of the most able Viceroys who ever held the reins of supreme government ; but a few words are required to deal with his treatment of military reforms and improvements. In the India Office despatch of May last, which announced the decision of his Majesty's Government in the matter of military administration, Mr Brodrick went so far as to twit the Government of India with having omitted to spend on military measures some of the surplus revenue which had accrued during the previous five years. Never was a charge more unjustly made. In no previous administration has money been spent more freely or provided more readily for army purposes. Additions on an unprecedented scale to the number of British officers in the Indian army, complete re-armament of all the forces in India with the latest magazine rifle, re-armament of the mountain artillery, provision for the re-armament of the field artillery with quick-firing guns as soon as the factories can turn them out, thorough reorganisation of the standing transport and enormous increases thereto until it is second to that of no army in the world, immense development of the military factories of India until the country is almost completely independent of supplies of military stores from home,—these are only a few of the many and costly measures which have marked Lord Curzon's administration. If until Lord Kitchener came to India more extensive or more sensational reforms were not inaugurated, the omission was not due to any fault of the military system nor to Lord Curzon's rejection of proposals of the sort, but to the fact that the Commanders-in-Chief concerned put no such proposals forward. When, however, Lord Kitchener succeeded to that high post, the schemes of extensive military reform, put forward by him met with a ready encouragement and recognition from Lord Curzon and government, which amply disproves Mr Brodrick's insinuation that similar reforms had previously been obstructed or negatived by the Viceroy or his advisers. In military matters, as in all else, Lord Curzon's guiding principle has always been to work for the true welfare of the Indian people. Directed by this principle he was the last man likely to starve the army or to oppose any well-considered scheme of military improvement. "These are not days," he said in one of his earliest budget speeches, "when the military strength of any empire is likely to be reduced. . . . There are two great duties of Imperial statesmanship in India. The first is to make all these millions of people, if possible, happier, more contented, more prosperous ; the second is to keep them and

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their property safe." And again, a year latter : "The army is required to make India safe, and it cannot be said that India is safe. . . . No one can say that while the whole world has been busy with military reform we in India have stood still." There we may leave this branch of our subject, confident that it has been shown that neither by word nor deed has Lord Curzon in this, any more than in any other respect, been found unmindful of his trust.

There is one subject to which some allusion must be made because, in the view of the casual observer, it has figured with undue prominence in the course of Lord Curzon's administration. We allude to cases of assaults on natives by Europeans—in some instances by British soldiers, in one or two by planters and others. In two only of such cases did the Government of India take any prominent action ; but it is indisputable that the Viceroy's well-known views on the subject, and the issue of stricter rules than previously in regard to such cases, resulted in a course of action by local authorities which was not always judicious, and which was always attributed by the uninformed to the direct interference of the supreme Government. Lord Curzon, in referring publicly to this difficult and delicate subject, said that the Government of India wished to maintain an attitude of strict impartiality. "Our one desire," he declared, "is to draw closer the bonds of friendly feeling that should unite the two races." No one can doubt for a moment the genuineness of this sentiment, or dispute the rectitude and the nobility of his endeavour thus "to hold the scales even." Unfortunately, however, as has been seen, the subordinate authorities, in excess of zeal and with want of judgment, more than once committed errors for which Lord Curzon personally had to bear the blame ; moreover, in one of the cases in which the Government of India prominently interfered, they were not well advised ; and in the only other instance in which the Viceroy took any personal action there was so much room for doubt with regard to the correctness of his view that it would certainly have been better had he adopted a less decided course. These untoward circumstances combined to bring about a result far different from that which Lord Curzon had stated to be the desire of the Government, and for the moment they caused him to incur such odium amongst certain classes of his countrymen as to obscure temporarily the lustre of what he had achieved for India and the Empire. But the shadow was only a passing one. The bitterness occasioned by the incidents in question has already almost disappeared, and among no section of the

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British population of India has the resignation of the Viceroy been more genuinely deplored and regretted than by the educated classes in the army of India. A recent writer in 'The Times' declared that Lord Curzon was not a popular Viceroy. Had he written two years ago, his statement could not have been at the moment disputed, but the further lapse of time has enabled men to learn more clearly to appreciate the character of the statesman who for nearly seven years has governed India with so vigorous and so firm a hand. Every one whose opinion is worth having likes to feel that the ship of state is being steered by a master hand, a mariner trained to meet the dangers of storm and shoal. Every one who has the good of the country and of the empire at heart would rather have a real ruler at the head of affairs than a mere figure-head. So it is that Lord Curzon has come to be appreciated more at his true worth. His countrymen in India, and all the best-balanced and most level-headed natives of that country, see in him a man of commanding ability, with great possibilities open to him at home, who devoted five of the best years of his life to serving our eastern dependency with all the vigour of his intellect and with an enthusiasm which has overtaxed the powers of a physique never too robust ; they see, too, that in spite of enfeebled health and private anxieties, he has been willing to return once more to the exacting duties of his great post in response to the solicitations of the Imperial Government, and because, he saw that there was still work for him to do in India ; they see all this, and because they understand something of what it means Lord Curzon leaves India, having earned what is better than mere popularity—namely, the respect and gratitude of those over whom he has ruled, and best of all, the enthusiastic admiration of those who have worked nearest to him and who know him best.

In the foregoing pages not all, or nearly all, of the measures inaugurated or matured by Lord Curzon during his Viceroyalty have been touched upon. No mention, for instance, has been made of one of the greatest of all the changes—the Partition of Bengal, because the arguments for and against it are numerous, but in almost every case they are matters of theory, the justice of which time alone can decide. For similar reasons controversial points connected with other questions have also been avoided. A critical review of the individual achievements of Lord Curzon cannot be attempted for years to come with any semblance of finality or impartiality. What has been aimed at is to show the spirit which has animated him, the amazing energy and industry which he has displayed in the performance of his arduous duties, the extent and variety of the

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problems with which he has grappled. That he has made mistakes is inevitable and not surprising ; who would not do so sometimes if entrusted with the task of ruling over three hundred millions of people of infinite variety in race, language, creed, and social conditions ? As in the case of generals, so in that of rulers, the greatest is he who makes the fewest mistakes, and judged by this standard Lord Curzon may well be accorded a high place. Above all things let us pay homage to the high enthusiasm, the noble devotion of the man. Throughout the toils, the disappointments, the difficulties which beset him, he was constantly inspired by the confident belief in the mission of the British race in India, and in the destiny of India herself. " It is because I believe in the future of this country and in the capacity of our own race to guide it to goals that it has never hitherto attained, that I keep courage and press forward." Surely we cannot be mistaken when we give praise and honour to such high endeavour undertaken in such a spirit. Surely it is a great Viceroyalty whose results can, without exaggeration, be summed up in these lofty words :—

"As the last year of my work in India opens, I look back upon the past, not with any self-complacency, because, while much has been done, much also remains undone, but with gratitude that the opportunity has been vouchsafed to my colleagues and myself of giving so definite an impulse to all that makes up the growth and prosperity of a people and the safety of an empire, and with the sanguine conviction that none can sow as diligently and whole-heartedly as we have endeavoured to sow without a harvest springing up. Indeed, the green shoots are already high above the ground that will ten thousand times repay the exertion, and obliterate every scar."—*Blackwood's Magazine*.

LORD CURZON'S VICEROYALTY : THE VERDICT OF THE PIONEER

ENGINES AT FULL SPEED

Not only has the Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon been the longest of modern times, but it has been beyond question the busiest that the present generation has seen. The engines of Government have been at full speed during this entire period. The whole land from Peshwar to Dibrugarh has been constantly in vibration with their action ; and far beyond the borders, the peoples who dwell in Tibet and in the corners of the Persian Gulf have learned to recognise the sound of their throb. All are conscious that the stir has been due to the eager energy of one man anxious to get all that could be got out of the machine so long as his control lasted. The barest recapitulation of all the questions that have been raised, sifted and settled during these seven years would go beyond the bounds of a

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newspaper article. From a new frontier policy to the pattern of an Imperial cadet's saddlecloth, nothing could escape the personal attention of Lord Curzon, whose capacity for disposing of business was only equalled by his illimitable appetite for more.

ACTIVITY NOT NECESSARILY PROGRESS

It is small wonder then that the doing and strivings of this crowded time should have produced a vivid impression on the minds of those who have been benefiting or suffering from its manifold activities, or that his admirers should have already been claiming to forestall the verdict of posterity by asserting that it will pronounce Lord Curzon's Viceroyalty to have been the most important period that India ever went through, and Lord Curzon the greatest Viceroy since Dalhousie or Wellesley, as their fancy chooses. Posterity, however, will decline to be anticipated and will form its judgments on its own grounds. What is certain is that many things that look big to us to-day will be of small account a generation hence, while possibly some that are less noticed now will have assumed in its eyes a greater prominence. The birth of fruitful ideas, the creation of institutions endowed with vitality, the arrival of changes destined to produce a lasting influence, the erection of historical landmarks, such are the events to which history goes back. Whether the wheels of the administration have revolved with greater or less velocity during a given period is a matter which soon comes to be forgotten and disregarded.

WHERE IS THE CONSTRUCTIVE STATESMANSHIP?

The Partition of Bengal and the first appearance of a British Indian force at Lhasa are obviously of the landmark order, events that will find their place in every future history, whatever the historian may care to say about them. But in constructive statesmanship, in spite of the extraordinary activity and huge turnout of the Government, it is not easy to single out anything of the first quality that will necessarily stand as a memorial of the present Viceroyalty. Can one name any departure of the last seven years that will stand for originality and insight beside Lord Dufferin's creation of the Imperial Service system, which has not only found a place for the loyalty and aspirations of the native rulers, and altered thereby their whole temper, but has relieved their States of the incubus of the vast mobs in arms miscalled their armies? Or is there any measure in the domestic sphere that will compare with Lord Lansdowne's extension of the Legislative Councils, which has introduced the genuine beginnings of political life into the

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country ; or in the economic sphere with the same Viceroy's Currency Act, which in the teeth of prophecies of ruin from half the experts, has staunched the drain on the finances of India, and left his successors with funds to carry out what his Government would have desired to do, but had not the means to undertake? The truth would seem to be that quality and quantity are opposed in this as in many other cases, and that the man, however able, who wishes to do everything at once, will not attain the same permanence of results as another who is content to do fewer things with more forethought and patience.

ADVANTAGES LORD CURZON HAD

The time when he landed in India in January, 1899, was in every way propitious for a ruler of Lord Curzon's proclivities. His outgoing Finance Member, Sir James Westland, was preparing the first of a series of bountiful surpluses, and from that time to this Lord Curzon has never known what it was to be kept back by want of money. At his back he had in Lord George Hamilton, a Secretary of State who not only delighted in giving sanction to all that the Government proposed but took every occasion of proclaiming to English audiences the good fortune of India in having obtained such a Viceroy. Lord Curzon was not one to neglect the good fortune that gave him these two great circumstances in his favour. Unlike other rulers of India, he had no apprenticeship to go through. He arrived with a stock of clear-cut convictions on the subject of India and its requirements, which allowed him within a couple of months of his landing to enunciate the celebrated policy of the twelve reforms or arms. As if the Governor-Generalship were not work enough, he followed this up by the announcement that he would himself take up the portfolio of Public Works in the temporary absence of the departmental member. These evidences of superabundant energy opened the eyes of the public to the character of their new Viceroy.

ALL GOVERNOR-GENERAL AND NO COUNCIL

It was clear henceforward that the character and system of the Government of India was to undergo a change. It was to be all Governor-General and no Council. Lord Curzon was resolved from the first to govern without a Council except in form and name. The projects and purposes of the Government and all its motive power were to be his ; his colleagues were to be limited to giving advice on the business they brought up, or that was brought up before them. He has looked upon his Members of Council in fact

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very much as upon the experts he has called in for Agriculture, Education, or Archæology, persons to be consulted upon details when a policy has been settled for them. Lord Curzon's practice in this respect shows how far it is possible for a Viceroy who is set upon being his own master to depart from the spirit of the constitution. For even Lord Dalhousie, who was autocratic enough, was scrupulous, both in speech and writing, never to exalt the Governor-General in Council, nor to take personal credit for the actions of the Government ; whereas it is only lately that Lord Curzon in his public utterances has begun to betray any consciousness of the existence of a Council except as a body of irresponsible advisers. A hundred passages might be quoted from his speeches which would convey to a foreigner the idea that there was no one at all between the public and the Viceroy, who of his great goodness, was showering upon them benefits or repressing abuses. No doubt it was the innate consciousness of great administrative powers that led Lord Curzon off upon the flowery but downward path of autocracy ; but at the same time it was unfortunate for him that he did not meet at the outset with a strong Council who would have thrown some weight into the opposite side of the scale at starting, instead of leaving the inevitable collision to arrive at the end.

HARRYING THE BUREAUCRACY

For a time, indeed, the self-assertion of a strong personality was not unpopular. Official people smiled and, not knowing Lord Curzon, said to themselves that the pace would not last, while the native public and the public at home were delighted at the idea of "the bureaucracy" being harried. No outside person certainly has any ground for objecting to the public offices being stirred up as vigorously as may be in the interests of "efficiency," but it is not requisite for the chief bureaucrat to go through the performance for the edification of the public. It was, as it so often has been during the past years, the right thing done in the wrong way. Applause for the moment followed, and more was forthcoming upon the Viceroy's vigorous action in the matter of the brutal assault committed by some soldiers upon an unfortunate woman at Rangoon.

FORCING A SHORT CUT TO JUSTICE

But righteous as his action in this matter was, it encouraged him in an unfortunate tendency to be interfering with the operation of justice. It is understood to have been quite a surprise to Lord Curzon to find that the Viceroy could not direct a High Court to

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order a re-trial or to send a case before a different judge. But what he could do with the limited resources that have been left to the executive was done, and the power of interference was naturally most active in soldiers' cases where military discipline could be applied to rectify the presumed errors of judicial process. The retribution that waits upon such attempts to force a short cut to justice descended upon the Viceroy over the celebrated matter of the Ninth Lancers, which alienated the military and caused the judicious on all sides to grieve. Human justice must always be imperfect, but it is not for the executive power to insist that, evidence or no evidence, for every crime must be produced a criminal, nor is there any reason that it should strain its authority in this direction in race cases. The *exparte* vindications of the action of the Government which were issued over this case introduced the public to a tone that was totally new in the communications of the Government of India.

FORENSIC DIALECTICS

Up to that time whenever the Government had had any pronouncement to make abroad, its instructions or explanations had been conveyed in the tone of conscious and dignified authority. The critic might or might not approve of the conclusion arrived at, but the statement of them was sure to be simple, unimpassioned, impartial, and absolutely candid. Now there came to be substituted for this the forensic style, intent on a victory for some particular point of view, capable of all the dialectic artifices, and even, it is to be feared, of suppressions and misquotations of the authorities if assured that the reference could not be verified by the audience. It is impossible to judge to what extent Lord Curzon has lost the confidence of the country by his tendency to sink the Governor-General in the advocate; but the native public is quick enough in detecting a change of note of this kind, and as there is nothing that impresses it so much in the long run as simplicity and candour, it is probable that the most masterly State papers and speeches with this controversial flavour have carried less effect than a simpler mode of communication would have gained with comparatively trifling trouble.

COPIOUS ELOQUENCE AND SELF-EULOGY

A glance at Lord Curzon's reign, however cursory, without reference to his speeches would be like a criticism of Thucydides that made no mention of that feature of his history. At his best the departing Viceroy has reached heights that certainly none of his predecessors, with the exception of Lord Lytton, in a different style,

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has approached. So often has he delighted India with his copious eloquence that it seems ungracious to say that his reputation might have stood as high had he been wholly mute. For against the speeches where he hit the right note may be set just as many which repelled. In the days of Chedorlaomer and Assurbanipal it was considered perfectly right and proper that a ruler should compose long inscriptions reciting his own virtues and achievements for the admiration of his people and posterity. These unfortunate monarchs had no other means open to them of getting their merits upon the record. With a daily press, cheap magazines, and swarms of willing biographers, the conditions have altered, and for a man, however exalted, to be perpetually dwelling on himself, cannot escape being felt as an offence against taste. Moreover, the speaker who is constantly pronouncing his own eulogies naturally comes in for less praise from outside. People pass over his side of the case from a feeling that what is to be said has been said most appreciatively already. But in addition to the egotism by which many of Lord Curzon's speeches were so sadly disfigured they had come to suffer from a growing prolixity. Some of his later utterances, such as the protentious speech at the Budget debate of last March, were but so many chapters bodily cut out of an official autobiography. As the closure of a tediously long discussion nothing could have been less apt for the occasion. Above all, moreover, it is to injudicious speaking that Lord Curzon owes his intense unpopularity with the people of Bengal. It is very well to say that no consideration of the kind should have deterred him from the partition, nor should it. But the fact is that a Viceroy who had not irritated the people already might have cut Bengal into three pieces without rousing half the exasperation.

THE TURN OF THE TIDE

The long Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon divides itself naturally as it does statutorily into two portions. Throughout the first period, in spite of rumbles and mutterings in India, his power and prestige appeared to be steadily on the ascent. He obtained the unexampled compliment of the offer of a second term of office ; and when he returned in the autumn of last year, strong in the confidence of the Ministry and the plaudits of the British public, his personal position seemed likely to be more preponderant than ever. The statutes, however, are not to be violated with impunity. The position of Lord Curzon in England at the right hand of the Premier and the Secretary of State, consulted by them on all affairs of India, and mapping out in conjunction with them the programme of Indian

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politics for his remaining term of office, Viceroy in all but name, and retaining even the name in general usage, while a deputy carried on the government out here, subject to well understood limitations, this position was assuredly a transgression of the spirit of the constitution, if not of its letter. It would have required a philosopher to recognise the counsels of moderation at such a juncture, and Lord Curzon is hardly that. No one will be disposed to blame him for making use of the opportunities placed in his hands, but all can see that he would have been wiser voluntarily to have forgone them. From the moment of his coming out the tide that had flown so strongly in his favour began to turn. In place of the almost unwholesome ascendancy that had been apprehended came a series of reverses, ill-health, and eventually defeat, ignominiously suffered at the hands of one of his own Government.

A BORN BUREAUCRAT

The bitter controversy of the last few months is still so fresh in all minds that it is needless to say more here concerning it than that it cannot but suggest a doubt as to Lord Curzon's future in other capacities, as a Prime Minister for instance, or as Foreign Minister. Hitherto he had everything in India his own way. This was his first difficulty, and he collapsed over it totally. It is difficult to think of Lord Dufferin for example being brought low by his own Commander-in-Chief. A man of that character would have estimated the danger aright, and would have prepared against it. Lord Curzon had got into the habit of believing that he could rush through all obstacles. The mis-reckoning has cost him dear ; and possibly in a different environment he may develop the qualities of patience, tact and conciliation which are necessary to success in English public life. But no situation that he can hereafter occupy will ever suit his singular and powerful individuality as well as that of Viceroy of India. Here his astounding gifts, his enormous capacity for work, his initiative, his instincts for business, his high aims, his intellectual sympathies, all found full play and satisfaction. A lover of the East, he found himself set loose in India ; a born bureaucrat, a thorough believer in the omnipotence of Governments and offices, he found himself placed in charge of the largest and most efficient governing machine as yet created by humanity. No wonder that he loved to bring out all its powers. No wonder that he produced from it an immense outturn ; or that his activities leave many places and interests and people the richer for his having been here. A great statesman ? The future will say. A great administrator and a born organiser ? No one will dissent.

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In another article *The Pioneer* reviews Lord Curzon's farewell speech at the Byculla Club, Bombay. After stretching the matters dealt with in the speech, our contemporary says :—

WOUNDS OF INAPPRECIATION AND INGRATITUDE

Reading the speech one seems to be lost in astonishment at the perversity and ingratitude of mankind who can have any feelings but those of admiration and affection for such a ruler ; and yet it is notorious that he leaves a large section of the people in a ferment of dissatisfaction, a large class of his own countrymen alienated, and the small body of those who take their stand upon principle adverse and estranged. In spite of his conviction of the superlative merits of his Government, Lord Curzon, it is evident, remained vividly conscious that it was not appreciated as it ought to be. He recurs again and again through his speech to his critics and his opponents. In this his last utterance in the country, the departing Viceroy's endeavour to put himself right with all men is almost pathetically plain. He alludes to the weight of his armour ; he speaks touchingly of what his labours have cost him, of the rectitude of his intentions. His attitude to his revilers is early Christian ; his words to his Bengali adversaries bring up reminiscences of the martyr Stephen. In all this there comes to light once more the strange inconsistencies that have so constantly been observable in Lord Curzon. In personal matters no man could have been more punctilious about his own dignity ; yet he was always ready with an appeal *ad misericordiam*. Witness his references to his own state of health in the Army Administration controversy, and his reproaches to the Secretary of State for the failure of his support. Witness the picture he drew for the edification of the Simla clerks of a Viceroy spending the lonely watches of the night in going through the cases of humble petitioners. And yet it is self-evident that a proud man has no business to be hunting for compassion ; and that an autocratic man ought not to be concerned with what other people say about him. He who is resolved that the world shall go his way, should not wear his heart upon his sleeve. He is taking a line that involves disregard of the feelings of others ; it is inconsequent that he should be very sensitive about his own.

CRAZE FOR UNIFORMITY

As head of the great department of State, or of a great Trust, or a big railway system, Lord Curzon, it may be imagined, would be without a rival. The Delhi Durbar was the conclusive testimony to his powers as an organiser. This final speech is the clearest we have had of his attitude and tendencies as a ruler of men. Lord

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Curzon, it is known, hated any inequalities in the system of government. His love of uniformity was that of a business man to whom the smooth working of the office comes first. It was this instinct that led him to chafe against the little remnant of privileges and peculiarities left to the Governments of Madras and Bombay. Their differences of title and constitution aggravated him far beyond any actual importance that they possessed, and it is very little of a secret that he proposed to reduce them to the status of the other provincial Governments soon after he had taken office, but was restrained by the Secretary of State. Every province alike, and every order of the Government of India to apply to all Provinces, was the ideal that Lord Curzon seemed always to have before him. When he saw anything that he approved in one part of India it must be straight-away applied all round. When he saw anything of which he disapproved, such as the management of the Calcutta University, the remedy must be prescribed for all whether they were sick or sound. His famine policy was the United Provinces policy dished up afresh ; his land and revenue manifesto came from the same source ; the police policy issued from Madras. It was the same inveterate tendency to uniformity that led him to propose the scheme under which every Native chief in India, however petty, would have to pay a fixed proportion of his means as his contribution to the Imperial Service scheme, an idea that he was fortunately persuaded to drop before it came to the stage of general publicity. His ideal in short was a perfectly wise and all-seeing Governor-General at the top, a set of provincial authorities perfectly responsive to his touch below ; their affairs neatly and homogeneously arranged with the order and method necessary to such a system ; a cut and dried policy at hand for everything, to which all questions could be automatically referred.

AN EARTHLY PROVIDENCE FOR 300 MILLIONS

What was to be the end of it all he never seems to have asked himself. More government and more government, and more government still ; the country in the hands of a race of furiously efficient and strenuous officials, and regarded as something existing in order to be administered—up to what would such a system eventually lead ? Should we arrive at universal prosperity and happiness ; or at dry-rot and catastrophe ? At any rate while human energies and wisdom are limited, the latter appears to be the more probable issue. We cannot have progress in action from two sources. The transfer of all activity to the top necessarily means the stoppage of natural growth from below. But India after all is too large a country for her affairs to be long directed from a single office table. Lord

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Curzon essayed the stupendous task, and its weight has borne down even his inexhaustible energies. All will hope that with the release from toil he will soon recover his health and his elasticity. But his last words, read between the lines, may be a warning to his successor to avoid attempting too much in the way of taking the place of Providence towards 300 millions of his fellow men.

FIRST INDIAN INDUSTRIAL CONFERENCE

EXTRACT FROM THE PRESIDENTIAL SPEECH

BY MR. R. C. DUTT

Our difficulties are of a two-fold nature. In the first place our old industries have undoubtedly declined, and we have to recover lost ground. In the second place we have to recover our position under exceptional economic conditions which few nations on earth have to face. Our two difficulties may be briefly described thus :— Firstly, other competitors have got the start of us ; and secondly, we are unfairly handicapped in the race.

OUR FIRST DIFFICULTY

It would serve no useful purpose to narrate at length the manner in which our old industries have declined into competition which was not altogether fair. I have written largely on this subject in my published works, and may only briefly refer to a few facts to-day. For many centuries past, the manufactures of India were prized in the markets of Europe and Asia ; and Arab and Portuguese merchants, Dutch and English traders, shipped large consignments of Indian goods to various ports in the world. In those days there was no thought of repressing Indian industries ; on the contrary it was the interest of the foreign traders to foster them, as far as it was in their power to do so, because the excellence and the largeness of Indian manufactures were the sources of their own gain and profit.

But when England acquired political power in India in the middle of the eighteenth century,—this policy was reversed. English men were manufacturers themselves and it was their policy in those days to repress the manufactures of their own Colonies in order to promote their own. The same policy was unfortunately pursued in India ; and, for the first time in the history of India, her manufacturing industries were discouraged, instead of being encouraged. The export of Indian manufactures to Europe was repressed by prohibitive duties, and the import of English manufactures into India was facilitated by the levy of almost nominal duties. The idea was to make India a country of raw produce for the promotion of English

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manufacturing industries. The British manufacturer, in the words of the historian H. H. Wilson, "employed the arm of political injustice to keep down, and ultimately strangle, a competitor with whom he could not have contended on equal terms."

Among all the Indian industries of the eighteenth century, the textile industry was the most extensive ; and the invention of the power-loom in England completed the ruin of that industry which a system of unfair tariffs had begun. I do not wish to place before you elaborate statements to-day, but a few figures, showing the decline of our cotton manufactures in the first quarter of the 19th century, have a melancholy interest.

The export of cotton piece goods from Calcutta to the United Kingdom was over 6,00 bales in 1801, over 14,000 bales in 1802, and over 13,000 bales in 1803 ; it never reached a thousand bales after 1826. The export of the same goods from Calcutta to America was over 13,000 bales in 1801 ; it dwindled to less than 300 bales by 1829. Denmark took over 1,400 bales in 1800, but never took more than 150 bales after 1820. Portugal took nearly 10,000 bales in 1799, but never took over a thousand bales after 1825. And the exports to the Arabian and Persian Gulfs, which rose to between four and seven thousand bales between 1810 and 1820, never exceeded 2,000 bales after 1825. The export of cotton piece goods from Calcutta to the different countries of the earth practically disappeared within the first quarter of the nineteenth century, and what was true of Calcutta was true of every other part in India.

It is needless to say that, while the export of cotton goods from India declined, the import of cotton goods into India from Europe rose by leaps and bounds. By 1858, which was the year when the late Queen assumed the direct administration of India, the value of cotton goods imported into India had reached nearly 5 millions pounds sterling. By 1877, which was the year when Her Gracious Majesty assumed the title of Empress of India, the value of cotton goods imported to India had reached nearly 16 millions sterling. This steady increase in the import of cotton piece goods is often quoted as a mark of Indian's increasing prosperity. But is there any practical man in India who does not see in these figures the decline of the most extensive of Indian industries, and therefore a loss in the wealth of the nation ? I will not dwell longer on this point ; I have said enough to shew how we have lost ground in the past ; I will now turn to our second difficulty, the economic conditions which we have to face in our endeavour to recover our position.

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OUR SECOND DIFFICULTY

Gentlemen, we will not consent to see our country made a land of raw produce, or a dumping ground for the manufactures of other nations. I do not believe a country can prosper by agriculture alone, any more than a country can permanently prosper by manufactures alone ; the two must thrive side by side to give employment to the population of a country. I do not envy the position of England to-day which has so far neglected her agriculture as to be dependent on foreign nations for her food supply ; that state of things cannot last for ever. On the other hand I do not appreciate the position of our own country which is dependent on foreign countries for most of the manufactured articles required for daily use. We must rescue her from that unhappy position, but in order to do so, we must clearly see and understand the difficulties we have to face.

In the first place we have to change an ancient and time-honoured habit, the habit of carrying on our industries in our homes and cottages. India is a country of cottage industries. Each agriculturist tills his own little field, pays his rent, and transmits his holding to his son. Each humble weaver, with the aid of his wife and children, adjusts his warp and works his loom. I am myself partial to this cottage industry. The tillers of the soil, who own their little plots of land from generation to generation, are more dignified beings than the labourers who live on their landlord's vast estate, and earn only the wages of labour. The humble weavers, working with their wives and children in their homes, live better and more peaceful lives than men and women working in crowded and unwholesome factories. The dignity of man is seen at its best when he works in his own field or his own cottage,—not when he is employed at a part of a vast machine which seems to crush out all manhood and womanhood in the operatives. I have seen many of the largest cotton mills of Lancashire, and the thousands of factory lads and factory girls employed there ; and I would not like to see any very large proportion of our labourers so employed. And those who ought to know tell us that the fresh air of the country is the best suited for building up strong constitutions, and that a race deteriorates, when it neglects rustic industry and lives mostly in towns. But nevertheless, while we may avoid the mistake of sending all our population to towns, we must at the same time learn to create large centres of industry in towns. We must change our old habit of universal cottage industries, and learn to form companies erect mills and adopt the methods of combined action, if we desire to protect or revive our industries.

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But the formation of companies and the erection of mills require capital, and the conditions in India are not favourable to the accumulation of capital. I do not wish to travel into political subjects to-day, but it is necessary to mention, what is known to every one of you, that the sources of wealth in this country are not as broad and spacious as in happier countries.

Lastly there is the difficulty about our fiscal legislation which is oftener controlled by Lancashire than by us in this country. You all remember how Lord Lytton's Government was compelled to repeal the import duties on cotton goods against the advice and the vote of every Member of Lord Lytton's Council except Sir John Strachey and the Military Member. And when the import duties were re-imposed, you remember how Lord Elgin's Government was compelled to impose an excise duty on the mill-produce of India to conciliate Lancashire. I know of no act in modern fiscal legislation more unwise and hurtful to an infant industry than the imposition of an excise tax, unknown in any civilised country. And I know of nothing more humiliating to the Government of a great empire like India than the correspondence which you will find recorded in Parliamentary Blue Books, leading to these fiscal changes.

HOW WE HAVE FACED THESE DIFFICULTIES

These, then are the difficulties before us. In the first place, we have lagged behind, and have to recover lost ground. And in the second place we have to run the race with the triple disadvantage of want of modern industrial training, want of capital, and want of control over our own fiscal legislation. I mention these difficulties not to discourage you, but because we have to face and conquer them. Few countries on earth would have succeeded under these difficulties, but I have faith in the capacities of our nation, in the patience and skill of our artisans, in the adaptability of our race to new methods, in the resources of this wonderful land, and in the advantages of cheap labour. I have been something of an optimist all my life : I think it better to fight and to fail than not to fight at all ; but in this industrial movement I believe we are destined to fight and to conquer. I have no patience with those of my countrymen who throw up their hands in despair, and declare that all is lost ! The history of the last twenty or thirty years shews that all is not lost, and that much has been gained.

The figures given below shew that the production of Cotton and Woollen goods has increased nearly a hundred per cent. and fifty per cent. respectively, in recent years.

Cotton goods, 1896-97 lbs. 82,933,000 ; 1904-05 lbs. 158,747,000.

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Woollen goods, 1894 lbs. 1,657,000 ; 1903 lbs. 2,977,000.

Gentlemen, these are some of the results which we have achieved in recent years, and all classes of men, Hindu and Musalman, Englishman and Parsee, have helped in the onward march. I make bold to say that no other country in Asia, except Japan, has shewn such industrial progress within the life time of a generation ; and no country on earth, labouring under the disadvantages from which we suffer, could have shewn more adaptability to modern methods, more skill, more patient industry, more marked success.

Gentlemen, the *Swadeshi* movement is one which all nations on earth are seeking to adopt in the present day. Mr. Chamberlain is seeking to adopt it by a system of Protection. Mr. Balfour seeks to adopt it by a scheme of Retaliation. France, Germany, the United States, and all the British Colonies adopt it by building up a wall of prohibitive duties. We have no control over our fiscal legislation, and we adopt the *Swadeshi* scheme therefore by a laudable resolution to use our home manufactures, as far as practicable, in preference to foreign manufactures. I see nothing that is sinful, nothing that is hurtful in this ; I see much that is praiseworthy and much that is beneficial. It will certainly foster and encourage our industries in which the Indian Government has always professed the greatest interest. It will relieve millions of weavers and other artisans from a state of semi-starvation in which they have lived, will bring them back to their hand-loom and other industries, and will minimise the terrible effects of famines which the Government have always endeavoured to relieve to the best of their power. It will give a new impetus to our manufactures which need such impetus ; and it will see us, in the near future, largely dependent on articles of daily use prepared at home, rather than articles imported from abroad. In one word, it will give a new life to our industrial enterprise ; and there is nothing which the people of India and the Government of India desire more earnestly than to see Indian industries flourish, and the industrial classes prosper.

Therefore, I sincerely trust that the *Swadeshi* movement will live and extend in every Province and in every village in India. There should be Associations formed in every District to extend and perpetuate this movement, and to stimulate the use of country-made cloth and country-made articles, not only in towns. But in rural villages. Such Associations should peacefully and quietly extend their operations from year to year, disregarding the jeers of their critics, and braving the wrath of their opponents. Spasmodic and hysterical exhibitions should be avoided, for, as a great English writer

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remarks, strength consists not in spasms but in the stout bearing of burdens. Mindful of the great work we have to perform, we should work with the calm consciousness of doing our duty towards our countrymen. If we succeed in this noble endeavour, we shall present to the world an instance, unparalleled in the history of modern times, of a nation protecting its manufactures and industries without protective duties. If we fail in this great endeavour, and prove ourselves false to the resolutions we have formed and professed, then we shall deserve to remain in that state of industrial serfdom to other nations from which we are struggling to be free.

NOTES & NEWS

GENERAL

An Index to the matters contained in the Second Volume of the *Indian World* will go along with our next number.

* *

The name of Black Town, Madras, has this month been changed to George Town.

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The year 1904 earns undying distinction in the annals of Burma by the publication of the First Novel in Burmese.

* *

All preliminaries have been satisfactorily settled as regards the scheme of an electrical railway and power development in Kashmir.

* *

The Punjab Government have had to disfranchise the municipality of Ballabagarh in the Delhi District, on account of the high party feeling prevailing between two rival factions in the town.

* *

The Standard time is being tardily adopted in India. At a recent meeting of the Bombay Corporation, it was resolved to regulate all office-work and clocks under its control according to this time.

* *

The enhanced revenue which will accrue to the Government of India from the increase in the duty on spirits, liqueurs, and perfumed spirits which comes into force a month hence may be taken at thirteen lakhs of rupees.

* *

The Begum of Bhopal is evincing exceptional interest in female education, which she is exerting herself to spread in the State. She is also busy promoting technical education among her subjects, on which she is spending large sums of money.

* *

A rite of *Suttee* has been performed in Hindol, Cuttack quite recently. On the day Lingraj Acharyya, the Raj priest died, his

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wife put on a bridal dress, went to the forest and threw herself before a tiger. It devoured her at once.

* * *

We are glad to note that the following English gentlemen who have hitherto evince a great interest in Indian affairs have been returned to the British Parliament during the current General Elections :— Sir Henry Cotton, K.C.S.I., Mr. C. J. O'Donnell, Mr. Herbert Roberts, Mr. J. D. Rees, Mr. Herbert Paul, Mr. C. E. Schwann, Sir Charles Dilke, Sir John Jardine and Mr. Donald Smeaton.

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A shock of earthquake was felt at Peshawar at 11-30 p.m. on the 3rd January. The shock was so sharp that people were alarmed and left their bungalows hastily. A sharp shock of earthquake was felt at Lahore quite recently. The earthquake caused considerable alarm in the city and civil station, many people rushing out from their houses. The day had been hazy and abnormally mild. No damage is reported.

* * *

Even frosts and earthquakes have their practical uses. The last Punjab Forest Administration Report states that one result of last year's severe frost in the Simla forests has been to kill off injurious creepers. Of the big earthquake of last April, the same authority says that it created a demand for timber which rendered possible the felling of blue pine trees in some of the Kulu hills and the planting of more valuable deodars in their place.

* * *

Upwards of one crore of rupees was spent during the current financial year on the re-armament of the horse and field batteries in India. Thirty batteries will receive new quick-firing guns, or in other words, one half of the whole establishment. Regarding the remaining batteries, it will be possible gradually to provide them with guns from the new factory, now in working order at Cossipur, while carriages can be turned out at the Jubbulpore Factory.

* * *

The efforts which have been made by successive administrations in Burma to put down opium consumption by the Burmese do not appear to have been very successful. The last official Excise Report from Rangoon states that the traffic in contraband opium in Lower Burma is still conducted upon a considerable scale and requires the

unremitting attention of the preventive staff. The Report adds that Sir Thirkell White desires to impress on all superintendents the desirability of making full use of the funds placed at their disposal as secret service money for the detection of opium smuggling.

* * *

I was attracted the other day says a correspondent of *The Englishman*, by a head line, "India and Insanity," and thinking that there might be some attempt to drag tea into the paragraph I scanned it eagerly. It turned out to be a charge of assault preferred against an ex-soldier by his mother. The victim of the assault pleaded with the Bench to let the delinquent off lightly because he had been in India. When questioned further on the subject, she supplemented her plea with the assurance that she had been told that no one who had lived in India "was ever right in the head." By what simple processes we arrive at the eternal verities.

* * *

Lord Curzon has already arranged with Messrs. Macmillan & Co., the publishers, for the bringing out of the speeches of his Viceroyalty in collected form. The speeches, it appears, will be grouped according to their subjects, and will thus, in the language of the prospectus, "constitute a handbook to Indian politics and administration, more complete, more accurate, and more authoritative than any work that is in existence." Lord Curzon has secured, as his editor, Sir Thomas Raleigh who is described as having "served for five years under Lord Curzon as Legal Member of Council," and who is to supply a general introduction dealing with Lord Curzon's administration and prefaces to the different speeches.

* * *

One interesting fact mentioned in the Report of the Archaeological Surveyor to the Government of the United Provinces relates to a find of white marble which was found buried in the quadrangle of the Dewan-i-Am at Agra. The collection of marble was clustered together, and in some places arranged in a manner which suggested that it had not been merely thrown into a pit but had been deliberately stacked; there are pieces of all sizes, some unwrought as they came from the quarry and others shaped and carved ready for use. The designs of the worked pieces suggest that they were intended for the Moti Masjid, and the spot where they were found would appear to have been the site of the stone-cutter's work-shops. The find of marble is roughly

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valued at from Rs. 8,000 to Rs. 10,000. We believe the marble will be utilised in the building of the Victoria Memorial Hall at Calcutta.

* * *

Within an enclosure at Agra are preserved the "Somnath Gates" regarding which some years ago a furious controversy raged. The following tablet in English, Urdu, and Hindi has recently been hung in front of the gates : "These gates which were brought from Ghazni in Afghanistan by the British in 1842, are stated to have been taken from the tomb of the famous Mahmud Zamin-ud-daulah of Ghazni (999 to 1030 Hijri). At the time of their removal it was erroneously supposed that they had been carried off by that monarch from the Hindu temple at Somnath, and a proclamation was issued by the then Governor-General, Lord Ellenborough, that they were to be restored with all due ceremony to their original home. They were accordingly conveyed to Lord Ellenborough's camp from Firozpur to Agra, but the intention of restoring them to Somnath being abandoned, they proceeded no further on the way to their proclaimed destination. The tradition, based on no historical authority that these gates were of sandal wood and were brought from Somnath, is completely disproved by the fact that the wood of which they are constructed is the local *deodar* of Ghazni ; that the style of their decoration bears no resemblance to Hindu work ; and that an Arabic inscription in cubic character relating to the family of Sabuk Tagin is carved upon them."

* * *

Many and repeated attempts have been made to promote the study of the Oriental classics in India. Sanscrit is amply provided for in Bengal and in certain Native States. Arabic, of course, is considered absolutely necessary to every Mahomedan with any claim to education and in all the Madrassas and Moslem colleges the study of this language is fully and well looked after. In these circumstances it has struck the Aga Khan that the Mahomedan community in India could not do better than to commemorate the visit of the Prince and Princess to India by subscribing to a properly organized Science School, including provision for European Professors and laboratories, in connection with the Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh, which the Royal Party visit in March. The Aligarh College, of course, is a source of pride to every Mahomedan in India, for it has already attained a position which places it in the front rank of educational institutions in the civilised world, and

represents to-day all that is best in Mahomedan culture and learning. But culture, as the Aga Khan has recognised, can no longer be divorced from science. In all progressive countries the teaching of science is becoming a necessary function of the schools. It is particularly appropriate that the Mahomedans in India should subscribe to a fund for the purpose indicated by the Aga Khan, because it is well-known that the Mahomedans kept alive the torch of science at a time when it was flickering in the West. Indeed, both alchemy and astrology, which are the foundation of most sciences, originated amongst the Mahomedans. The Aga Khan has himself subscribed Rs. 35,000 towards the proposed Science School, and it is to be hoped that this magnificent donation will be supplemented by others just as large from leading Mahomedan chiefs in India. (The *Englishman*).

COMMERCIAL & INDUSTRIAL

The subject chosen by the Government of India for the industrial monograph for 1905-06 is "Carpet-making."

* *

The Madras Government has accepted Mr. Chatterton's opinion that it would not be advisable to spend money on Japanese looms.

* *

The Madras Government has approved of Mr. Chatterton's proposal to establish a hand-loom factory at Salem.

* *

There now seems to be a consensus of opinion among all parties concerned, Government officials and tea-planters alike, that the Assam Labour Law of 1901 should be withdrawn.

* *

The agitation against the use of imported sugar has spread to Hardwar. The local *Pandas*, who help the Hindus in washing away their sins in the Ganges have resolved not to accept offerings of sweets, etc., containing the above sugar. This has compelled the *halwais* to conform.

* *

The Commerce and Industry Departments have ruled that the mining rules do not authorise local Governments to fix the rate of royalty payable in respect of a mineral which is not specifically

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mentioned in the schedule. They have also decided that asbestos is to be classed as "metals" for purpose of royalty.

* * *

The latest irrigation report for the United Provinces shows that the gross revenue from all works amounted to 104 lakhs of rupees, the highest sum collected in any year except 1896-97. The working expenses amounted to 36 lakhs, leaving a net revenue of 68 lakhs, and after deducting interest charges and a clear profit of over 33¾ lakhs.

* * *

At a meeting of the Viceroy's Legislative Council held on the 26th instant, a Bill to amend the Indian Tariff Act of 1894 was taken up and passed. The object of this Bill is to enhance the rate of duty on imported spirits from Rs. 6 per gallon of London proof, which is the present duty, to Rs. 7 per proof gallon. It is also proposed to raise the duties on liqueurs and perfumed spirits to a rate corresponding with the new rate imposed on ordinary spirits.

* * *

Mr. Sambasiva Iyer, of the Mysore Geological Department, who, under special permission of the Mysore Government has been exploring the mineral resources of the parts of Kalahasti zemindary of the North Arcot district, has discovered gold in the horn blende schists of the typical Dharwar formation, with good old workings, in Kalahasti taluk. Every panning shows fine gold dust of rich colour and occasionally coarse grains. The locality is 70 miles north of Madras and is easily accessible, being within four miles of the Naidupet Railway Station and about a mile south of Naidupet-Kalahasti Road.

* * *

The Dewan of Junagadh, a principality in Kathiwar in the Bombay Presidency has issued a Proclamation in Guzerati to the subjects of the State warning them that it is the desire of the authorities that the people should not be excited, as is the case with the people of several places, to take part in the *Swadeshi* movement contrary to the existing peaceful custom of the State, and that they should neither convene public meetings nor talk about the movement after collecting themselves in groups under pain of severe punishment. The State police have been directed to keep a sharp lookout in the matter and to disperse all public meetings and not to "permit people to gather in groups."

NOTES & NEWS

A Ladies' Exhibition, the finest of its kind, was opened at Alligarh recently by Mrs. Mohamadalli with an impressive ceremony. About eighty Moslem ladies from all parts of India were present, including all the European ladies of the station. The exhibits represented the choicest works done in India, silk embroideries, exquisite needle work, oil paintings, new toilet designs, beautiful patterns, and delicate specimen work, and all these tastefully arranged make the Exhibition a thorough and rare success.

* *

Railway earning during the current financial year will undoubtedly contribute handsomely to the expected surplus in the Budget at the end of March, as up to the end of December the increase in earnings over the results of 1904 is just 66 lakhs. This satisfactory result is due to the fact that fifty-six railway systems show a steady increase in their gross earnings, the principal contributors being the Bengal Nagpur Railway with 43 lakhs the Rajputana-Malwa line with 24½ lakhs, the G.I.P. with 17 lakhs, the Eastern Bengal with 12½, and the Madras North East line with 11 lakhs. Twenty systems on the other hand record a falling off, but with the exception of the North Western line, which shows the remarkable decline of 54 lakhs, and the East Indian with 20 lakhs, the others are all comparatively small decreases.

* *

The Madras Government have shown the way to the rest of India in their tank restoration scheme of irrigation operations, and with the large additional grant recently sanctioned, it is hoped that the execution of works investigated will proceed more rapidly than has been possible hitherto. The report on this section of the Public Works Department for 1904-05, just issued, shows that the total area taken up since the commencement of the tank restoration scheme operations is 63.062 square miles, of which 54,541 square miles have been completed out of a total area of 116,855 square miles to be investigated in the Presidency. The total amount of estimates sanctioned, from the commencement of the scheme up to the end of the year 1905-1904, amounted to Rs. 83,09,476 of which Rs. 81,42,539 represented the amount of the estimates sanctioned for works in ryotwari tracts. The total expenditure to the end of March 1905, was Rs. 66,80,126. It appears that the investigation is ahead of the execution to the extent of close upon Rs. 13 lakhs ; so that, largely increased grants can be spent directly they are sanctioned.

SUMMARIES OF ARTICLES

THE INDIAN NATIONAL SOCIAL CONFERENCE

The Editor of the *Indian Social Reformer* gives in the *Hindustan Review* for December last a very interesting and comprehensive account of the *Indian National Social Conference*. At the very outset, the writer mentions the difficulties that threatened its existence and pays a tribute to the memory of the late Mr. Justice Ranade whose able guidance was a protection to this institution for many a long year. The writer says that its very name—The Indian National Social Conference—‘brings out the features which distinguish it from other phases of the social reform movement.’ “The Conference is Indian—not Hindu or Muhammadan, it is national—not sectional or pertaining to caste.” Though like the Congress it has most of its supporters among the Hindus, the Conference nevertheless is national. There is, the writer observes, a social aspect of nationality as there is a political and this social aspect requires to be dealt with before any political concessions can be deserved or expected. To corroborate this statement, the late Mr. Ranade is cited as an authority. “Politics,” said Mr. Ranade at Satara in 1900, “is not merely petitioning and memorialising for gifts and favours. Gifts and favours are of no value unless we have deserved the concessions by our own elevation and our own struggles.” The scope of the Conference is next dwelt on and the words of Mr. Ranade setting forth this scope are cited as follows:—“Every effort,” this noble Indian once said, “on the part of either Hindus or Muhammadans to regard their interests as separate and distinct, and every attempt made by the two communities to create separate schools and interests among themselves, and not to heal up the wounds inflicted by mutual hatred of caste and creed, must be deprecated on all hands. There is at times a great danger of the work of Akbar being undone by losing sight of this great lesson which the history of his reign and that of his successors is so well calculated to teach. *The Conference which brings us together is especially intended for the propagation of this ‘din’ or ‘dharma’, and it is in connection with that message chiefly that I have ventured to speak to you to day on this important subject.*” To the question often put “What

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has the Social Conference done?" the writer furnishes the reply by stating that it has created a solidarity of feeling among workers in different parts of the country and in different fields of reform. "Social reformers," it is observed by the writer, "in Calcutta, in Lahore, in Allahabad, in Madras, and in Bombay feel bound to one another by a far closer tie than that which binds—I mean no disparagement—the men in these towns who are agreed, say, as to the separation of executive from judicial functions. They have faced obloquy and braved odium in a common work. They know that each one's triumph is ultimately every one's triumph and of the cause of right-thinking and right-living. The solidarity of feeling which the Social Conference has produced is, I venture to say, deeper and more substantial than that which has been promoted by any other movement. It is not merely passive but active. It is not reserved for occasions of collective manifestation, but it often extends to the every day incidents of private life." A suggestion is then thrown out that the Conference should provide more opportunities at its annual meetings for individual workers to come in contact and compare notes with one another. If this cannot be managed at the annual meeting, a small committee may be appointed to meet at any other time at Delhi or Allahabad or Nagpur with a view to bring about greater correlation of work and a closer understanding of, and sympathy with, the special features of social reform as it affects the several provinces and divisions. The article, in the last place, discusses the condition of Indian women. The Social Conference, according to the writer, aims at setting the women free from unjust and oppressive customs and giving them, as far as possible, opportunities for the fullest culture of mind and body. With reference to the question of *widow-remarriage*, it is observed that the social reformers *do not want that all widows should remarry*, but that no social punishment should be inflicted upon any widow who may choose to marry a second time. Of all the influences which have led to the gradual increase of the age of marriage of girls in the Madras Province during the last decade, the Social Conference has been mentioned by the Census Superintendent as one. The writer in his appreciation of the eminent services rendered by this institution represents the National Congress as the *intellect* and the Social Conference as the *conscience* of the Indian people. "The Mother-Country," the article winds up, "cannot brook affronts to her daughters at the hands of her sons."

SOME LOST RIGHTS OF HINDU WOMEN

Some Lost Rights of Hindu Women is the title of an article in *The Mysore Review* contributed by Rai Bahadur P. Ananda Charlu, C.I.E. Mr. Charlu describes the womankind as the lever and the fulcrum of society. Taking into consideration the important and useful position women hold in society, Mr. Charlu strongly supports female education and meets the objections raised by the generality of our people against it. He says (1) that there is no force in the allegation that our girls become, as it were, *unsexed* by aspiring to University honours and going through a number of examinations ; (2) that the amount of education they ought to get is to be regulated by their inclinations and capacities, limited not by abstract generalisations of medical faddists or of our own or foreign theorists who profess to lay down what is good for our girls and what is not but only by distinct proofs of physical or other demonstrated or demonstrable injury to them ; (3) that whatever else is or is not placed within their reach, every effort must be made to make them fully posted as to all historic or sociological informations regarding the systems of domestic economy that prevail among other peoples. As regards their rights on property, they must be restored says Mr. Charlu, to the shares or allotments assigned to them by Yaguavalkya.

REVIEW OF LEADING INDIAN REVIEWS

East and West

It is a pleasure to note that, among a dozen articles that find place in the December number of our Bombay monthly *Contemporary*, as many as eight are related to India. Sirdar Jogendra Singh's interesting account of the romance of *Nur Jahan* which we noticed at some length in our last issue is continued and we think, will continue for some months to come. Mr. P. Chattejee has a learned paper on *the Gita in Relation to Western Thought*. Towards the close of his nice little story of *The Making of a Murli*, Mr. S. M. Edwardes remarks 'that only the wider and deeper spread of education among the lowest classes of India can serve to uproot all superstitious ideas from their minds.' Mr. Satthianadhan passes under review the rights of the *Indian Zemindar*. We shall discuss in our next number Mr. C. W. Whish's opinion on the *Political Education for India*. Writing on the *Public Spirit in India* Mr. D. S. Rama Chandra Rao makes the somewhat astounding statement that the Indians 'are perhaps the most lethargic race in the World.' In these days, when much is being done to foster and develop the fraternal spirit between the Hindus and the Mahomedans, Mr. M. A. Zahide's account of *Hindu Influence on Mahomedan Customs* should be read with pleasure and profit. Mr. A. Rogers draws public attention to *Another View of Indian Currency Policy*. The December number of *East and West* closes with an *Editorial Note* followed by some others on *Current Events*.

The Indian Review

In the *Editorial Notes* of the December number of this Review, Mr. Natesan includes a translation of the famous national anthem, *Bande Mataram*, which 'is now the shibboleth of the Bengal *Swadeshis* and the horror of the Bengal Civilians.' The Editor congratulates on the appointment of Mr. John Morley to take charge of the Indian Portfolio, appreciates the services of Mr. Alfred Chatterton in connection with *Hand-Weaving in India* and discusses the sympathetic views of Mr. Hodgson Pratt as set forth in his letter to Mr. Gokhale on the subject of *Our Political Mission to England*. Then

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we come across the opinions of five distinguished Indians with regard to the *Swadeshi Movement*. Mr. G. Subramania Aiyar writes ably on the origin and development of *The Indian National Congress*. Raja Prithipal Sing has an article on *Purdah, Its Origin and Effects* in course of which he characterises the purdah as a 'baneful, thorny screen' that 'must somehow or other be removed without delay.' *Two Books of Song* are noticed and reviewed by Mr. Eardley Norton. Mr. Uttamlal Trivedi contributes a statement on *Social Reform in Gujrat*. An elaborate review of the Speeches of Swami Vivekananda by Mr. K. S. Ramaswami Sastri is followed by the third instalment of Mr. Girindra Nath Dutt's essay on the *Brahmans and Kayasthas of Bengal*. A biographical sketch of the Hon'ble Mr. G. K. Gokhale is the last notable item in the number under review.

The Malabar Quarterly Review

We welcome the timely appearance of the *Malabar Quarterly Review* for December last. *Ochirakkali* is nothing but the periodical commemoration of a victory won over the Rajah of Quilon by his adversary, the Rajah of Kayenkulan—two principalities now absorbed in the State of Travancore. This is the authentic account of the origin of this festival which occurs once a year, though tradition has an altogether different story to tell. Whatever may have been the origin, the festival serves many a useful purpose by drawing together different classes of people and it wears the appearance of a fair. The article entitled *Essentials of Buddhism* avers in one place that Buddhism denies an *Isvara* (God) and that the latter cannot be its "goal and resting point." Whatever may be regarded with the lapse of time as the goal of Buddhism by its followers, there is not a scrap of doubt about the fact that the Lord Buddha believed in a Presiding Deity of the Universe and, it may be stated, that Buddha proclaimed the Deity as Love permeating the Universe. Buddhism after Buddha might have ignored the great Soul of the Universe but the Founder of the religion was always alive to this Reality. *The Indian National Problem In Brief* is a fine article in its own way in the course of which the writer observes with reference to the tyranny of caste-system that the "outraging of customs and the breaking of conventionality without strong and universally accepted reasons are at all times and in all countries anti-social and have really hindered progress rather than helped it."

DIARY FOR THE YEAR—1905

JANUARY

Date

6. Agricultural Conference at Pusa.
11. Mr. E. N. Baker appointed Finance Member. Address of welcome to Sir H. Cotton at the Calcutta Town Hall.
19. Protest meeting at Calcutta Town Hall against the partition of Bengal.
21. Great fire at Victoria Dock, Bombay.
27. Sir Thirkell White appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Burma.
30. Tibetan despatches published.

FEBRUARY

3. The Universities Bill introduced.
10. The Universities Bill passed.
11. Lord Curzon's speech at the Calcutta University Convocation animadverting upon Indian character and literature.
16. Mr. Brodrick, in replying to Mr. Bryce, said that the cost of the Tibet Expedition amounting to £812,730 would be charged to India.
22. Railway Board constituted.

MARCH

10. Protest meeting in Calcutta against Lord Curzon's administration.
20. Mr. Balfour in the Commons said India would naturally be asked to send representatives to the Colonial Conference.
22. Government Resolution on Police Commission Report published.
29. Budget debate in the Imperial Council.

APRIL

1. Opening of the Pusa Institute by Lord Curzon.
4. Violent earthquake in Northern India. Great loss of life in the Kangra District.
5. Rolt Case Resolution published.
13. Dane Mission returns to Peshawar.
27. Chief Commissioner of Assam's Circular on Act VI published.

MAY

4. Government of India Resolution on Labour Scarcity issued.
19. Seistan Mission returns to India.
26. Fighting in Swat between Mian Gul Jan and Badshah Khan. British column moved up to Chakdara.

JUNE

8. Government scheme for Central Research Institute at Kasauli published.
12. Abnormal heat-wave in Bengal.
19. Tornado in Calcutta.
22. First Despatches on Indian Army Controversy published.

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JULY

Date

1. Fatality at Srinagar. Forty drowned.
5. Mr. Brodrick replying to Mr. Roberts said that he had already accepted the proposals of the Government of India concerning the partition of Bengal.
18. Speech by Lord Curzon on the Indian Army Administration.
19. Government of India Resolution on the Partition of Bengal published.
26. Government proposals re Calcutta Improvement Scheme published.

AUGUST

7. Anti-Partition Demonstration in Calcutta. Beginning of the boycott agitation in Bengal.
9. The India Loans Bill read a third time in the Commons. Mr. Herbert Roberts moved the adjournment to consider the serious situation in Bengal but withdrew the motion on Mr. Brodrick's assuring the House that further papers would be laid on its table at an early date.
15. Great fire on the Darjiling Chowrusta.
21. Lord Curzon resigns. Earl of Minto appointed Viceroy.

SEPTEMBER

1. Partition of Bengal proclaimed. Fatal accident to the Kinchenjunga Expedition.
7. Anti-Partition demonstrations throughout Bengal. Boycott movement emphasised.
10. Floods in the Punjab and Kashmir.
25. Anti-Partition demonstrations on the Calcutta Maidan prohibited by the police.
30. Farewell Dinner to Lord Curzon at The United Service Club, Simla.

OCTOBER

4. Abnormal rain in Southern India The Railways breached.
16. Partition of Bengal made effective. Protest meetings in Calcutta. Further spread of the boycott movement.
19. The Prince and Princess of Wales start for India.

NOVEMBER

3. Opening of the Daly College, Indore.
6. The King approves of the name of Major-General Scott as Supply Member of the Council in India.
10. Landing of the Prince and Princess of Wales at Bombay.
15. Royal Party at Indore. Lord Curzon at Bombay.
16. Lord Curzon's farewell speech at the Byculia Club, Bombay.
17. Arrival of Lord Minto at Bombay.
18. Royal Party at Udaipur.
20. Lord and Lady Curzon leave India.
21. Royal Party at Jaipur.
22. Lord Minto arrives in Calcutta.
23. Captain the Hon. Sir Arthur Lawley, Governor of the Transvaal, appointed Governor of Madras.

Date

- 24. Royal Party at Bikanir.
- 28. Royal Party at Lahore.
- 29. Tashi Lama arrives Darjeeling.

DECEMBER

- 2. At a public meeting at Lucknow a total subscription of 8 lacs was announced for the proposed Medical College there.
 - 3. Royal Party at Peshawar.
 - 5. Rawalpindi Manoeuvres open in presence of the Royal Party.
 - 9. Serious damage to crops is reported from the Punjab.
 - 10. The appointment of Mr. John Morley as Secretary of State for India is publicly announced.
 - 11. Royal Party at Amritsar.
 - 12. Royal Party at Delhi.
 - 13. The Punjab is threatened with a fodder famine.
 - 14. First Meeting of the Imperial Council, Lord Minto presiding.
 - 16. Royal Party at Agra.
 - 18. H. R. H. the Prince of Wales unveils the statue of the late Queen Victoria at Agra.
 - 19. The Nizam's birth-day celebrations at Hyderabad. Royal visit to Fatehpur Sikri.
 - 20. Royal Party at Gwalior. At Barisal, Mr. Fuller announces the withdrawal of the Gurkha Detachment.
 - 21. Sir H. Campbell Bannerman announces that His Majesty's Government will not be a party to any step involving an invasion of the principle of the subordination of the military to the civil power in India.
 - 23. The Maharaja of Benares opens the Industrial Exhibition at that city.
 - 26. Royal Party at Lucknow.
 - 27. The twenty-first Indian National Congress opens at Benares.
 - 29. State entry of the Prince and Princess of Wales in Calcutta.
 - 30. Indian Industrial Conference at Benares.
 - 31. Meeting of the Indian Social Conference at Benares.
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Reflections on Men and Things

By the Editor



The last week of December is the great national week of New India. In that week, the Indian National Congress and the Indian National Social Conference have for the last 20 years held their annual session.

THE NATIONAL WEEK IN INDIA

In the year which has just expired the Indian Industrial Conference was added for the first time, thanks to the indefatigable exertions of Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, as an important item in that week's programme. The national programme may now be said to be complete, for it embraces all the departments of activity to which the attention of all peoples must be directed in order to attain a healthy development—industrially, socially and politically.

We have placed the 'industrial' and 'social' before the 'political,' because in the first two the people have very important duties to do by themselves and unless we can advance a little on these lines, any chance of our attaining political salvation must be considered as moonshine. We must not, however, be understood to say that no efforts should be made for any political advancement before our progress in social and industrial activity could be pronounced sufficiently assuring. But what we mean to say is that no government on earth, much less a foreign and alien government, will care to grant to any people the rights and privileges of an advanced citizenship unless the people themselves can demonstrate their own power and progress in their internal and domestic affairs and can press their claims strongly and effectively. This view does not preclude any people from formulating in a definite shape all its political aspirations and putting them forth as its legitimate demands ; and the work of the Indian National Congress for the last twenty years in that direction cannot too highly be extolled. What is now wanted is that our demands must not be like crying in the wilderness but must be effectively put ; to do this we must set our own house to order and put up an united front. The right way to go to work on this line is to rebuild our industries and reform our social organism and India, prosperous and purified, will have much greater opportunities of pushing her political claims than India, poor and rotten.

EDITORIAL REFLECTIONS

There was never a truer fact known in the history of the world than that nations by themselves are made. Our destinies are mostly in our own keeping and it is incumbent upon us all to put forth our best exertions to shape these destinies to our best advantage. It is therefore a most healthy sign of the times that we have at last awakened to a sense of our responsibility in the matter of our social and industrial condition. It may be a very uphill work—the industrial and social amelioration of our poverty-stricken and caste and custom-ridden people. But the difficulties have to be faced and success is bound to come to the people who help themselves.

As Mr. R. C. Dutt, the President of the first Indian Industrial Conference, very pertinently observed at Benares:—

“I have faith in the capabilities of our nation, in the patience and skill of our artisans, in the adaptability of our race to new methods, in the resources of this wonderful land and in the advantages of cheap labour. I have been something of an optimist all my life ; I think it better to fight and to fail than not to fight at all ; but in this industrial movement I believe we are destined to fight and to conquer. I have no patience with those of my countrymen who throw up their hands in despair, and declare that all is lost ! The history of the last twenty or thirty years shows that all is not lost and that much has been gained.”

The Industrial Conference has not initiated the educational propaganda in this connection a day too soon but let us hope that the Conference will not confine its work to the mere reading of papers and the recording of Resolutions. The educative influence of unanimously-adopted Resolutions and well-delivered speeches may be great in their own way, but they do not go far enough in the matter of our industrial revival. We have to depend more upon work and action than upon good speeches and learned papers. The whole country will therefore hail with delight if the Conference will depart from the beaten path followed by the Indian National Congress and take some active organisation in hand for the establishment of polytechnic institutes and cottage industries in all the provinces of the Empire.

The Social Conference, which is the twin sister of the Congress, has unfortunately not been able to accomplish much good work all these long years. If the resolutions and speeches of the political Congress fall upon the deaf ears and cold hearts of the Indian bureaucracy, so the academic discussions of the Social Conference is treated with scant

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courtesy by the Indian people at large. As the Government do not take the Congress seriously, so also do our people never set much store upon the Resolutions of the Conference. Like the Congress, the Social Conference has no active propaganda to carry throughout the year, and is content with merely offering at a particular season a splendid platform for speech-making. But unlike the Congress, it mainly concerns itself with the problems of the Hindu race and does not recognise the evils with which the Indian Mahomedans, the Indian Christians, and the pariah castes have to combat, nor does it recognise its great responsibility for diffusing education among the teeming millions that inhabit this vast country. To think of reforming a society without spreading the light of knowledge within it is like putting a cart before the horse which will never do. Education, it is forgotten, is the greatest social problem of to-day all over the world and is by far and away the greatest leaven that raises a people. Why should the Indian Social Conference not tackle the question and organise a system of free education among the masses of our people it is difficult to see, for only in a work like this can a great national Conference find ample scope of usefulness and activity and justify its existence.

The question of social reform is as old in India as the days of Rammohan Roy and a large part of the programme that now finds acceptance in the Social Conference was made up by him in the first quarter of the last century. Since that time the educated community in Bengal have more or less adopted that programme, thanks to the influence of the Brahmo Somaj ; and, owing to the efforts of men like the late Mahadeo Govinda Ranade and Mr. Justice Chandravarkar and Mr. Bajekar, that light is also spreading fast among the educated Mahrattas of the Deccan. Here and there in other parts of India, notably in the Punjaub, one also finds small sections of the people subscribing to the reform programme and demonstrating the courage of their convictions by occasionally giving effect to this or that item in the social programme, but whether it be in Bengal or in Deccan or in the Punjaub, the reform people are everywhere in a microscopic minority and do not carry the people with them. How can one expect it otherwise when 95 per cent of the men, and more than 99 per cent of the women, of India are brought up in ignorance and in darkness and would not recognise even their own name when written or printed ? With the mental perceptions of such an overwhelming majority of our countrymen remaining almost blank, it would be foolish to grumble at the slow progress that social reform is making in this

EDITORIAL REFLECTIONS

country. We must look this fact in the face and consider it obligatory on us all, individually and jointly, to send the schoolmaster to the remotest corners of India. The Social Conference ought to undertake this work in right earnest and should not sit down with folded hands to watch how the Government discharges its duties in that connection. The State is certainly responsible for the widest diffusion of knowledge in the community and in all civilised countries that duty forms the primary function of the government and the most important charge upon its exchequer ; but if the government anywhere fails in, or ignores, that duty, the people must not take their ignorance as a matter of course or in a spirit of resignation. In the matter of education, particularly in primary education, the people can organise an independent system and work out its own salvation. The failure of the leaders of our people to recognise its duty towards our ignorant countrymen would be as culpable as the remissness of the Government on the subject ; and for the good name of the Social Conference we hope and trust that it will take some active work in hand and justify its existence before the world.

The work of the political Congress lies however in a different groove. In politics, we are impotent to do any good to our people directly or initiate any active measures of reform. We cannot ourselves take off any burden from the back of our tax-paying community, alter the fiscal relations of the Empire, change the laws of the land, initiate a policy of economy and retrenchment in the domestic administration of the country and thrust the leaders of our people into the confidence of the Government. For all these, we must depend upon the good sense of the powers that be, though undoubtedly this 'good sense' would very much depend upon the manner how we press our demands upon their attention. 'Petitions and memorials,' every self-respecting man must admit, are not very honourable weapons of political warfare ; but as long as the masses do not join the classes in their political demands, the weapons cannot be stronger or more effective than these, do what we may. Our political propaganda is therefore bound to proceed on different lines from that of our social and industrial programme. In social and industrial matters, we have grave duties by the people to discharge and an active campaign to carry ; but in politics our main effort must be limited to appealing to our rulers, directly by means of "petitions and memorials" and indirectly through the irresistible pressure of public opinion, not to treat us as nation in leading strings, incapable of any measure of self-government or of exercising the rights and

**The Indian
National Congress**

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privileges of British citizenship but to deal with us fairly and in a spirit of righteousness. The Indian National Congress fails to command the respect and attention of the government and the people of the country in proportion it neglects the double function of educating public opinion on the one hand and putting forward the claims of the people of the soil to the government on the other.

We have got no faults to find with the past work of the peripatetic political Congress of India. It has done splendid service in the past and achieved splendid results. Not to mention the few political privileges it has been instrumental in securing for our people or the reduction in the burdens of the Indian tax-payers that has followed its annual agitation, the unification of India, the formulation of its political hopes and aspirations and the focussing of all the patriotic forces in the country are the three great facts which can be placed to its credit. But if the Congress has helped in the fruition of these desirable objects, the time has not yet come for it to rest upon its oars or live upon its past reputation. Much yet remains to be done by way of active work—the work of qualifying the people, by means of education and in other ways, to understand their rights and privileges—and to this the attention of the Congress leaders must be directed if that organisation is to be saved from collapse on account of inanition.

It was expected that the Congress, in attaining majority, would change its orthodox programme a little and would develop the traits of a vigorous growth. But when the coming of the age of the Congress was celebrated with a great flourish of trumpets in the sacred city of the Hindus in December last, the proceedings did not impress any thoughtful persons as indicating much healthy development. There was the usual helter-skelter way of doing things and on the spur of the moment: there was the old arrangement of going into Committee, and arranging the programme of the Congress, with two to three hundred people; the usual score of Resolutions were rushed through in the usual way and speakers were selected at random like all previous Congresses; there was the usual display of oratorical fireworks and the usual anxiety to figure at the platform and play to the gallery; there was the usual lack of well-informed criticism; there was the common failing of speakers running off at a tangent from the subjects under discussion: and, above everything, there was the regrettable absence of the spirit to put all things in terms of due restraint.

We are bound to say that a great opportunity has been heedlessly thrown away. The coming of the age of the Congress could

EDITORIAL REFLECTIONS

easily be turned into an epoch-making event. There was no lack of sentiment and emotion or of passionate devotion to the motherland among the assembled delegates at Benares : there was a strong, almost acute, sense of disappointment at the failure of the orthodox method of political agitation ; there was an evident anxiety among a large number of Congressmen to convert the Congress from a *talking* to a *working* machine and to depart from the old beaten path. And no man was better fitted by his abilities, training and tact to give the Congress a new direction than the youthful, acute and much-travelled Mahratta Brahmin who was called upon to preside over the National Assembly.

‘There is a tide in the affairs of a man,’ says the poet, ‘which taken at the flood leads on to fortune.’ This is as true of nations as of individuals. But the flood in the tide of the Indian nation was not utilised nor was taken advantage of at Benares and the occasion was carelessly thrown away. Oh ! the pity of it !

Indeed, not much vigour or powers of initiative or decision of character was displayed in steering the Congress vessel right away from stagnant waters. With ‘rocks ahead and angry waves beating around,’ the Congress pilot may have exercised a wholesome discretion in not venturing to put his boat out to the sea but a more daring mariner would have taken his chance in life and braved the storm and shoals of the high seas.

However, the opportunity is now lost and there is no good in speculating as to what might have been. The XXIst session of the Indian National Congress has now come and gone but has not ‘emerged from the crisis with enhanced prestige and usefulness’ and has left no landmark in the history of our political life ; nor is the country any the better or the worse for its having met at all.

The most redeeming feature of the last Congress, however, was undoubtedly the inaugural address from the chair.

The Hon. Mr. Gokhale's Speech Mr. Gokhale did not commit the unpardonable mistake of making a very long speech or of taking up a large number of subjects. But the few subjects he took up he dealt with great ability, judgment and tact and these subjects are the absorbing topics of the day all over India.

It would not be possible for us to examine Mr. Gokhale's speech at length in a hurried notice of this kind, but one cannot forgive him for his comparing Lord Curzon's administration with that of the last of the Great Moghuls. Lord Curzon had his many faults and some of these were of a very serious kind ; and no reader of *The Indian World* would ever accuse us of being in any way partial

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to them. But we think we owe it to truth to tell Mr. Gokhale that never was a comparison more unhappy or more drawn from the imagination. Aurangzebe imposed any number of taxes upon his subjects : Lord Curzon removed some of the burdens from the shoulders of the people. Aurangzebe was an implacable enemy of the Hindu religion, its gods and architecture ; Lord Curzon demonstrated his love and sympathy for them by preserving as much of them with the aid of legislation and money as it is possible under the circumstances to do. Aurangzebe was the *beau ideal* of the Moghul army and passed the greater part of his life in wars and conquests ; Lord Curzon was the *bete noir* of the British Forces in India and devoted the entire term of his administration almost wholly to domestic and legislative activity. Aurangzebe pillaged and slaughtered throughout the Rajput States of Jaypur, Jodhpur and Udaipur and even oppressed the widow and children of his father's faithful Hindu General, Joswant Singh ; Lord Curzon has established the Imperial Cadet Corps with a view to train young Indian Chiefs, particularly of Rajputana, to receive his Majesty's commissions in the Army and lionised the Mutiny veterans as the saviours of the Empire. For Lord Curzon's rule being 'excessively centralised and intensely personal,' he had himself to thank ; but for a similar state of things in India in the seventeenth century Aurangzebe was as much responsible as any of his predecessors who sat upon the Peacock Throne. Aurangzebe's 'overpowering consciousness of duty' lay in his bigotry and breaking Hindu idols and temples ; Lord Curzon's in relieving famine, extending irrigation and increasing the grants to primary education. The 'marvellous capacity for work' and the 'same strenuous purpose' were personal qualifications with both but never the characteristics of their administrations. And as for a 'sense of loneliness,' we really do not know what it means when applied to an administration. The only point of similarity between the two administrations is no doubt 'the persistence in a policy of distrust' of the subject people—a distrust intensely strong and frankly provocative of hostile feelings. That alone, however, does not justify the parallel that Mr. Gokhale has sought to draw in order to withhold giving Lord Curzon's Viceroyalty the credit to which it is justly entitled. The more is the pity as the whole speech is conceived in a moderate and dispassionate spirit and not with a view to create effect.

With regard to the partition of Bengal, Mr. Gokhale seems to think that "the most natural course to take was to separate Behar, Orissa and Chota Nagpore from Bengal and form them

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into a separate Province." Behar and Orissa may be taken away from Bengal but, as we explained this point in great detail in our last issue, Chota Nagpur should not at least for a long time to come be separated from it. Province-making is not an empiric art or a game of cards : no chance shuffling will do. You have to take into consideration the social and ethnic conditions as well as the sentiment of the people, the physical configuration and the resources of the areas, and not the least the vested interests involved. Mr. Gokhale's proposal will not stand any of these tests.

On the *Swadeshi* question, however, Mr. Gokhale was in his element and a copious explanation of the economic laws of free trade and an wealth of statistics dignified his remarks on this point.

Speaking on the domination of one race by another, Mr. Gokhale observed :—"As in Ireland the evil of absentee landlordism has in the past aggravated the racial domination of the English over the Irish, so in India what may be called absentee capitalism has been added to the racial ascendancy of Englishmen." 'Absentee capitalism' is too good to be lost.

But it was neither the partition of Bengal nor the *Swadeshi* question nor even the review of Lord Curzon's administration which was the most prominent point of the speech. The principal topic in Mr. Gokhale's address was evidently the question of representation and of the reform of the Councils. Mr. Gokhale believes in the representation of Indian interests in the Council of the Secretary of State at India Office and in the further expansion of the Imperial and Provincial Councils with some additional rights and privileges :—

"In my humble opinion our immediate demands should be :—
(1) A reform of our Legislative Councils, raising the proportion of elected members to one-half, requiring the budgets to be formally passed by the Councils and empowering the members to bring forward amendments, with safeguards for bringing debates to a close in a reasonable time. The Presidents of the Councils should have the power of veto. The Viceroy's Legislative Council consists at present of 25 members, of whom only five are elected, one by the Chamber of Commerce of Calcutta—a body of Europeans, and the other four by four Provinces. We must ask for the proportion of elected members to be now raised to 12. Of this number, two seats might be given, one to commerce and one to certain industries, and the remaining ten should be assigned to different Provinces, two to each of the three older ones and one each to the remaining. And to begin with, the right of members to move amendments may be confined to one amendment each. The two members for commerce

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and industries will generally be Europeans and they will ordinarily vote with the Government. Thus even if all the ten Provincial members voted together, they would be only 10 out of 25. Ordinarily they will not be able to carry a motion against the Government, but on exceptional occasions they may obtain the support of two or three men from the other side and then the moral effect of the situation will be considerable. In the Provincial Legislative Councils, we must have an increase in the number of members, each district of a Province being empowered to send a member. The objection that these bodies will in that case be somewhat unwieldy is not entitled to much weight. 2. The appointment of at least three Indians to the Secretary of State's Council to be returned one each by the three older Provinces. 3. The creation of Advisory Boards in all Districts throughout India, which heads of Districts should be bound to consult in important matters of administration concerning the public before taking action. For the present their functions should be only advisory, the Collectors or District Magistrates being at liberty to set aside their advice at their discretion. Half the members of a Board should be elected representatives of the different Talukas, sub-divisions of the District and the other half should consist of the principal District Officers and such non-official gentlemen as the head of the District may appoint. These Boards must not be confounded with what are known as District Local Boards. There is at present too much of what may be called Secretariat rule, with an excessive multiplication of Central Departments. District administration must be largely freed from this and reasonable opportunities afforded to the people concerned to influence its course before final decisions are arrived at. If such Boards are created we may in course of time expect them to be entrusted with some real measure of control over the District administration."

Like the Honourable Mr. Gokhale, we also believe in the reform and expansion of all the Councils in the Empire but we have no faith in half measures. Timid reforms are very often worse than no reform as half-truths are sometimes worse than untruths. It appears to us, however, that unless the autocratic character of the administration is materially altered, no manner of reform of the Councils is likely to help us much. If the Viceroy or the Presidents of the Provincial Councils will have always the right to 'veto,' what chance is there of your amending any law or throwing away any bill, no matter what the number of your members in the Councils may be? This would not improve matters but, on the contrary, perpetuate the evil of personal rule. 'The moral effect' of a good division is no doubt

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encouraging but with a strong bureaucracy as exists in India 'moral effect' counts for very little. We should always clear ourselves of cant and indulge in straight talk.

As for some representation in the Secretary of State's Council at the India Office, every body knows that the Secretary of State is all in all and the Dictator of the situation and that his Council is impotent to change his decrees either for our weal or woe. What's then the good of adding three more members to an already useless Council which should be abolished as the first work of reform in Indian Administration? The proposal of the Honourable Mr. Gokhale to send three Indians to the India Office at Whitehall for the mere pleasure of recording dissentient minutes on nearly every question of principle should never be endorsed by Indian public opinion, particularly in view of the fact that the leading men of the Congress in the various provinces of the Empire have themselves condemned the India Council as a museum of fossils and as a haven for superannuated mediocres of the Indian Civil Service and have time and again suggested its speedy abolition. Mr. Gokhale's proposal would confer no blessings upon the people of India and, on the contrary, justify the existence of an effete and time-worn institution.

It is difficult to say whether the District Advisory Boards, as contemplated by Mr. Gokhale on the strength of a suggestion of the late Mr. Ranade, could be made independent bodies under the present circumstances of the country and with our limited experience of public and corporate life; if not, they might be turned into tools of oppression by the District gods and prove so many additional spokes in the bureaucratic wheel of the country. An organisation that might lend itself to the perpetuation of despotism in the name of the people and might stir angry passions and local jealousies and set one class of people and interest against another would not ultimately redound to the benefit of India and might prove, for aught we know, to be a measure of grave political blunder. Nor must the fact be lost sight of, as Mr. Gokhale seems to ignore, that the District Administration in India is no independent organisation and you cannot conceive of exercising 'any real measure of control' over it without interfering with the entire policy of the Government of the country and breaking the continuity and the uniformity of the general trend of events in the Empire. Moreover, is Mr. Gokhale quite sure that the weak points of the district administration in India, including the evil of secrecy, cannot be removed by taking off all judicial work from executive officers and making the police powerless

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to injure and oppress the people or by reorganising the District Civil Service in India in the way in which we proposed it to be done in our June number ?

We have now done with the matter of Mr. Gokhale's speech. It would be an unpardonable oversight if we were to conclude this brief review of that speech without recording our admiration for its great literary merit. Though there are occasional slips of language and the speech is unrelieved by any brilliant sallies or flashes of humour, yet for clearness of expression, penetrating insight, apt quotations (we have two from Gladstone and two from Ranade), correct use of idioms and sonorous collocation of simple and saxon words, it would not be easy to find many literary efforts of equal merit in the whole domain of English literature outside England.

The Liberal Party, Mr. John Morley and India The return of the Liberal Party to real power in the English Parliament after nearly twenty years of 'greater freedom and less responsibility' and the appointment of Mr. John Morley, a statesman bred in the Manchester School of Politics, will no doubt be very keenly watched in this country as two very interesting experiments. Since the establishment of the Indian National Congress in 1885 and the organisation of an active political campaign for the reform of the Indian constitution and the evils of Anglo-Indian administration, the Liberal Party have had practically no good chance of administering the affairs of India, dealing with her problems, and showing their attitude towards the aspirations of the people of this country. For six brief months in 1886, Mr. Gladstone came into office with the Earl of Kimberley as the Secretary of State for India. In August 1892, the Liberal Party again was entrusted with the Government of the Empire and, with Mr. Gladstone and Lord Rosebury at the head of the Administration and the Earl of Kimberley and Sir Henry Fowler as the Secretaries of State for India, it held on till the end of June, 1895. Since that time, the Liberal Party have rotted in the cold shade of Opposition and it is in the year of grace 1906 that it is again coming not only into office but also into power. Every student of politics knows well enough that there is a world of difference between the policy of a party enjoying a strong, and in that of the other enjoying only a nominal, majority in the Lower House, and it is generous to assume that about ten years ago, when the Liberal Party came into office with not a numerous majority, Mr. Gladstone or for the matter of that Lord Rosebury did not venture to risk their position by pursuing a

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vigorous liberal policy in India. Besides, the Earl of Kimberley was a mediocre politician of the old school who was wedded to the theory of governing India in the spirit of 'benevolent despotism.' Sir Henry Fowler, who came to the India Office with the Earl of Rosebury, a Liberal of the Imperialist school, unfortunately fell out with the British Committee of the Indian National Congress and tabooed all the suggestions at reforms emanating from that body. The political agitation in India has since then received wonderful accession of strength and the English people also have during the last few years advanced a long way towards Democracy. Now, for the first time, in the history of England's relation with India, will the people of this country have the opportunity of knowing if the Liberal Party are really prepared to practise what they profess to preach for upholding 'integrity, mercy and honour in relation between Asatics and Europeans. If the Liberals, however, will follow in the wake and track of the conservatives and the Imperial Unionists and refuse to turn a new leaf in the Administration of this country or to advance our political condition, the great reliance of the Indian Congress on the sense of justice of Englishmen and of the righteousness of British policy will receive a violent shock. Too much faith has been imposed by Indian Congressmen upon the sympathy and support of the Liberal Party and, now that the time has come to put it to the test, let us hope that there will be no disillusionment.

As for Mr. John Morley, educated India will watch with bated breath his attitude towards Indian public opinion and his sympathies or otherwise with the aspirations of an Asiatic people. If 'the reverent student of Burke, the disciple of Mill, the friend and biographer of Gladstone' will disappoint the hopes of New India—England and India may both have to rue the day. If, however, the admirer of the French Encyclopædists, the disciple of Cobden and Bright and the friend and ally of Herbert Spenser will be able to rise above red tape, the traditions of the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy and set his face against the insolence and presumptions of race over race—then Mr. John Morley will have not only earned the undying gratitude of the people of India but will have also strengthened the foundation of British rule in India in a way which nothing else could be expected to do. The fate of constitutional agitation in India and of the trust reposed by us on the sense of justice and of duty of the Liberal Party, therefore, hangs upon the result of these experiments—the return of the Liberal Party to power with an overwhelming majority and the appointment of a doctrinaire politician to preside at the India Office.

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The announcement made in this Review in the month of September last that a gold medal would be awarded in the name of the Swami Vivekananda for the best attempt at a CREED of the Indian Nationality has brought forth rejoinders from various parts of the country. The Madras Presidency and Mysore have sent half the total number of Creeds, and one attempt reaches us from Lahore—two facts which are sufficient to show that the idea of Nationality is taking root all over the country as a subject of conscious thought and endeavour.

Taking the papers which have been sent in as a whole, however, we find, as might have been expected, that our countrymen find great difficulty in grasping the idea of a Creed (Latin *Credo*, I believe) as distinguished from an essay or a letter. In one case, when the idea was almost apprehended, the writer unfortunately adopted the lyric attitude, and wrote what must be regarded as a rhapsody, rather than a Creed. As a rhapsody or act of devotion to the Nationality, however, his production is admirable and deserves to be repeated daily. Yet it is not a Creed and therefore not eligible for the Vivekananda Medal. A Creed must consist of a series of sharply-enunciated articles of faith or belief to which the intellectual assent of each member of a community is necessary, simply as one of its members, before he can show the conduct or the hope that marks out that community as distinct from others. What are the articles of belief that ought to be common to all Indian men and women, whatever their personal history, their social customs, their religious opinions or their place of birth may be?

A deeper and more serious difficulty was experienced by those writers who could not grasp the idea of a national, as distinguished from a religious or philosophical, Creed. Two very able papers show this tendency to wander into the region of metaphysics instead of concentrating the attention on actualities. There is in both, however, a certain amount of clearness in the perception of Nationality, the Indian unity, as a distinct idea, and a certain ability for sustained thought which marked them out, on the whole, as efforts in the right direction. Space permitting, we shall try to reproduce these two short essays in an early issue of the *Indian World*. The Medal, however, has been won by Mr. Shiv Narayan, M.A., B.Sc., of Lahore, whose Creed will be published in our next number.

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THE INDIAN WORLD

Vol. III]

FEBRUARY, 1906

[No. II

AN INDIAN CREED OF NATIONALITY*

1. I believe in India, one and indivisible.
2. I believe in India, beloved mother of each
and all her many million children.
3. I believe in India's divine mission.
4. I believe in the saints of her birth and the
heroes of her breeding.
5. I believe in India the invincible, whom the world's
loftiest and holiest mountains defend.
6. I believe in the invigorating power of the ocean,
on whose lap lies my mother secure.
7. I believe in India, the beautiful ;—Nature's own
paradise of loveliest flowers and streams.
8. I believe in the sanctity of her every particle.
9. I believe in India's departed sons, whose ashes are
mingled in the air, earth, and water, that give me
my food, and form my very blood.
10. I am bone of their bone and flesh of their flesh.
11. I believe in the abiding relationship of Indians of
all times and all communities.
12. I believe in the brotherhood of all who belong to
India's soil, be they of whatsoever caste or creed.
13. I believe in the living Indian nation, dearer to her
children than aught else of earthly kinship.
14. I believe in its golden past and glorious future.
15. I believe in the righteousness, valour and
patriotism of Indian manhood.
16. I believe in the tenderness, chastity and selflessness
of Indian womanhood.

* This *Creed* of the Indian Nationality has won for its writer, a Punjab Graduate, the Vivekananda gold medal which was offered for general competition in the September number of the *Indian World*. Ed., I. W.

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17. I believe in India for the Indian people
to live for and to die for.
18. I believe in one land, one nation, one ideal,
and one cause.
19. The service of my countrymen is the breath of my life,—
the be-all and end-all of my existence.
20. So help me Bharat ! *Bande Mataram.*

Shiv Naryan

PERMANENT SETTLEMENT AND FAMINE

The note of warning has just been sounded. Famine has been declared in the United Provinces and Central India ; and the perennial problem as to whether there is any relation between famine and the periodical revision of settlements of land revenue acquires at this moment a revived interest. One of the most effective remedial measures for affording a slight measure of relief to the agriculturists is admittedly the extension of the Permanent Settlement of 1793. The beneficial influence of no other measure would permeate the masses who have an interest in the land. The advantages that would accrue to them have been demonstrated by eminent Indian administrators, and it is needless to quote their opinions here. They argue that the introduction of the permanent settlement will stimulate industry and thrift, call forth the latent energies of the people, enable capital to be accumulated in their hands, encourage investment of capital in the improvement of land, increase agricultural wealth, strengthen the social community and will ultimately compensate the State for the relinquishment of any prospective increase of land revenue, by giving the agriculturists greater capacity to purchase taxable articles and by reducing the expenses of periodical assessments. Between the two alternatives, namely, relinquishment of prospective revenue and the improvement of the well-being of the famine-stricken and impoverished peasantry, the choice can never be doubtful nor difficult. The highest and noblest duty is to raise the mass of the population from the dead level to which it has sunk ; and the growth of the material and intellectual prosperity of the country must attend the improvement of the condition of the agriculturists who compose a preponderating proportion of its population. To adopt legislative remedies for the prevention of indebtedness and the promotion of thrift among the poor and extravagant, and at the same time to leave them a bare

PERMANENT SETTLEMENT

margin of subsistence, does not touch the fringe of the problem. These economic problems affecting the vital interests of the country should be grappled with sympathy, with courage and with persistence. The ultimate motive in denying this measure to the country is the undue apprehension of a loss of revenue ; but what useful object, one may ask, will the mere inflation of public revenue serve, if the person who contributes to it cannot afford to part with it except at a great self-denial, and without depriving himself of his available resources, and consequently of his capacity to meet the future demands of the State ? The interests of the State are ultimately identical with the interests of individuals ; it would, therefore, be anomalous if the State were to appropriate the benefits that would otherwise accrue to the people, and thereby point the moral embodied in the proverb "do not kill the goose that lays golden eggs." In view of the large beneficial measures that have recently been passed, the motive of the Government in its persistent refusal to introduce the Permanent Settlement into the other provinces of India appears to be somewhat inexplicable.

No one can conscientiously refrain from appreciating the great value of the generous financial concessions, in addition to the almost unlimited financial responsibility, which the State undertakes during a famine. But these temporary concessions, made to tide over periods of temporary stress, do not, in any way, tend to a permanent amelioration of the condition of the people to whom they are granted. Direct pecuniary aids are more demoralising in their character and more extravagant in effect than permanent indirect concession in the shape of a fixity of the land revenue demand. Indirect aid has the advantage of elevating the character of a people, of stimulating their energies, of promoting self-help and thrift, and of generally exercising a permanent moral influence over the whole career of their life. Direct aid is merely improvised for the occasion and its moral and material effects, which are at best temporary, pass away with the exigencies of the hour. In this view of the matter, the Permanent Settlement will exercise a more permanent effect on the habits and character of the people than temporary grants of money, or other direct pecuniary concessions, however valuable or liberal, in themselves made during a period of calamity. The latter, received in times of distress and suffering are, no doubt, most appreciated ; but they create only a momentary enjoyment ; while the former, coming to them in peaceful and normal times, can be utilised with the most satisfactory practical results.

It has been argued that the increasing cost of administration,

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necessitated by the rapid advance of civilisation and by the introduction of improved and modern standards of Government, promises to entail a large progressive expenditure which cannot be overtaken except with the assistance of increasing revenue derivable from the soil. This argument does not appear to be sound. The existing complex machinery of administration, however efficient in theory and practice, is unsuited to the poor people of India for several reasons, the chief of which is its expensiveness. It, therefore, stands to reason that the cost of that administration should not be further enhanced at the expense of the poor. There are other sources of revenue besides the land—for instance, Stamps, Excise, Assessed Taxes, Registration, &c.—which contribute materially to the ever-growing needs of the Government. It is those heads of revenue, rather than the land, which are indicative of material prosperity ; and the additional annual charge for the administration ought to be defrayed out of those expansive heads. The poor and the famine-stricken who rely mainly on the soil should not be laid under contribution for administrative reforms, unless they are directly calculated to their advantage. It may be easily conceded that land is the most extensive and the most prolific source of public revenue ; but, at the same time, it must not be forgotten that calls on the land for the requirements of government have not only been more frequent and persistent, but have been more readily responded to than calls on trades, professions and industries. The simple reason is that it is less difficult to raise money from the land than from any other source. This is one of the considerations which should deter, rather than induce, the Government to raise further revenue by revisions of settlements. As felicitously expressed by Sir Louis Mallet, “the Settlement Department may be designated the great Unsettlement Department of the Government ;” and until its revisional operations are stopped, peace and prosperity will not be secured to the people and to the country. Every desire to meet the increasing cost of administration from progressive land revenue should be finally given up, and the Government should evince a practical solicitude for the peasantry by conferring on them a boon by which peace, wealth and prosperity will be assured to them.

It has been alleged that the Permanent Settlement is no remedy for the prevention of famines, and it is argued that Bengal, the land of the Permanent Settlement, has not been immune from such calamities within the last 100 years. In the famous Resolution of the 16th January, 1902, which the Hon'ble Mr. Baker

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calls "the *locus classicus* of the Government of India in respect of land revenue administration," an endeavour is made to belittle the importance of that great measure by stating that "neither these advantages nor the Permanent Settlement have availed to save Bengal from serious drought when the monsoon failure from which it is ordinarily free has spread to that part of India. Omitting to notice the frequent earlier famines, that known as the Behar famine of 1873-74 (so called from the part of the Bengal province most seriously affected) cost the state £6,000,000 ; while it can be shown that in the famine of 1897 there were at the height of distress considerably more than $\frac{3}{4}$ million persons on relief in the permanently settled districts of Bengal, and that the total cost of that famine to the Bengal administration was Rs. 1,08,04,000 or £720,266, (as compared with a famine expenditure of Rs. 98,28,000 or £655,200 in Madras, and Rs. 1,26,37,000 or £842,466 in Bombay) ; and this, although the daily cost of each person was less." To a reader who is familiar with official statistics and the circumstances connected with the Behar famine of 1873-74, these figures will strike as most delusive. In the first place, it will be remembered in what reckless and injudicious a scale famine relief was administered in Behar in 1873. Owing to the lack of statistical information regarding the number and requirements of the distressed population, the estimates were both fallacious and uncertain. This ignorance led in Orissa "to the refusal of relief to a starving population" and it led in 1874 "to the lavishing of relief on a population which (to a large extent at least) was not only not starving, but which was hardly even distressed." Relief tests were either relaxed, or altogether neglected ; purchases of grain, much in excess of requirements, were made at State expense and on State responsibility ; and the waste and extravagance that resulted account for a substantial portion of the recorded expenditure of six millions. Sir John Strachey, an unquestioned authority on famine matters, stated that, owing to the profound ignorance in Bengal of agricultural affairs, the effect on the finances and the administrative system of Government was most serious ; and, in Saran, "the original estimate on which the relief measures of the Government were based was in excess of the actual loss by 100 per cent. A similar error occurred in regard to the district of Gya where the area under winter rice was estimated at 75 per cent. of the whole cultivated area, whereas in reality it was hardly more than 50 per cent." "The result of these accumulated errors," he continued, "was the mistaken belief that a terrible famine must be impending, and more

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than £700,000 (seventy lakhs of rupees) was expended, for the most part, needlessly on famine relief in Saran alone. . . . I state within careful limits when I state my deliberate conviction that a knowledge of the cultivated area of crops and of the average yield in Bengal would have saved the State millions of pounds sterling in 1874." It is herein admitted on the highest official authority of the day that the cost of the Behar famine of 1873-74 represented by 6 millions is not only exaggerated by "millions" (as stated by Sir John) but is highly fictitious. An administration of the famine under the present system and tests, and a previous and correct knowledge of facts would, accordingly, have reduced the cost to a fraction of what it actually was. The following passage taken from an esteemed Anglo-Indian newspaper, describing the wasteful character of the Behar famine administration will no doubt be read with great interest: "Lord Northbrook was guided by the humane principle that the saving of life should be the first object of the British Government armed with absolute power and therefore responsible for the lives of its helpless subjects. Up to that time, the stereotyped official view had been that it was not the business of the Government to save the people alive in time of famine; that it was utopian to do so, and that, in fact, so far from the State being called upon to combat the calamity, famine was a sort of god-send to clear off the surplus population. Lord Northbrook, to his lasting honour, was the first Viceroy of India to repudiate this abominable theory and to recognise to the full the obligation of the State to do its utmost to keep the people alive in time of famine. But unfortunately he had for his lieutenant, in 1874, Sir Richard Temple, who readily adapting himself to the views then in the ascendant, proceeded to travesty the Viceroy's policy by instituting relief measures of such wasteful extravagance as to cover it with ridicule. Without taking the trouble to satisfy himself as to the true extent of the calamity—which, as a matter of fact, proved itself to be little more than temporary, though at the time severe, scarcity—he chartered ships by the dozen to bring rice from Burma and the distant Saigon, and the Hughly was filled with vessels laden with cargoes of grain amounting in the aggregate to 600,000 tons, with which the authorities were quite unable to deal."

In the second place, the aggravating cause of the famine in Behar was the depressed and impoverished condition of the tenantry brought about by rack-renting, the oppression and the illegal action of the landlords. If a reference were made to Sir C. P. Ilbert's speech in the Governor-General's Council introducing the Bengal

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Tenancy Bill, it would be seen that the landlords in Behar, unlike the landlords in Eastern Bengal, were strong and the tenants weak. The Permanent Settlement of 1793 did not provide any ready means of enabling the tenantry to protect themselves from the illegal distraint, illegal enhancement of rent, and illegal cesses, and to prove and maintain their customary and occupancy rights of which they were in enjoyment at the time of the Permanent Settlement. These evils were not adequately provided for by the measure of 1793, and they effectually arrested the development of agricultural prosperity and placed the tenants practically at the mercy of the landlords. It is this condition of agrarian poverty and agricultural depression, caused by the high-handed and lawless actions of the landlords that aggravated the physical effects of the drought of 1873 in that part of the permanently-settled province of Bengal. If the pledge held out at the Settlement 1793, to which fuller reference will be made later on, had been redeemed, the economic condition of the Behar tenantry would have been far more prosperous in 1873-74 than it is now, after the passing of the tenancy Act of 1885; and the disastrous consequences of the famine would, in a great measure, have been counteracted by the greater resisting capacity of the people. It is, therefore, obvious that if we eliminated the two potent factors which magnified the proportions of the Behar famine, viz, the omissions of the Permanent Settlement and the mistakes in the administration of relief measures, we should find that the Behar famine, of which such an appalling account is given in official reports, would be reduced to nothing more than a local scarcity.

The second part of the Resolution of the 16th January 1902, quoted above, suggests that the famine in Bengal which occurred in 1897 was more intense and widespread than either the Madras or the Bombay famine of the same year. The statistics given below mathematically demonstrate that the percentage of total units relieved, and of the average daily number of people on relief, to the distressed population was the lowest in Bengal, and the percentage of the maximum number on relief to the distressed population was also the lowest in that province with the exception of Bombay. It will also be seen that, with the exception of the United Provinces, where labour is exceedingly cheap, the cost of relief per 1000 units relieved was the lowest in Bengal, the cost in Bombay and Madras being 30 per cent higher. From these results we are justified in concluding that the resisting power of the people of Bengal is generally higher than

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in any other province ; and that under given conditions, the people of Bengal are less in need of relief than the people of any other province of India.

Province	Area returned as distressed (in miles)	Population of distressed area (in thousands)	Maximum number on relief (in thousands)	Total units relieved (in thousands)	Average daily number on relief (in thousands)	Percentage of max. no. on relief to population	Ratio of total units relieved to population	Percentage of average no. on relief to population	Average cost of relief per 1000 units relieved
Madras	17,900	3,238	807	92,500	349	25	28 times	10	105
Bombay	42,000	6,710	454	114,000	358	7	17 "	5.3	106
Bengal	23,600	10,792	833	138,500	500	8	12 "	4.6	82
United Provs.	33,000	12,753	1650	284,000	950	13	22 "	7.4	70
Central Provs.	50,000	6,168	698	138,000	479	11	22 "	7.7	99

The value of the benefits conferred by the Permanent Settlement on the Bengal peasantry is not, therefore, altogether a negligible quantity ; and there is no reason to doubt that a similar measure applied to other provinces, under proper safeguards, will be attended with greater beneficial results than it has been in Bengal.

It has been further asserted that the Permanent Settlement has not, as it is claimed for it, converted the position of the Bengal tenants "into one of exceptional comfort and prosperity." It is argued that "precisely because this was not the case, and because, so far from being generously treated by the Zemindars, the Bengal cultivators were rack-rented, impoverished and oppressed that the Government of India felt compelled to intervene on their behalf and, by the series of legislative measures that commenced with the Bengal Act of 1859 and culminated in the Act of 1885, to place them in the position of greater security which they now enjoy. To confound this legislation with the permanent settlement and ascribe, even in part, to the latter the benefits which it had conspicuously failed to confer, and which would never have accrued but for the former, is strangely to misread history." No attempt will be made in this article to trace the development of the agrarian situation in Bengal from 1793 to 1859, when the first Act giving greater security to the Bengal tenant was passed. It is well-known why the necessity for further legislation in the same direction was soon recognised in consequence of the failure in the operation of the Act, owing, mainly, to its defective language. The most superficial reader of the agrarian his-

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tory of Bengal which preceded the passing of the Act of 1885 is familiar with the fact that successive Indian administrators either failed or neglected to redeem a pledge which had been given about three-quarters of a century ago, to "protect," in the words of the Regulation of 1793, "all classes of people, and more particularly those who, from their situation, are most helpless," and to enact such regulations as the Governor-General in Council might think necessary "for the protection and welfare of the dependent taluqdars, ryots and other cultivators of the soil." The Acts of 1859 and 1885 merely embody this pledge and define the mutual rights of the zemindars and ryots which the Permanent Settlement did not do. These Acts were enacted merely to correct the errors and to supply the omissions of the Permanent Settlement and to settle the outstanding rights left undefined in 1793. They are, in fact, supplementary to, and a commentary on, the Regulation I of 1793; and, instead of asserting that they should not be confounded with the Permanent Settlement, it would be appropriate to say that these three legislative measures passed in three different periods constitute together the Great Permanent Settlement of Bengal and a Charter of the rights of those who have either a direct or indirect interest in its soil. The question, therefore, is not whether the Permanent Settlement of Lord Cornwallis has conspicuously failed to confer benefits on the people, but whether, in spite of the errors and omissions, the condition of the peasantry of Bengal is not comparatively more prosperous than that in the temporarily settled provinces; and whether, if a settlement were now introduced under proper safeguards, the condition of the people in the latter places would not be materially better than is actually the case in Bengal. The permanent settlement which is here suggested to be introduced is not the settlement tainted with the defects of the first great experiment, but one which is free from the mistakes of the past, perfect in its practical working, recognising the rights and interests of the subordinate landholders, and framed in the light of our present knowledge under the guidance of experienced, judicious and sympathetic advisers. It is such a settlement which, it is hoped, will secure to the ryot all the advantages that are claimed for it, and it is in such a settlement that he hopes to find his salvation. The Government of India, in their Resolution of January 1902, do not, of course, admit that the permanent settlement is a protection either against the incidence or the consequences of famine; but there is manifest in the whole tenor of the Resolution a latent recognition of the propositions that moderation in assessments and long term

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settlements have a direct and beneficial influence on the economic condition of the cultivators. A logical extension of these propositions is that the Permanent Settlement, under certain safeguards, will permanently improve the condition of the people where it does not obtain now and will give them greater capacity for resistance to the effects of famine.

Satischandra Ray

BUDDHIST HOLY PLACES

With the exception of the few who care to study the works on Buddhism and Indian archæology, the general public have not much knowledge about Gautama Buddha or his religion or the holy places connected with them. It is a matter of great regret that our educated community still remains in considerable ignorance about the ancient remains of Buddhism which are some of the few vestiges of the lost greatness of the Indian People. Besides the four principal sites of Kapilavastu where Buddha was born, Buddha-Gaya where he received his enlightenment, Sarnath where he first preached his sermon and Kusinagara where he died, the following places were regarded as sacred by the Buddhists, being the places of the Buddha's residence during his lifetime or the scenes where his various sermons were preached:—*Rajagriha, Udyana, Vaisali, Sravasti, Kosambi, Pataliputra, Samkasya and Takshasila*. Among these holy places, Bodh-Gaya, Benares, Kusinagara and Kapilavastu are held to be the most holy. Bodh-Gaya holds the foremost place in point of sanctity and, as will be seen later on, the ancient remains and records at this place are far more numerous than at any other place in India. Here the mendicant-prince who to this day is worshipped by a third of the human race attained Sambodhi or enlightenment. Next in sanctity is Benares, where for the first time the wheel of law was turned. Then comes Kusinagara, where the Buddha attained Mahaparinirvana or ultimate salvation. Last of all is Kapilavastu, the birth-place of Gautama the Bodhisatva. The rest are accorded secondary importance as regards sanctity.

The Buddhist monastic law enjoins the Bhiksus to remain in shelter only during the months of the rainy season and to wander about the country visiting the holy places the rest of the year. The Buddhists of all classes, both monks and laymen, have strictly followed these rules, and the records of their visits to their Tirthas exist in many parts of the country which, to a great extent, help the scholar

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in his studies of the early history of India. The earliest known pilgrim to these places was the Maurya Emperor, Asoka, who is known, from books obtained from Nepal, to have visited the holy places of Buddhism in the company of his spiritual preceptor, Upagupta. He is also known to have erected at many of these places beautiful stone pillars surmounted by figures of animals bearing edifying inscriptions. In many places, these pillars with their capitals are the only means of identification of ancient sites. The visits of foreigners such as the Bhiksu Bala Trepitaka and his fellow-traveller Bhiksu Pusyamitra are also recorded in inscriptions. The names of the early Chinese travellers who came out to this country are well known, and the aid afforded by the records which they have left are recognised by all scholars. Excepting Fa-hian and Hiuen Tshang, many other Chinese pilgrims such as Sung-Yun, Yuan Chang, Iching, I-lin, Yupin, Chi-I, etc., have left records of their visits both in China and in India. At Bodh-Gaya were found two inscriptions of a Simhalese pilgrim named Mahanaman who recorded his visit and the erection of a temple and a statue at that place in the sixth century of the christian era. Buddhism was introduced into Tibet in the seventh century and the records of Tibetan pilgrims must be dated after that. The Tibetan creed "Om mani padme hum" (the jewel is in the lotus) inscribed on the Tarai pillars of the Emperor Asoka must have been in vogue during the 9th and 10th centuries. Records exist in Tibet of many such visits unknown to us. Major L. A. Waddell has published a Tibetan guide-book to the Buddhist holy places in which he mentions that two acharyas, Gau-pan and Lalaji, visited Kapilavastu. The records of the visits of the earlier Tibetan pilgrims were found inside some ruins which had remained practically unmolested up to the present date.

After the Mahomedan conquest of Bengal, Burmese pilgrims visited Bodh-Gaya in large numbers. It is known from an inscription that the temple at that place was repaired by the kings of Burma. Burmese inscriptions have been found on umbrellas and many other things of the character of a votive offering. The first batch of foreign Buddhist pilgrims during the British rule also came from Burma. This was the Burmese mission of 1833. In their well-meant efforts at restoration they destroyed and effaced many valuable relics and traces. Since that time, Burmese pilgrims have come to India in large numbers. It is not an unusual sight now-a-days to see some Burmese pilgrims performing *phoongy* ceremony (which is the same as the initiation into the order of the Bhiksus) under the Bodhi Tree and uttering the mantras "Buddhis saranam gacchami

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dharmam saranam gacchami samgham saranam gacchami" (I take the protection of the Buddha, I take the protection of the Law, I take the protection of the Assembly) after their priest with their quaint intonation. In the Indian Museum, batches of Burmese pilgrims, laymen and phoogyis are often found bowing down before a huge modern foot-print of Buddha brought from Rangoon. Of modern Sinhalese pilgrims, there is a record at Bodh-Gaya of the visit of Edmund Goonaratna on a slab of marble, in the year of the Buddha 2427 ("Budha wasse 2427," corresponding to A. D. 1884). Among the modern Buddhist pilgrims, Anagarika Dharmapal of Ceylon stands pre-eminent as the champion of Buddhism against Hindu encroachments on its holy places. Now there is a rest house at Bodh-Gaya for pilgrims and a monastery with resident monks in it. Mr. Rudyard Kipling's father, when curator of the Lahore Museum, had the honour of receiving a lama from Tibet who came there on pilgrimage and that event has been immortalised in the famous novel entitled "Kim." Perhaps this is the first recorded visit of a modern Tibetan pilgrim. Magnates from many Buddhist countries now frequently visit the holy places. Princes and princesses of Sikkim and Bhotan and the Shan estates also come down to India to make these pilgrimages.

The identification of the sites of the holy places of Buddhism has been a slow and difficult task. In the work of identification the following have been the main difficulties :—

- (1) Desertion due to the decline and ultimate disappearance of the Buddhist religion from India.
- (2) Devastation by the successive conquerors of India.
- (3) The disappearance of well recognised landmarks.

With the rise of the Gupta Empire began the decline of Buddhism in India. It is clear from their coins and inscriptions that the early Gupta Emperors were Hindus. Though they are not known to have oppressed either the Buddhists or the Jains, yet the fact of their being Hindus must have had very depressing influence upon other religions professed by the people over whom they ruled. So, from that period, Buddhist holy places gradually declined in the favour of the people. It is believed that by the time of the fall of the early Guptas, Kapilavastu and Sravasti were practically deserted. With the Mahomedan conquest, Buddhism lost all influence in the country, though it lingered for some time in Magadha and Orissa. With the disappearance of the religion, its holy places were deserted and gradually became ruins overgrown with impenetrable jungle. What was left by the Hindu antagonists of Buddhism like Sasanka

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was completed by the new conquerors of India,—the Mahomedans. Previous conquerors were mere savage tribes with little or no religious fervour in them, but the new conquerors came with a religion which authorised them to kill every unbeliever and to destroy whatever was considered holy by him. When the conquest was complete, Buddhism may be said to have practically disappeared from India Proper. The few traces of the religion which were still left were too weak and were entirely lost after the revival of Hinduism under Sankaracharya and other reformers.

In course of time, the very sites of the holy places were forgotten, though in a few cases the names were preserved by the traditions current among the lowest classes. When the search for these sites began in the earlier part of the last century the obstacles in its way were many and the aids very few. The principal aid came from the narratives of the Chinese travellers who from the beginning of the fifth century up to the 12th century of the christian era visited India in large numbers in search of knowledge and the scriptures of their religion. Their descriptions are marvellously accurate. In some cases they have been accused of inaccuracy in the matter of calculating distances. The explanation must be that, fourteen centuries before, the roads of India were not what they are at the present day. Ancient highways are now in disuse and some were already forgotten at the beginning of the Moghul period. Again, the pilgrims computed the distance approximately and not by actual measurements. In some instances they may have been misled by mischievous or ignorant informers. Devastation by successive conquerors have put great difficulty in the way of identification. The destruction of popular landmarks such as the stupas, gateways, &c. makes the work of identification still more difficult. Stupas have crumbled into insignificant mounds and, with the total disappearance of cities, the sites of their gateways have been lost beyond recognition. Several of Hiuen Thasang's bearings are given with reference to the position of the gateways of cities such as that of Kapilavastu. More than all this, the sites have been all but hopelessly disturbed by the shiftings of river courses. This has led to the shiftings of various fords and the roads leading to them. Even with the help of the Chinese accounts it is very difficult to locate the sites of the various long-forgotten Buddhist Tirthas. Much assistance was received from the various inscriptions found on various ancient sites. Another aid was the preservation of ancient names in corrupt forms such as Set for Sravasti, Basarh for Vaisali, Kosam for Kausambi, &c. Traditions which are current among the lowest classes

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of society have preserved many things which are valuable in this work of identification. A few examples would not be out of place here. We are familiar with the term Buddha-Gaya or Bodh-Gaya, but the ancient name was Mahabodhi. While approaching Bodh-Gaya from the south, Cunningham heard the name Mahabodhi from the villagers referring to the great temple while still 30 or 40 miles away from the place. The name of the village, which has been identified with the ancient Vaisali, in the Mozafferpore district, is Basarh. The name Taksasila is still preserved in the modern name of a mound called Sirkap or 'the cut head.'

Of the men who have contributed to this work of identification, the name of Sir Alexander Cunningham stands as the most prominent. For a period of more than sixty years this gentleman was engaged in this work and the work itself began with him. He has scarcely left any ancient site of Northern India unvisited and his works are of the greatest importance to present workers. From 1830 to 1862 he had worked independently. From 1862 to 1885 he was the Director-General of Archæology in India and even after his retirement he has worked unceasingly. His successor, Dr. James Burgess, is famous for his work in Western India and as the editor of the *Indian Antiquary*. In Bengal the name of Dr. Rajendralal Mitra and in Bombay the names of Dr. Bhau Daji, Dr. Bhagwan Lal Indraji and Dr. Bhandarkar are familiar. Other workers in the same field are Babu Purnachandra Mukerji—the discoverer of the site of Kapilavastu—Major Waddell of Pataliputra fame and Mr. Vincent Smith.

Rakhaldas Banerji

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(From the French of M. Pierre Loti)

THE ROCK TEMPLE

Outside the forest in which the ruins lie buried just at the threshold of the jungle, the rock temple has still preserved intact its millenarian gods.

Here and there in the wild plane, one sometimes comes across stones similar to those of the temple, the result or outcome of one knows not what ancient cataclysm. Rounded and smooth, like some brown bloatedness, they seem to be some monstrous beasts placed separately on the herbage.

Those which conceal the sanctuary make somewhat of a group of monstrous settings and the largest one carries the index *dagaba*

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(Buddhist Belfry or Steeple) such as an elephant supporting an upraised trunk—a very old little *dagaba*, quite white with lime being set over this sombre hip-roof.

When I reached there I saw the jungle stretching before me silent and deserted under the warm sun of the evening. Not a single soul was in or about the temple ; but on the ground a heap of faded but still fragrant flowers—jasmynes and gardenias, all the milk-white strewings of the preceding days—mutely testified that the gods of the place were not forgotten.

The rocks, of monstrous shapes, were washed on one side by the waters of a pool in the depths of which crocodiles dwelt under tall lotus-blossoms. In the near side, one perceived, throughout the entire length of their polished flanks, vague bas-reliefs hardly indicated, seen one moment and fading the next, say they, under the regard like some reflexions, but of a skilful design which gave them the illusion of life. These represented trumpets, human or animal cars, feet or contours of elephants. They have utilized with a wonderful art the mysterious dispositions of the stone, which had already taken to itself a little of the structure of these royal beasts along with the tint and the grain of their skin. And, in places, in the folds or recesses of these rounded forms, plants have shot forth their roots which have not at all a natural appearance, so much are they clear and striking in colour over the ground of the shade of old leather ; for instance, very pink periwinkles, scarlet hibiscuses, and very young areca shoots magnificently green in colour, like the feathery tufts growing at the tips of the stalks of ever-green reeds.

Behind the group of rocks lies hidden an ancient cottage for the shelter of the Buddhist priest-guardians, one of whom came out to meet me a young man draped like all Buddhist priests, in a simple toga of saffron colour, which allowed one of his arms and one shoulder to go bare. To admit me to the sanctuary he produced an elaborately ornamented key, which was more than a foot in length. With his pleasant but solemn figure and mystic eyes, advancing key in hand, he appeared to me under the sunlight which illumined his person, a Saint Peter of reddish copper clothed in brass. Between clusters of pink periwinkles, together we mounted a staircase carved out of the rocks,—the while the jungle around us lengthened out its deserted circles. At the semi-height of the principle block, the sanctuary is sunk in the very heart of the lasting granite. We first met a little cave which held the table for the offerings, covered with a fresh spread of white gardenias ; at the further end was the entrance to the most sacred spot in the

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place, guarded by two bronze door-leaves, secured by a huge wrought-iron lock.

When this door is opened, with the inevitable accompaniment of metal-grumble disclosing to you the great painted idols, one feels as though one had just unsealed a reservoir of precious perfumes : the essences of roses and sandal of the daily spreads, the gardenias and the tuberose which make on the ground a thick carpet like unto white snow and intoxicate the senses. The gods which live here, in an almost constant subterranean obscurity, are eternally bathed in exquisite perfumes. In the narrow temple there is room hardly for four or five persons at one time and that too compressed as in a closet or cupboard, encumbered as it is by so many statues. Goddesses, twelve feet high, hewn out of the same rock, adorn all the walls by their huge bodies placed side by side ; they have yellow faces, that is of the same colour as a Buddhist priest's vestments, and their heads reach the ceiling of the vault. A Buddha of superhuman dimensions squats in the middle in his pose of perpetual meditation, and lesser gods of diminutive doll-like figures crowd at his knees, under the fixed regard of the giant goddesses standing round in a circle, which have the air of being sculptured out of the neighbourhood. In spite of the glitter of their gold ornaments, and in spite of the still fresh colours, the reds and blues of their stone robes, all these figures of long eyes, give one pretty well the notion of their frightful antiquity.

My unexpected visit had caused a little of the sunlight to penetrate in their grotto, and it had allowed them to have a peep beyond the open vestibule, at the stretches of the jungle where dwelt in centuries past the people who were their worshippers. I looked for an instant at them, almost disconcerted to find me so near and staring at them as it were, and I left the priest in the act of closing again the door of the holy closet, in order to replunge its dwellers of stone in their perfumed obscurity and silence.

The next moment I leave, I the stranger to whom these symbols and these Buddhistic peace still remain incomprehensible ; and the yellow-robed guardian returns in tranquility to his hermit's lodge, priest of a temple of rare strangeness, having the only earthly care of arranging the flowers every morning, and living an existence without pain or without joy, in this lonely deserted place with the sole hope of prolonging himself, beyond the present incarnation of a day, into an impersonal and dull eternity.

* * *

The sun is on the decline when I quit the jungle of the rock

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temple in order to re-enter the wood of the full-grown forest trees in which the town of Anurudhapura now sleeps, and before departing finally in the small hours of the next morning, I ramble far into the ruins till nightfall.

The grandest streets are the Moon Street, the King Street, the Sand-Strewn Street, and there is a fourth one. In the Moon Street one finds eleven thousand houses.

The distance from the principal city gate to the southern gate is sixteen miles ; that from the northern gate to the southern gate is also sixteen miles.

In truth, under the forest trees it is a long interminable medley of layers of stones, rubbish and sculptures of a long-forgotten style : figures of gods crowned with tiaras, monstrous heraldic engravings of the bodies of crocodiles, elephant's trunks, or bird's tails. And everywhere pillars and columns, some still standing with lines uninjured, others fallen and in ruin. On every side of the thresholds of ruined dwellings, on each side of the leading steps, a little smiling goddess appears to invite you with her gesture to mount and step in—where? between the roots and ferns now ; but long ago in the night of old Father Time to meet hosts who were undoubtedly hospitable, but whose ashes even were annihilated centuries ago.

The evening hour when the west is painted in golden red found me straying, far away from the cottage where I was lodging, in the quarter of the royal palace, of which nothing remains but cyclopean courses, walks, and sculptured perrons. A silence as of death reigned supreme in the place without even the chant of insects, or a bird's call. There I rested for a while on the edge of a gigantic piscina, paved on all sides by thick granite blocks, which had been the bath of the royal elephants.

The place forms a glade in the forest of full-grown trees, this square of stagnant water full of water lilies, and it rings a bit of a change on the oppression of the branches, although the air here as everywhere in the forest is equally heavy and immobile. In the surface of this dangerous sheet of water, air-bubbles continuously rise and make rings—bubbles blown by the crocodiles, who breathe beneath in the turpidity of the mud amongst a mute colony of serpents and tortoises.

Neither bind-weeds nor bushes intrude in this quarter ; the prospect is also clear from all sides, under the wood as well in the distances of this kingdom of ruins,—and down there in the west, a fire which suddenly appeared to blaze up in level with the earth's surface,

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happened to dazzle me by the rays which slipped through the thick trees. It was sunset ; and the nights in these equatorial latitudes would rapidly envelope the territory.

While it was possible to see, I hastened to go further afield, prolonging as much as possible my evening's walk, since it must be the last that I shall ever take in this region.

The intimate charm of a new zone to which I penetrated at the decline of the day, dwells, for me, in its delicate ground-plot, a little dry, a bit gritty, and covered by short fine herb, as was the ground of the wood which was familiar to me in my childhood. And, as if, the better to give me the illusion of my natal country-site,—here were the tracks traced by the footsteps of shepherds and their flocks ; here were the trees with the little dark leaves and the grey ribs, like the evergreen oaks in our woods ; apart from the great red lilies, or the red bonvardias, which surprise my eyes now and then, the scene is very like my old country, with the same pastoral calm and gloom of the evening.

Meanwhile, in order to disconcert my dream, there were the ruins everywhere, and very big stones ; and above all, there were the mysterious-visaged statutes, with which this place is haunted and the shadow increased and began to render this quieting silhouettes cast by the solitary Buddhas, who dreamed squatting and made their enigmatic smile meaningless. Among prowling dogs and wolves, I sought my way, for returning to the cottage, in a different region which was yet very sweetly sad and which completely resembled our climate. Preserving in tact in my hut in a confused manner, in a latent manner if one might say so, the sentiment of the Indian forest which surrounded me on all sides to the depths of several leagues, I presently found myself among the ever-green oaks of Saintogne or of Annis, and I walked with the same confidence as in our familiar woods. And believing myself quite alone, I shuddered to see suddenly on one side of me a very big black man, with his hands on his haunches and the head inclined forward : simply a granite Buddha sitting there since two thousand years !

And advancing close to the image and peering into his face, one distinguished much better, in the vanishing light, his cast-down eyes and eternal smile !

* * * *

The hour, here, of great religious serenity, is above everything the hour of the moon, when the *dagabas* and the columns of the temples cast far off over the jungle the colossal train of their

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shadows. And the moon this evening shone quite blue, and this sole night I passed in the sacred wood, I had for me a clear moonlight night of the garden of Eden. It recalled the splendour of our limpid and warm July nights, with the, I know not what, difference, but certainly of more stability and assurance giving the impression that it was always thus and that this summer-like weather had no fear of ever coming to its end. In the spaces between the trees, on the fine lawns traversed by the tracks, in fact everywhere where the sky is seen clear through the disengaged branches of trees, one could have a wonderfully unhampered view. In advancing further in the wood, it seemed that one was impregnated little by little by silence, inspite of the nocturnal music of insects which at that hour vibrate everywhere distractedly.

I proceeded alone, guiding my steps towards the great shadows of the towers,—of which the Indians are afraid when they are set off by moonlight of an evening—my guide, mindful of the ghosts of by-gone priests and kings, not having preferred to follow me.

And, when I reached one of the temples, I instinctively chose, in order to take me to the gigantic *dagaba*, the side which was gorgeously flooded by moonlight. In a kind of glade, which without doubt was most haunted, and which had been a hoïy peristyle, my steps suddenly resounded on the flag-stones, and there I was in the midst of the mutilated gods and in the debris of altars, all inundated by a clear blue moon-light. The immense peace of Anuradhapura here assumes a special character of its own, which made me halt, oppressed by unknown fear like an Indian ; indeed, I dared not take a turn round the *dagaba* or penetrate into the disturbing sector of its shadows.

Meanwhile, the kings and the priests who had built this prodigious temple, in what nirvana were they today or in what dust ? From such an immeasurable distance of time how could their phantoms return to this place ?

As to Buddhism, the faith which was theirs, it seemed to me that it was at this moment a thing finished, dead, and buried under the rubbish and the old ashes of their idols.

K. K. Athavale

(To be continued)

REVIEWS & NOTICES

A SHORT SURVEY OF SOME RECENT BOOKS ON INDIA

1. *India of Today* By Walter Del Mar.
2. *Modern India* By W. E. Curtis.
3. *India* By Mortimer Menpes (Text by Mrs. Flora A. Steel.)

It is a matter of sincere gratification that the interest evinced by Europe and America in the affairs of India is growing every year. In the XVIIth Century, India was the *terra incognita* to the man in the street in all European countries : its history and civilisation, its castes and customs, appeared shrouded in impenetrable mystery to all peoples west of the Mediterranean and east of the Pacific. In the next century, when France and England were vying with each other for founding an Empire in the East and both had made considerable conquests in peninsular India, the knowledge of the European peoples about this country did not advance much further. The efforts of Warren Hastings and Sir William Jones to spread to the world a knowledge of the East received very scant appreciation among the peoples of the West. When Burke impeached Hastings and Macaulay impeached Impcy and the Bengalees and Sir Henry Maine extolled Indian institutions, there was as much dense ignorance in Europe about this country as prevailed there 3 centuries before. The Sepoy Revolt of 1857 first thrust India before the attention of the western world ; and the books on India before that period generally treated of this country as the land where the Gentoos lived and idolatry and polygamy and polyandry ran rampant. The colossal ignorance of an average westerner about India, even so late as 30 years ago, may be gauged by the scanty knowledge of this country possessed by Mr Gladstone, the most versatile genius of the last century.

But thanks to the Suez Canal, the fast steamship companies, the famine that overtook this country a few years ago, to the Coronation Durbar held at Delhi in 1902, to the visit of the Prince and Princess of Wales and, last though not the least, to the boycott of British goods in Bengal, India is fast becoming familiar to the European nations as much as any other part of the globe.

A most healthy and unmistakable sign of the increasing interest which the Western peoples are now taking in India is the number

of books bearing on this country which issues every year from the European and American publishing firms. Since the publication of Prof. Max Muller's *India: What Can It Teach us?*, Rudyard Kipling's *Plain Tales From the Hills* and *Kim*, and Lord Roberts' *Forty-One Years in India*, a large number of books have been put before the public which have effectively acquainted the European peoples with the life and conditions of India. Sir William Hunter's works, including *India of the Queen*, and the treatises of Sir Richard Strachey, Sir John Chesney and Sir Courtney Ilbert on Indian Administration, Indian Polity and Indian Government, Sir Charles Dilke's survey of Indian Problems, Holdich and Lilly's panoramic account and Townsend and Lyall's critical studies have done a good deal to dispel English ignorance of India, but they are all more or less heavy books which the average Englishmen and the Yankee generally fight shy of and consider too 'technical.'

The late Mr. W. S. Caine, however, struck a new line with his *Picturesque India*—a line which at once took the fancy of the average educated man in both the continents. It was neither history nor politics but a descriptive account of the people and of the architectural remains in the country. A slight variation from this section, but nevertheless belonging to the same class, is the late Mr. G. W. Steevens' *In India*—a book that has run to six editions and is full of life and colour but sadly wanting in human sympathy and which effectively combines the style of Rudyard Kipling with the humorous touches of Aberigh-Mackay. Since Steevens died of enteric at Ladysmith, a large number of globe-trotters have invaded India every cold weather and written books on India. These books, by themselves, form already a valuable section of the literature on India and promise to become in no time one of the most powerful agencies for the dissemination of a correct knowledge of this country among the different peoples in Europe and America.

One of the most notable books of this class, Sir Frederick Treves' *Other Side of the Lantern* we passed under review in one of our recent issues. Today we will notice in brief three more representative books of this class.

Mr. Walter Del Mar's *India of Today* is not a pretentious literary venture but is a sort of a dignified guide to the principal sights in India. Mr. Del Mar takes us over to all the interesting places in India from Darjeeling and Simla to Rameswaram and from the Khaibar Pass to Calcutta. Of the cave-temples of India, he describes those at Ellora, Karli and at Elephanta. Of the Hindu temples, he gives us detailed accounts of those at Tanjore, Srirangam and

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Madura in the South and of Budh-Gya and Benares in the North. He peeps into the cenotaphs and mausoleums of the Moguls at Agra, Delhi and Lahore and into the Buddhist remains at Sarnath and Sanchi and at the Jain temple at Mt. Abu. Among native states, he describes Jaipur in the north and Haidarabad in the south. Calcutta and Bombay and Madras donot appeal to him as very beautiful places, and Cawnpore and Lucknow have interest only as scenes of the great Mutiny. In all that Mr. Del Mar has got to say regarding the above, one cannot but admire the historical accuracy of his statements and the general faithfulness of his descriptions. He is a most trusted guide to all the places he takes us over and is free from all Anglo-Indian prejudices. As a reliable and short hand-book for people who intend to travel over the places mentioned above, it would be difficult to recommend a better book than Mr. Del Mar's. The book is embellished with 32 full page illustrations from photographs and is furnished with a copious index.

Though Mr. Del Mar's book is principally a traveller's hand-book, he manages to crowd a number of his impressions on India in his opening chapter. To him, as to Sir Frederick Treves, India is 'the peninsula of the pessimist.' 'One of the most depressing things about India,' says Mr. Del Mar, 'is the hopeless sadness of the people.' From Madura to Peshawar, he did not see any smile or 'any sign of happiness or cheerfulness,' and there was no changing from 'grave to gay' in all the land. Regarding the predominance of the Scotch element in Anglo-Indian society, Mr. Del Mar observes: "India is a country conquered by Irish soldiers and governed by English officials, for the benefit of Scotch planters, merchants and engineers." In the following sketch, Mr. Del Mar draws a faithful picture of the social life of John Bull in an Indian station :—

"Perhaps your first view may be of some places as Chaugharanapur, a town out of the beaten track, where a new member has disturbed the harmonious working of the social machine. Before the head of the Public Works Department went home on leave and brought back a wife, society in Chaugharanapur was free from all complications. The male white population consisted of four officials, two of whom were married and the other two bachelors. Mrs. Collector monopolised the attentions of Mr. Assistant Magistrate, while Mr. P. W. D. was attached to the apron-strings of Mrs. Deputy-Collector. The two trios were always friendly, rivalry never overstepped the bounds of amiability, and every body was happy and content. The two husbands found their advantage in never being obliged to cut out at bridge, one of the wives with her faithful attendant taking turn with the other couple in playing against the married men. Today the society of Chaugharanapur is divided into two hostile camps. Mrs. P. W. D. turned out to be younger, better looking, and intellectually superior to the other two ladies. These were crimes hard to forgive; but to add to her iniquities she had dared to marry one of the bachelors of Chaugharanapur, and had proved so powerful an attraction to the other as to cause him to waver in his allegiance to Mrs. Collector. Then began the system of petty tyrannies, of calculated affronts, of spiteful actions and wounding words which no doubt had the intended effect of

making Mrs. P. W. D.'s life unhappy, but brought no other consolation to her enemies, and so Chaugharanapur society was split in twain. Ridiculous? Not a bit of it. The position is deeply pathetic and constitutes one of the typical minor tragedies of Indian life."

Mr. Curtis' *Modern India* is a book of a different type. It is made up of a series of letters originally written for a Chicago newspaper in 1903-4 and is dedicated to "Lady Curzon, An Ideal American Woman." That gives one the keynote to the whole book—there is in it a world of information artistically put together by the clever hand of a professional journalist and a hurried and skilful survey of a whole range of political and economic problems of India from the Lord Curzon point of view. The last Viceroy of India and 'the ideal American woman' are idolised and mentioned *ad nauseam* in *Modern India*, and the old official theories of 'the extraordinary recuperative power of the Empire', of 'the improvement in the condition of the peasant population of this country,' of the income-tax serving as 'an excellent barometer of prosperity in India,' of the famines being due to 'insufficient rain' and all the other copy-book fallacies of Lord Curzon are reproduced in this book with a loyalty that does an Yankee admirer of Lady Curzon's husband much credit. Like a true Curzonite, Mr. Curtis enthusiastically defends the Delhi Coronation Durbar and disclaims the authority of educated Indians to speak on behalf of the people of the country and states that these men 'have no influence with the masses.' He goes on to subscribe to the exploded doctrine that the educated Indian wants "the manly courage, the sterling honesty, the unflinching determination and tireless energy of the British character," and so on and on till he exhausts the whole anti-native shibboleth of the resident Britisher in India.

Excepting on the principles of Anglo-Indian Government and the 'beneficent policy' of Lord Curzon's administration, Mr. Curtis is a safe and informing guide. He puts an amount of information on the questions of Indian education, on how India is governed, on the religions of India, on the Indian Army, on the railways and irrigations and the industries and plantations in this country, and on sundry other questions which it is difficult to find any where outside the pages of official publications and parliamentary blue-books. Mr. Curtis boils down all reliable records about India and presents his conclusions to the American public in a highly interesting range of statistics. He gives us figures for all conceivable manner of questions connected with the administration of India, for the area and population of the country, down to the number of lives killed in British India during the last ten years by wild animals and snakes

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and the passenger traffic and freights on the Indian railways. He gives us an account of the Rajputs and the Moguls and the architecture of both ; he describes the mediæval and the modern cities of India, the occupations and emigration of the people, the cotton, tea and opium plantations, the temples and tombs as well as such things as the cult of the Indian Thugs and Fakirs, a Viceregal levee, an elephant-ride, a Hindu wedding and cremation, and a 'nautch.' He considers the caves of Ellora as "the most wonderful achievements of human genius and patience" and frankly acknowledges all the good points in Buddhism and Jainism. "Passages in the New Testament, reporting the words of the Saviour," says Mr. Curtis, "seem like plagiarisms from the maxims of the Buddha, and, indeed, Buddhist scholars tell of a myth concerning a young Jew who about five centuries after Buddha, and twenty centuries ago, came from Syria with a caravan and spent several years under instruction in a Buddhist monastery in Thibet. Thus they account for the silence of the scriptures concerning the doings of Christ between the ages of 12 and 20 and for the similarity between his sermons and those preached by the founder of their religion." It is a matter of surprise that a well-informed publicist like Mr. Curtis should not know that what he calls a 'myth' has well-nigh come to be regarded as a historic fact, and that no other fact and no manner of reasoning can, or has been able to, explain away the close similarity between the teachings of the Essenes, a sect of the Buddhists, and those of Jesus of Nazareth. Nor should the fact be lost sight of that Gautama, the founder of Buddhism, has long since been canonised a saint in the Roman Catholic Church under the name of St. Josaphet.

Mr. Curtis feels scandalised at the indiscriminate use of colour in the dress of the Indians, at the want of any fashion for raiments, at the custom of the people of living, working, dining and sleeping in the open and in the streets, at the accommodation and appointments in the Indian hotels and, above everything, at the bare flesh visible in the limbs of every man and woman in India from the ankles to the thighs.

Jeypore Mr. Curtis regards as "the liveliest and most attractive place in all India, with the greatest number of novelties and distinctive local colour." Of Benares he says :—"Nothing on God's footstool resembles the picture of the holy Hindu city that may be seen from the deck of a boat on the Ganges." Few cities in the world, says this American traveller-publicist, have such a splendid array of public buildings, blended with such taste and success, as Bombay. "Neither Washington nor London nor Paris nor any

other European or American city possesses such a broad, shaded boulevard as Bombay, with the Indian Ocean upon one side and, on the other, stretching for a mile or more, a succession of stately edifices." Mr. Curtis says of the Taj that "it cannot be described. One might as well attempt to describe a Beethoven symphony, for, if architecture be frozen music as some poet has said, the Taj Mahal is the supremest and sublimest composition that human genius has produced."

One feels inclined to forgive an American writer for spelling Malhar Rao as Mahal Rao, Gujrat as Jujarat, Sheikh Selim Chisti as Shekh Selim Chishli, the name of the last of the Mogul Emperor as Bahandur Shah, the Chumbi Valley as Churubi Valley, and the Adi-Granth as the 'Abi-Granth, or for mentioning 'the cabinet of the Viceroy' and describing Lady Curzon as 'vice-queen,' but no one can forgive him for calling Shah Jehan 'the greatest of the Moguls, greater than even Akbar' or for stating that Jahangir 'sent emissaries to Calcutta' to secure for his benefit the divorce of Nur Jahan from her husband, the then Mahomedan Viceroy of Bengal, or for putting in, as a defence of Lord Curzon, that he had extended in India 'home rule and self-government as rapidly and as far as circumstances will justify.' The observation that "it is considered a high honour for the daughter of a Hindu family to be received into a temple as a nautch," by which probably Mr. Curtis means a nautch-girl, is outrageous. Never in the whole range of Indian history were more inaccurate statements made by anybody.

Mr. Curtis makes two or three very significant admissions worth noting. The criminal statistics of India demonstrate, he says, that "the people are honest and law-abiding. There is less crime in India than in any other country in proportion to population, much less than in England or the United States." The purpose of the British in occupying India, he says, "is not entirely unselfish, and that, while they are promoting civilisation and uplifting a race, they expect that race to consume a large quantity of British merchandise and pay good prices for it." The next admission of Mr. Curtis runs to the effect that "no country in the world pays better salaries than India to its judiciary." This must be a shocking 'plain truth' to the class of officers which draws exchange compensation allowance in addition to their salaries and still calls India the land 'of regrets' and of 'strenuous duty involving heavy sacrifice.

This book also is very well illustrated and indexed.

The third work in our list, *India*, is neither a guide-book nor a miniature gazetteer but a book of sketches. The illustrations are

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sketches of representative types of Indian mankind and architecture and are all done in colours ; the letterpress consists of sketches of the leading phases of Indian life. Mr. Mortimer Menpes has not succeeded in effectively reproducing many of the architectural monuments of India, particularly the Taj of Agra, the Jumma Musjid of Delhi and the Golden Temple of Amritsar. 'The Nautch-Girls at Delhi' and 'A Bazaar at Peshawur' are great disappointments ; 'A Wandering Grain-Merchant' does not look like a picture from life but a figure taken from "The Arabian Nights" ; the lady who is made to stand for 'India' in the frontispiece is a hideous misrepresentation of Indian woman-kind. But, excepting these few, the other illustrations are exceedingly taking and sufficiently characteristic and are of the same level of excellence as Mr. Raven-Hill's *Indian Sketches* and those to be found in Mr. Menpes' previous work, *The Durbar*.

Mrs. Flora Annie Steel, a novelist of some reputation, is responsible for the letter-press in *India*. Mrs. Steel knows India well and loves her and her style reminds every reader of the best *journalese* of the day. She is thoughtful and critical and deals with a large canvas. She has chapters on all the leading religions of India, on the past and present history of this country, on the arts and crafts, the buildings and temples, and on the women and morals of India. She adds to her canvas a picture of the bazaars, of 'our Aryan Brother,' and another of the ascetics of India. '1857,' 'The Anglo-Indian,' and 'The Problem of India' are chapters on which Mrs. Steel pours forth some rather biassed reflections on our political situation and on the relation between England and India.

Having been about a quarter of a century in India, one cannot expect that Mrs. Steel should not share the prejudices of Anglo-Indian society to any extent, but she is not half so hard upon the 'Babu' and 'Young Bengal' as other writers of that class generally are. She has not much sympathy with Indian aspirations and even goes out of her way to condemn the National Congress in an oblique manner. She makes a passing reference to 'the wild inventions of native newspapers' and to the claims of an 'examination-failed' young Indian.

It is also a pity that Mrs. Steel who seems to know so much of India should spell the name of the heroine of the first sack of Chittore as 'Padmani.' Nor can she be excused for the ignorance betrayed in the following statement: "With the exception of enforced converts from the Jat and Rajput races, all the Indian Mahomedans an alien to the soil." Mrs. Steel should have known

what everybody in India knows that the bulk of the Mahomedan population in Eastern Bengal were originally Hindus, tempted away from their ancient fold by the missionaries of Islam during the middle ages.

Yet with all these faults, her account of Indian life is most interesting. She gives us a clear and unprejudiced summary of the principles and philosophy of Hinduism, Buddhism and Islam : she appreciates the beauty and serenity of Indian life, and acknowledges all the good points in Indian character. In less than half-a-dozen pages, she furnishes us with a most inspiring narrative of the three sieges of Chittore and in a dozen pages of the double trio of great rulers in the Mogul line from Babar to Aurangzebe. Mrs. Steel's opinion on the woman question must be taken as an authoritative pronouncement and is therefore worth reproducing. She says :—

“ We in the West are talking of discarding marriage ; but played in Eastern fashion, marriage has guarded much that woman holds most dear.” (P. 203-4)

“ To any one who really thinks upon the vexed question of the relationship between the sexes, the Hindu standpoint is the only one that affords a stable foothold.” (P. 66)

“ It is well to tell the truth solidly sometimes, and the truth is this : in sexual matters, the standard of national morality is far higher in India than it is in England.” (P. 183)

“ And in India, there lies an ideal of what woman should be, which is the highest that the world has ever known.” (P. 166)

Enough,—this is sufficient vindication of the Hindu woman and of the institution of marriage as it is in vogue in India. Comparing the morals of India with England, Mrs. Steel says that she does not believe that the Hindu indulges in more lies or is less grateful than the Englishman, and for a ‘disingenuous bias and almost wilful failure to see things as they really are’ she thinks the palm must be yielded to the Westerner. “It is rapidly becoming impossible,” says Mrs. Steel, “to rely on the word of any tradesman in England . . . India can scarcely go ‘one better’ than this.”

“ Since 1857,” says Mr. Steel, ‘India has travelled fast. Outwardly it is assimilating to itself our western civilization wholesale. Within ? Who can say ? Will the Eastern theory of life which asserts that time, so far from being money, is naught, hold its own against our strenuous and deadly doing by which not one moment is left to a man wherein to *live*. Again, who can say ? This much is certain—the most advanced thinkers of the west are day by day coming back to the philosophies of the East ; so, perhaps the two great

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streams of thought, one surcharged with activities, the other with pasivities, may meet, not in collision or absorption, but in an absolute welding together of all that is good and true in either."

One more extract from Mrs. Steel and we shall have done with her. "The enthusiastic approval of the Japanese victories," she says, "must arouse restlessness in India and lead to questionings as to whether it is indeed necessary to swallow our civilisation wholesale, pauper asylums, divorce courts, foundling hospitals, stock exchange and all. If it would only cause such questionings amongst the rulers as well as the ruled some of the many problems of India would be solved."

It seems that all recent writers on India think it almost a religious duty to dwell at considerable length upon what is known as the "Indian Mutiny" and on the sites and scenes connected with that black episode. All the three books we have noticed above give considerable prominence to the events of 1857. Has not too much capital been made already of the risings of the sepoys at Meerut, Delhi, Cawnpur and Lucknow and is it not now time to cry 'halt'?

It also seems to be a favourite pastime with foreign writers to have something to say upon the spellings of Indian names. The ball was set rolling by the late Mr. G. W. Steevens with "Amritsar." "*Amritsar* is wrong by the first *a* in 'Clapham,' and right by the second. As for the final syllable, is it to be *Amritsar*, *Amritser*, *Amritsir*, *Amritsor*, *Amritsur* or *Amritsr*? The last is the least ambiguous; only then, once you take to leaving out vowels, why not say *Mritsr* at once?"

In Del Mar's *India of Today*, the name played upon is *Lonauli*—"Lanavla affords in its public signboards a good illustration of the confusion to be found in the spelling of Indian proper names. The Railway Station and Post Office, which should be official, give it as *Lonavla*; but the Railway luggage labels read *Lonauli*. The hotel has it *Lanowli*, and one shop exhibits *Lanoli*, while another shows *Lonali*."

Even American Mr. Curtis has not escaped the contagion. His ball is *Jeypur* and he says: "A board of geographic names similar to that we have in Washington is badly needed in India to straighten out discrepancies in the nomenclature on the maps. I was told that only three town in all the vast empire have a single spelling, all the rest have several; some have many; and the name of one town—I have forgotten which—is given in 65 different ways. Jeypore, for example, is given in 15. The sign over the entrance to the Railway Station reads *Jeypure*; on the lamps that

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light the platform it is painted *Jeypoor* ; on the Railway ticket it was *Jaypur* ; on the bill of fare in the refreshment-room of the Station it was *Jaipor* ; on a telegram delivered by the operator at the Station it was spelled *Jaiphur*. If the employers about a single establishment in the town can get up that number of spells, what are we to expect from the rest of the inhabitants of this city, and Jeypur is one of the simplest and easiest name in the Gazetteer."

Oh ! the shades of Hunter and the confusion that overtakes foreigners to know, understand and appreciate India.

P. C. R.

**A LIST OF
ARTICLES ON INDIA IN OTHER REVIEWS**

1. **BADMINTON MAGAZINE**—Arena Sports in India, (Illustrated)—A. Sidney Galtrey.
2. **THE EAST AND THE WEST**—Is India Thirsting for Religious Truth ?—Prof. Rudra.
The Revival of Buddhism in Burmah—Rev. T. Ellis.
3. **THE FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW**—The Imperial Visit to India—Sir E. Roper Lethbridge.
4. **THE HUMANE REVIEW**—Corporal Punishment in India—Sir Henry Cotton.
5. **THE JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL UNITED SERVICE INSTITUTION**—The North-West Frontier of India—Earl Roberts.
6. **THE MONTHLY REVIEW**—Indian Feudatory States and the Paramount Power—F. L. Petre.
7. **THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER**—Should Indian Mahomedans Entail their Estates—Sir Roland K. Wilson.
8. **THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW**—The Indian Tour of the Prince of Wales—Theodore Morison.
9. **THE PRACTICAL TEACHER**—Through India with the Prince and Princess of Wales—Nelson.
10. **THE UNITED SERVICE MAGAZINE**—The North-West Frontier of India with Map—Major J. F. Cadell.
11. **THE WOMAN AT HOME**—The Viceroy of India and Lady Minto (Illustrated)—Sarah A. Tooley.



SELECTIONS

THE BURMAN

HIS FUTURE

(From *The Times of India*)

Happy the country that has no politics ! In the fresh, lusty vigour of its youthful growth Burma has had no time to develop political issues. It has no history, save such as is decently immured with the forgotten King at Ratnagiri. All eyes, all hopes, all energies are bent on the future, and bent too with a serene confidence in her growing wealth and prosperity, for "it is a goodly sight to see what heaven hath done for this delicious land." Coming to Rangoon from the old Cities of India is like going from the whist room at the Athenæum to Hurlingham. So much of India lives in the past, although here and there the dry bones of the centuries are assembling for a new life under the quickening touch of gold ; "The Silken East" lives for the years to come. Then with the buoyant exuberance springing from present well-being and certain pending greatness mingles the joyous note the Burman sounds wherever he goes. "The feast, the song, the revel here abounds." So the all too brief days the Prince and Princess of Wales spent in Burma will fill some of the happiest pages written in the book of the Royal Progress.

"The East is East and the West is West," but the twain come nearer to meeting in Rangoon than in any other city in the world. The broad chess-board streets run right into the fields just as they did in the early days of the Western townships of America. Massive piles of business buildings alternate with Chinese huts and Indian hovels. But the purlieus hum with the rice-mills and saw-yards and oil-refineries which bring into the provincial capital a swelling stream of wealth, and wherever an old house is razed a commercial palace rises on its ruins. Nothing better illustrates the confidence of the Rangoon citizens in their destiny than the scale on which they are building. Webs of scaffolding spun over four and five story business blocks meet the eye on every hand. Land is enormously valuable. The new hospital looks as if it were being built for an Empire instead of a Province. The Port Commissioners are spending over a crore of rupees in wharfing the wayward bank of the

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Irrawaddy. They even hold out hopes of an electric car service in place of steam cars whose place is beside the Rocket in the Patent Museum. Touching the hospital there is told a story much too good to escape repetition. The contractor was a long time getting his material on the ground, and gentle hints being unavailing, a pointed remonstrance was made. Back came this reply :—"my contract specifies a particular form of frost-resisting pipes and there has been some delay in getting them from England." Shades of these strenuous days, when with perspiration oozing from every pore and a silk suit a burden, you were informed that this was the coolest weather Rangoon ever had !

But is Rangoon, the youngest and most progressive of the six seaports British enterprise has given the Indian Empire, also to be the ugliest ? When you survey the terra cotta barrenness of the Secretariat and Government House, the bastard capitals and style of the commercial quarter, you fear that it is destined to be another architectural Sahara—like Calcutta without its opulent spaciousness. In these days of revived taste in architecture there is no excuse for such artistic desolation. The citizens have shown rare skill in the development of their residential suburbs, Dalhousie Park and the Royal Lake. The pretty houses that ring them and the new Victoria Park are amongst the most graceful scenes in the modern East. The Shwe Dagon Pagoda, stripped of its latter day accretions, is an object lesson in what can be accomplished by simplicity of line and form. Can Rangoon find no Stephens to set a worthy standard to which all, by pressure of example, shall conform and so avoid spreading the wilderness of ugliness Englishmen are creating in Asia ?

And yet with all these evidences of wealth and contentment, of the "Joie de Vivre" which distinguishes the Burman from all other Eastern peoples, of the really gladsome welcome to the Royal Visitors, there would obtrude a tingle of pessimism. The material prosperity of Burma must grow, for its foundations are built on a solid rock of agricultural and mineral wealth that has scarce begun to be quarried. Yes ; but what it is to be the place of the Burman in the new State ? There is no room for him in Rangoon. British and German merchants, Madras Chetties and Chinese brokers, coolies and hawkers, gharrywallas and servants from Bengal, Madras and Goa, make a fat living. The British India steamers plying between Calcutta and Madras and Rangoon carry hordes of miscellaneous Indians, coming to the land of promise, returning with the present equivalents of corn and oil and honey. The Police is

an alien Police and the Army a foreign Army. The Burman still numbers a third of the population, yet so little place has he in the social and economic life of the city that you can live a quarter of a century in it and barely come into contact with him, or walk down the main street for a quarter of a mile and not see half a dozen of his characteristic pink turbans.

If this applied only to Rangoon you could dismiss the subject with a sigh of regret at the scanty representation of such a cheerful and picturesque element in the population. Tempering the privileges of the Gateway City is the penalty of a heterogeneous and cosmopolitan population. The process of displacement, however, does not end there. Mandalay is commonly regarded as a purely Burmese City. In Mandalay the Burman is jostled by Sikh policemen and Indian soldiers. In the great buzzing market he is elbowed aside by Chinese, Mussulman and Hindu traders. If he embarks on any enterprise you may be sure that the capital is found by a Madras Chetty or a Chinese money-lender, and that but a meagre share of the profits finds its way into Burmese cash boxes. Although the Burman is everywhere, it is not he who has the money. Of the rural districts it is more difficult to speak. If you inquire of those who know, however, you will invariably be told the same tale. That despite the existence of great areas of untilled land the Burman falls more deeply year by year into the toils of the Madras and Chinese money-lender. That where he is not actually expropriated by the foreigner, he is drifting into the position of the sowcar's serf. Why, the term "Native" is never applied to the children of the soil, but only to the alien immigrants !

In truth, the virtues as well as the vices of the Burman make him an easy prey to the spoiler. There is a strong strain of the lotus-eater in his nature, for he hates sustained labour as much as My Lord the Elephant, loves sport, play and his ease ; and invariably puts off till to-morrow what must be done to-day. Nothing better illustrates the cheerful irresponsibility of his character than the sequel to the fire that gutted the bazaar at Mandalay. The Commissioner, a kind sympathetic officer, at once raised a fund for the relief of the sufferers. When he went to distribute it in the evening he found that they had improvised a theatre on the ashes of their homes and were wrapped in the enjoyment of a Pwe !

His religion, enjoining the widest tolerance and the duties of hospitality, deprives him of the protection of caste and the security of the water-tight village community. " Brother, thou art welcome," says the Burmese ryot to the wandering Urya : " Sit here at my

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board, and I will find you well-paid service in my fields." In a few years the Urya is the ryot and the Burman his hind. The acquisition of merit by the building of Pagodas, the gilding of images and the feeding of monks, leads to the free spending rather than the hoarding of wealth. The merit of monastic life attracts to the profitless seclusion of the "Yellow Rove" much of the manhood of the race. And so in small ways the alien is creeping in. If the process is allowed to go on unchecked, what will be the position of the Burman in his own country half a century hence?

Now here the economist steps in and says that the Burman must be judged by the law of evolution, the survival of the fittest. The Burman is a poor economic factor; therefore he must mend or end. That is a harsh and unlovely creed which is violated daily in our social life, and it is not for a moment applicable to the special conditions of "The Silken East." The British Government in Burma is an alien Government. It was forced into annexation by the misdeeds of the travesty of a Court, and not because of the shortcomings of the people. Its only excuse for remaining in possession is that it administers the country for the benefit of the people. We have swept aside the abuses and exactions of the Avan sovereigns. We have established justice and order, developed communications, increased trade and provided equal opportunity for all. But of what avail these boons if the Burman finds no room, under the new order, in the land of his fathers, if he is being superseded not by a strong, manly, homogeneous race, but by the sweepings of Calcutta, Madras and Canton? Well might the Burman sigh for the bad old days. Theebaw made his Palace at Mandalay a hell of murder; the City was built of bamboo and straw so that it might be burnt out if the populace proved factious; not a soul willingly followed the deposed King into exile. But there was room and a future in Burma for the Burmans. Can we say the same now, after twenty years of British rule?

There are some who would coldly view as inevitable the overwhelming of the Burmese by the mixed low races who are pouring into the country, and the extinction of the only laughter-loving race in our Asiatic Empire. Happily they are few. But we have a bad habit in India of securely locking the stable door after the horse is gone. We have been waiting till a vast amount of land has passed out of his possession before we take measures to prevent the expropriation of the Punjab peasant, the Gujarat farmer and the Deccan ryot, by non-cultivating rack-renting capitalists. Are we going to wait till the Burman has been squeezed so tight that the process of saving him

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has become doubly difficult, if not impossible? The ousting forces at work have been noted these years past by men with a practical knowledge of the country; the tendency has also been clearly foreseen. Surely if on inquiry the premise is established, the corollary should be special measures to protect the Burman from the rapacity of the money-lender and secure him in the possession of his land! The famine-immune Provinces of Lower Burma offer a promising field for the establishment of the greatest agency for scotching the sowcar—a land bank on the lines of the one which is saving the Egyptian fellah.

It also induced a pang of regret to note the decadence of Burmese art. The modern monstrosities in tin and tinsel, looking-glass and khaki, which are the latest additions to the tangle of shrines surrounding the Shwe Dagon Pagoda are an outrage in comparison with the perfect simplicity and symmetry of the central shaft. How is it that the people who could design the one, who could evolve and retain their charming national costume, have become so utterly blind to all form and line, to all sense of colour and proportion? Even the national dress is suffering. The women are giving up their dainty pinks for dull monochromes, their parasols for Brummagen umbrellas. Short is the transition from umbrellas to French shoes and stays.

AN INDIAN NATIONAL SENTIMENT

(From *The Pioneer*)

It is singular to remember that America too was once called India as sufficiently appears from the fact that its aborigines are still known as "Indians." We are often told, nowadays, that a new Indian sentiment and patriotism are coming into existence. It is curious that this sentiment should gather round a name conferred on the peninsula by foreigners and should join together races whose only common characteristic is that they are governed by a single Government. But that is no new thing. Race feeling and national sentiment are incalculable and illogical emotions, and have little real connection with racial origin. Not infrequently a race has adopted a nickname, contemptuously bestowed upon it by strangers, and made it the occasion for a genuine patriotism and pride of race. There is an interesting example of this fact in the new Province of Eastern Bengal. Under the Duars of the hills of Bhutan lives an interesting race who call themselves Borofisa—the sons of Boro. To the Assamese,

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these people are known as Kochh or Kochhari, whence the title of H. H. the Maharaja of "Kuch" Behar. But the western members of the race, in Jalpaiguri and thereabouts, were nicknamed Mlechh, or Mech—barbarians, that is, who spoke an unintelligible jargon. They have quite contentedly accepted the name and are proud to be Meches. What makes this adoption of nickname as the accepted description of a race more interesting is the fact that the same phenomenon is common in Europe. For Max Muller suggested that Mlechha is the same word as "Welsh," and who so patriotic as the inhabitants of gallant little "Wales?" The word Welsh, in one form or another, has been contemptuously applied to many peoples. It is probable that Gallia was the land of Celtic foreigners speaking an unintelligible tongue, the land of Mlechhas, to the Romans. The low-Latin term *volca*, the name of a Celtic tribe living near Narbonne, seems to be the reflex of a Celtic word resembling the German *wulsch*; and the Gauls, though they have now learned to talk a Latinised speech and call themselves a Latin race, were no doubt regarded by the Italians as *Mlechas*. In Anglo-Saxon the word became *wealas* or "foreigners," and survives in the patrial names Wales, Cornwall and the Briton Cornualle in the compound "walunt," and in family names as Welsh, Welch and Walsh. In Anglo-Saxon it was applied to the Celtic races and latterly chiefly to the French, whereas in Germany, by one of time's revenues, it came to be used chiefly of Rome and the Romans, and also of the Walachs. This little excursion may serve to shew that race feeling is a thing of facile growth and may cluster quite easily and naturally round a mere nickname and may turn it into a title highly honorific. For instance, none of us hesitates to call himself by the Celtic name of Briton, though most of our ancestors would have indignantly repudiated any connection with the British tribes they ousted from the Eastern and richer parts of the British islands. Not otherwise has a very real feeling of solidarity sprung up as recent events have shown in the region where is spoken the Banga-bhasa, the language of Bengal. Correspondents have written to us to explain that this region comprises at least two races and many dialects. They have drawn the distinction, often made by Bengalis themselves, between *Bānga-desh* and *Bangaldesh*, and point out that this distinction represents with fair accuracy the difference between Eastern Bengal and Bengal Proper. But in truth such historical facts matter little when a new sentiment comes into being. In no country, probably, is national pride and patriotism stronger than in the United States of America. Yet the

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Americans, as they now love to call themselves, are emigrants from every European race and have absolutely nothing in common, save their common citizenship. Some such change may even be coming over our Indian peoples, some recognition of a national unity which is, in effect, a recognition of the unifying properties of a common Government and common laws. To us who look on, India seems a land strangely conservative and slow to adopt new ideas. Yet its very passivity and seeming torpor may conceal a profounder change in popular sentiment than is apparent to the people themselves. The mere fact that the whole of the Indian peoples has for three or four generations been subject to the Indian Penal Code and other laws of general application may have evoked a change more lasting and deep-seated than appears at first sight. But, above all, what is knitting the educated classes together all over India is the common possession of the English language and the study, however superficial and imperfect, of English institutions. It is curious that, at a time when the issues of the General Election turn largely on Irish Home Rule,—a proof that a common language is not always a bond of union—in India the use of English has converted the various races of Bharatbhashis into men who are willing to be dubbed "Indians" in spite of the old association of the name. We can only say, once more that it is a matter of sentiment, a label which does not help us very far towards an understanding of the force which knits Bengali, Parsi, Madrassi, Mahratta, in some vague sense of common aspiration and common interest.

We can hardly wonder that so curious a change in the ideas of the peninsula should impress the imagination of foreigners and should lead them to talk prophetically of a coming United States of India. It is the reflection of the Pax Britannica, and therefore a result on which we must needs congratulate ourselves. Theoretically, we are bound to desire the advent of the time when race divisions, jealousies, hatreds shall disappear and the new Indian unity might seem altogether desirable were it not that Anglo-Indians seem to be excluded from the new *entente cordiale* between the Indian races. We cannot altogether wonder at our exclusion from an understanding which we have ourselves brought about. For, alas, even unification is, in essence, an assertion of race difference, and the unity brought about by the use of the English language seems doomed to be used against those whose native tongue the English language is. We must be content to point out how singular a compliment to the efficiency of British rule is this new Indian unity. In France, Mr. Herve and his comrades were practically

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preaching the same doctrine as our Indian Congressists. They were for the unification of Europe and the reduction of armaments. M. Herve has gone to prison for four years, and his fellow enthusiasts have been sentenced to various terms of imprisonment, because their doctrines were ruining the discipline and efficiency of the French army. In India, our patriots can perorate without harm or penalty, and why? Because, behind Congress meetings, there still exists the strong, kindly and impartial British Government, backed up by an army, European and Native, which is probably as efficient as any armed force of its size in the world. The new sentiment of Indian nationality embracing, in its scope, the Burman and the Mech, the Kol and the Santhal, the Naga and the Cossyah, as well as the ancient civilised races of India is a very remarkable and interesting result of the vigour and efficiency of British rule in India. It is well to remember that that is its origin, and that if to-day that impelling influence were removed the hereditary divisions between Indian races probably would still revive with undiminished vigour. Where British rule has long been in force, the old divisions are all but forgotten, and the Bengali resents the partition of a province created by British administrators. In Assam, on the other hand, the memory of Burmese forays has not yet quite died away. To this day there survive near Mandalay the descendants of Assamese captives, and even a few old ladies who remember that when they were children they were Hindus. Assam realises that if no more armies, ravishing and plundering, pour across the Patkoi pass, that is because Assam and Burma alike have come under a rule which has put a stop to warfare within the slowly-growing borders of that great administration which we call India. In Assam and on the Afghan border, there is still a sense of danger recently removed and some gratitude for the miracle of foreign rule by a race which is kindly and impartial, if perhaps not very gushing or demonstrative. That the unification of India should take some new shape as time goes on is no doubt inevitable. All that we regret is that some extremists of the Congress (and among them, men of British race) should think it necessary to speak of the British dominion in terms which would hardly be out of place in describing the most brutal proceedings of earlier conquerors. It is, we firmly believe, a mistake in tactics thus to describe the Anglo-Indian administration. There has been steady progress in admitting natives of India to the highest posts in Indian official life and it is surely not a good sign that many of those who have filled and filled admirably some of the most responsible positions in our administra-

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tion should cry aloud as though India were governed selfishly and in the sole interests of the governing race. Foreign critics have been in the habit of charging us with a perfidious application to India of the maxim *divide et imperis*. The answer is easy. That our policy has been one of unification is sufficiently proved by the result, by the growing consolidation of the Indian peoples by their recognition that Indian humanity has common interest and a common patriotism which, let us say in conclusion, is shared by the Anglo-Indian who gives the best years of his life to the task whose greatness is only fully evident when we consider how wonderfully it has knit together the aspirations of three hundred millions of people infinitely more diversified in race, language and religion than the still hopelessly divided Christian nations of Europe.

A TALK WITH LORD KITCHENER

WHAT THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF
INDIA THINKS

Dr. W. H. Fitchett writes in the *Daily Mail* :—

Lord Kitchener's headquarters are at the Treasury Gate, Fort William, Calcutta ; and the visitor drives through the old fortification with its drawbridge, its shallow ditch, its brick embrasures—nearly as old as Plassey—which a modern gun would reduce to powder in half an hour. Fresh-faced English sentries in khaki are at one or two points ; an Indian lancer—trim, bearded, a red turban above his dark Jewish features, his steel-tipped lance looped to his arm, a perfect image of an Indian light cavalryman armed and drilled and dressed on the British system—rides swiftly past. The khaki-dressed privates represent the practical and conquering West ; the lancer, with his vivid tints and dark features, represents the picturesque in the conquered East.

Lord Kitchener meets his visitor with outstretched hand and frank smile. He is in civilian dress, and sits at his desk, cigar in mouth, plainly ready for an easy talk. He has the reputation of being saturnine, unapproachable, gloomily inarticulate. The average globe-trotter, it is whispered, emerges from an interview with Lord Kitchener in a sorely damaged condition, while the idle " interviewer " is simply gored and trampled upon. But either rumour lies atrociously, or else Lord Kitchener this particular morning is in a specially gracious mood. He plunges at once into the frankest of talks. His speech runs fast, and the hurrying syllables are broken with frequent smiles.

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HOW DID THINGS STAND IN INDIA ?

The visitor, as he listens, watches with keen interest the face of the great soldier. The Indian sun has reddened the strong features. Everyone knows that heavy masterful face with his large moustache and mass of black hair above the square forehead ; but taken as a whole, and when in conversation, the face has by no means a masterful look. It is not even a fighting face. One has to remember that these are the eyes which watched with such iron steadiness the rush of the dervish lines at Omdurman. Behind this square forehead is the brain that created the Egyptian army, subdued the Sudan, and organised victory for Lord Roberts in South Africa !

But Lord Kitchener, to his interlocutor's astonishment, has plunged almost with the first sentence into a discussion of his much-disputed plans for the reconstruction of the Indian Army. The Indian Commander-in-Chief plainly feels that in spite of—perhaps as the result of—the ocean of controversial ink which has been expended on this subject, his plans are not in the least understood. But even the uninstructed layman presently begins to see into the heart of these plans. For they are not clouded in technicalities. They involve no recondite mysteries of strategy. They are matters of the plainest common sense ; and Lord Kitchener with his frank, terse, and business-like speech makes them perfectly luminous. He found the distribution of the Army in India, he says, exactly as it has been ever since the Mutiny ; an accidental and planless thing having no relation to any thinkable emergency. Regiments were scattered here and there on no principle whatever. The size of a barrack or some paltry question of climate might determine the locality of a regiment. Ammunition columns had been organised before Lord Kitchener's arrival, but they were scattered haphazard without any reference to the service they were supposed to render.

Then, too, says Lord Kitchener, there was that worst of military faults, a division of authority. “ I gave one set of instructions to a general upon a certain subject, and the military member of the Council gave another set of instructions to the same general on the same subject.—What was that unhappy officer to do—except perhaps do nothing ! Then,” adds Lord Kitchener, “ I am responsible for the efficiency of the Army in India, but I had no opportunity of explaining my own plans to the supreme authority, the Indian Government. They had to be filtered through the lips of another military officer.

NO MILITARY SUPREMACY

“ There is no question as to the right of the Government of

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India to decide finally all questions of policy. The civil power, of course, is supreme. All I contend for is that it must be adequately informed as to the plans which I, as the responsible expert it employs, think necessary for the efficiency of the Army. There has been much talk of a design on my part to set up a 'military autocracy.' Nothing could be more untrue. The civil Government in the last resort is, and must be, supreme. But I must not, under conditions which enable me to discharge the trust put in my hands by the Civil Government; and one of these conditions is that I must be allowed to put adequately and personally my own plans before the Government to which I am responsible.

"There are," Lord Kitchener goes on to say, "only three principles for which I contend, and they belong to the very alphabet of common sense. The first is unity of authority; a divided command in military affairs is fatal. Next, the Army in India must be organised on an intelligible plan, and with some regard to its instant and effective use as an instrument of war. It is totally untrue that I have any design for concentrating the Army on the frontier, and so separating the native regiments from their recruiting grounds and their home ties. The forces on my plan are distributed throughout India pretty much as before; only now there is method and intelligible order in their grouping. India is divided into nine territories, with a divisional general in command of each territory. The force under his command is a complete and balanced unit, and the arrangement is such that, if war broke out, each division would be ready for instant movement, and would find itself with regard to railway communication in a position which made transit easy.

"My third principle," says Lord Kitchener, "is that, having a definite and comprehensive plan, I should have the right of stating it myself to the Government to which I am responsible."

It is easy as Lord Kitchener talks, repeating and emphasising each point, to see into what may be called the inside of his brain. He is essentially an organiser. Confusion, disorder, want of intelligible plan, to him are intolerable. He must have the forces under his command arranged and equipped so as to be instantly available, and available on a definite plan and for a definite objective.

As to his desire to establish a military autocracy, or to set the military above the civil power, this says Lord Kitchener with energy, is "utter nonsense." He knows too well the principles on which the British Government moves to dream of any such thing. He only asks, he protests, for the opportunity of doing efficiently the

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work put by the civil power into his hands and of explaining without an intermediary what these plans are.

IS RUSSIA TO BE COUNTED OUT ?

Incidentally Lord Kitchener gives many quick, interesting judgments on more or less related topics. He thinks that Russia is to be counted out for the present as a menace to England ; but not, as his interlocutor suggests for a generation, but only for ten years. A nation in revolution, as history teaches, usually ends by throwing up a great soldier who is the founder of a new dynasty, and who, partly by bias of natural genius, and partly for the sake of strengthening his rule and diverting attention from domestic troubles, plunges into foreign war. If the Russian revolution follows this course the world's peace will assuredly be in peril. Much water, of course, must run under the bridge before this happens ; but Lord Kitchener thinks that the period during which Russia must remain pre-occupied with its own domestic troubles will not be longer than ten years. He thinks, too, that the success with which Russia transported great armies to Manchuria—a distance of nearly six thousand miles—and fed them with supplies, with only a single railway, shows that with the two lines of railway she has running towards the Indian frontier a formidable army might easily be flung on India.

The visitor, being an Australian, was naturally anxious to know Lord Kitchener's opinion about the Australian contingents in South Africa. "They were first-rate," he says, with energy. "I could not on the whole wish for better incident in the whole campaign"—referring to one well-known case in connection with the Australian contingents—"and there," Lord Kitchener adds, "the offender as it happened was not an Australian by birth. Yes," he says. "I should only be too glad to have Australians under my command again." And if trouble broke out in India I should wire, 'Roll up, boys!' and I am sure they would come.' At this point Lord Kitchener has risen to his feet, his tall figure towering above the chair in which his visitor sits. "Yes," he repeats, as he lifts his hand, "I should wire 'Roll up, boys! and I am sure they would come!'

RUSSIAN RAILWAYS TOWARDS INDIA

Colonel C. E. de la Poer Beresford, late Military Attache in St. Petersburg, recently read a paper on "The Projected Railways from Russia towards India" before a meeting of the Central Asian

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Society at the premises of the society, 22, Albemarle-street, W. Colonel Sir Thomas Holdich presiding.

Colonel de la Poer Beresford, in the course of his paper, said that the completion of the line from Orenburg to Tashkent gave Russia direct rail communication from St. Petersburg to Kushk Post on the frontier of Afghanistan. The projected lines which he pointed out on a map were not yet begun. An exception to that statement must, however, be made as regards the line from Charjui, on the Amu to Termez, on the same river. Another line that was to be considered was the Batum-Tiflis-Erivan. It was proposed to carry this eventually from the Russo-Persian frontier at Julfa, near Nakhitchevan, through the Persian provinces of Azerbidjan, Kasvin, Teheran, and Khorassan ; at the moment the railhead was some miles short of the Persian frontier. It had been said that a railway was projected to run from Askhabad to Meshed via Firuze and the Gulistan-hills, but he saw no sign of such a thing three years ago. He read in *The Times* a short time ago that the line from Charjui to Termez was in process of construction, and he left to the military correspondent of *The Times* the responsibility for that statement, which bore the stamp of probability, although Colonel Beresford was unable to confirm it from personal observation. It formed in any case part of the most direct projected line towards the frontier of India. It was worth noting that the lines of communication towards the Upper Amu or Oxus had a great strategical importance. They led to Mazar-i-Sherif and Badakshan. A large Russian force could in the event of an advance southwards be brought into this country by these ways. Quartered on the line Mazar-i-Sherif-Kungrad-Farzabad (in Badakshan) it could draw a certain amount of food from the country and be continually fed along its own communications. There was a road that he was told was tolerable from this region to the Dora Pass leading into the Chitral Valley, but he did not think that the road was at present passable for troops of all arms : no doubt, it could soon be made so. After giving a description of the Central Asian Railway, Colonel Beresford alluded to its projected continuation and the alternative line towards India through Persia. The former ran from Charjui along the left bank of the Amu or Oxus on Russian territory as far as Kerki. A few miles south of this it crossed the Afghan border, passed near Mazar-i-Sherif almost in a direct line to the valley of the Kabul river, Jellalabad, and Peshawar. To do this it must, after crossing the Ak-Serai stream, a left affluent of the upper Amu or Oxus, pass either through or over several small mountain passes and the huge

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main chain of the Hindu-Kush. He confessed that for Russian engineers, little accustomed to tunnelling, this seemed to him a very difficult as well as a very costly undertaking. As to the projected line through Persia, its projectors ignored the treaty that closed the dominions of the Shah alike to Russian or British railways. The physical obstacles to the laying of this line were not considerable. It was almost finished to the frontier at Julfa, on the Aras, or Arasces, river. Thence it was to proceed past Tabriz to Teheran. At the capital a line was to branch south of Kum to Isfahan (Isphahan), Shiraz (where it might meet a line made by us), and thence to Bandar Abbas, in the Ormuz chennal. The main line was to run eastwards from Teheran through Khorassan almost on the old trade route to Meshed and Kushk Post. Thence it was to be continued to Herat and Farah, where it branched again, one line going towards Seistan, and the other to Kandahar. According to the map, British lines were in the course of construction or projected to Kandahar and to Nushki, Kerman, and Shiraz, with a branch to the north through the marshes of Seistan to Meshed. Of these projected lines to India, that from Kushk Post to Herat and Kandahar seemed to him easy and cheap to construct. It was the prolongation of the line Moscow-Orenburg-Iashken-Mery-Kushk-Post, already constructed. The engineering difficulties in the way were inconsiderable. But there was the veto of the Ameer of Afghanistan to be considered. He then described the Russian military position. The troops quartered in Central Asia consisted of two army corps, and the strength of each corps might be taken as in round numbers, 38,000 men and 124 guns available for service. The Army List showed that the first Turkestan army corps had its headquarters at Tashkert and the second at Askhabad, on the Persian frontier.

A discussion followed, in the course of which Lieutenant-General Sir Edwin Collen remarked that the late Prime Minister had given the assurance that any attempted extension of railways from Russia into Afghanistan would be regarded as hostile. Sir Edwin was of opinion that the Afghans themselves were not likely to permit such extension.

GOLD MINING IN SOUTHERN INDIA

(From *The Englishman*)

Many historians have shown, what is undoubtedly the fact, that at an early period India was one of the chief gold-producing countries of the world. Both Hindu and Muhammadan chroniclers

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wrote of the vast accumulations of bullion hoarded in the treasure-chests of her various Rulers and Chiefs, and composed very largely of gold in the nature of jewellery, ornaments and coins. Every household of any importance throughout the length and breadth of the continent had, and has to this day, its hoard, greater or smaller, of gold jewellery worn by the women folk or buried in the ground. In those parts of India which are near the seats of the former industry, the women of even the lowest classes usually carry some ornament in the precious metal, which has been a treasured heirloom in the family for probably several centuries. We are told that at least seven hundred millions of pounds have been taken out of the gold mines of India during the period antecedent to the British occupation ; how this sum has been arrived at it seems difficult to say, but there is certainly no reason to think that the statement is any exaggeration of the actual facts. In many parts of India, more particularly in the South of the Peninsula, the evidences of a great and prosperous gold mining industry in ancient times are overwhelmingly clear. In the State of Mysore, in the Nizam of Hyderabad's dominions, in the southern part of the Bombay Presidency, and in several districts of the Madras Presidency, there are immense numbers of ancient workings, many of them disclosing mining operations on a very large scale and extending for miles, in geological formations which are well known to be auriferous. That all these mines were worked for gold there can be no doubt whatever, and that the work was, as a rule, of a profitable nature may reasonably be accepted as equally certain. When it is remembered that the mines in the Kolar gold-field have, in the course of the last twenty years, paid to their fortunate share-holders over ten millions sterling in dividends, besides providing many more millions in gold for salaries, wages, stores, etc., etc., and that this small area is probably not one-hundredth part of the areas throughout India which were worked at various times by the ancients, it will be realized that the probabilities are that the seven hundred millions of gold stated to have been taken out of Indian mines in the past is an under-estimate rather than otherwise.

We have very few records, prior to the advent of British administration, of the actual mining operations carried on, but it is certain that many of the mines are of very ancient date while others were worked so late as the time of Tippoo Sultan of Mysore and by the great Dewan Purnia, ancestor of the present Dewan, and, indeed, were only abandoned on the occupation of the country by the British at the end of the eighteenth century.

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Subsequent to this event and up to the early seventies of the last century a period of complete stagnation in the industry appears to have prevailed, brought about no doubt, in the first instance, by the very unsettled state of the country, and later by the fact that such non-official members of the community, as might have been expected to show enterprise in this direction, had many safer sources of investing their capital, from which, in those days, almost equally large profits could be obtained. Further, there is no doubt that the natives of the country, not unnaturally, were at that time disinclined to reveal to their British conquerors the riches ready to their hand, and an almost complete ignorance of the mineral possibilities of the country seems to have generally obtained.

The first real effort to revive the industry on any large scale was at the now celebrated Kolar Goldfield in the Native State of Mysore. In 1873, Mr. M. F. Lavelle, a warrant officer retired from the Army and living in Bangalore, who had a smattering of geological knowledge, applied to the Mysore Government for the exclusive right of mining in the Kolar District ; but, curiously enough, his application was made under the impression that the old workings in Kolar were the sites of ancient coal mines, and it was solely due to the circumstance that the discovery of coal would be of immense value in Southern India in view of the opening up of lines of railway and the spread of manufacturing industries taking place at that time, that, what is now one of the finest goldfields in the world, was in the first instance exploited. The first operations were started by Mr. Lavelle in 1875, and almost immediately afterwards taken over by Colonel Beresford and a Syndicate in Bangalore known as the Kolar concessionaires. It was not however till 1881 when the management of the explorations was handed over to Messrs. John Taylor and Sons, the great London Mining Engineering Firm, and several companies with considerable working capital were formed, that any very extensive developments were undertaken. In the year 1885, after many intervening vicissitudes, and after all the mines, with the exception of that of the Mysore Gold Mining Company, had actually been closed down owing to the poorness of the ore up to that time discovered, the success of the Kolar Goldfield was finally established by the opening up of the now famous Champion Lode on that property. This result was not attained, however, without the expenditure of a very large sum of money ; and it was only the insistence of Mr. John Taylor, the head of the managing firm, that induced the shareholders to spend the last six thousand pounds that remained to the Company on the mine instead of putting it

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back into their own pockets. Had they elected the latter alternative, the great Kolar Goldfield would to-day no doubt have been in the same position as several other areas in Southern India, which, though equally full of promise, are lying neglected without ever having had a tithe of the money spent on them that was spent on the Kolar Field prior to its success.

As soon as success was assured at Kolar there was, as was of course to be expected, a general rush for gold—or reputed gold—properties in South India. In the district of the Wynaad, more particularly where numerous shallow old workings existed, large areas of ground were taken up by speculators on the spot. Companies were floated in London with large nominal capitals on very insufficient information. Considerable sums of money were subscribed by the British public, but much of it was wasted in various ways. Had a more careful survey of the ground been made in the first place, the results would have been far different. In some properties, where a certain amount of under-ground development was carried out, the ore was found to be either too low grade or too refractory to be worked at a profit down to the point where their funds permitted the adventurers to go. The result was inevitable; there was a general scramble on the part of the British speculating public to “get out” of the Wynaad enterprises. Those mines whose prospects might have proved good with further exploration at depth were abandoned equally with the undoubtedly bad concerns; and the road between Wynaad and the coast constitutes to this day a “bottomless pit” into which many tens of thousands of pounds of British shareholders’ money have been cast in the shape of the abandoned, and now useless, mining plant and machinery strewn along it. Most unjustly and illogically, all Wynaad mining—and indeed all gold-mining in South India outside the little Kolar field—came to be regarded as suspect. And yet it is very certain, and is now admitted generally, that more than one of the other Mysore districts shows promise of even richer results than Kolar.

Similar blunders and follies have attended the gold-mining operations in the Madras Presidency, in some of the Bombay districts, and in the Nizam’s dominions—almost recalling the “infandum dolorem” of the Bengal gold-mining craze. In the Nizam’s dominions, the Decan Company were for years prospecting their properties—but seem never to have concentrated their operations sufficiently so as to do full justice to any one property, or to determine with any degree of certainty what the lodes contained in depth below the level of the old workings. And it was not until the Hutti Gold

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Mining Company took up a block of the Deccan Company's land and spent a considerable sum at one particular point that any useful information was obtained. The success that is now practically assured to the companies operating in this area would never have been attained had the old foolish methods of dribbling away money been adhered to. The experiences of those who attempted gold mining in the Bombay presidency were precisely similar—at no single point was enough money devoted to the prospecting to enable a shaft to be sunk well below the level at which the ancients ceased mining or to thoroughly explore the lower levels—and consequently all efforts had ended in failure until the Dharwar Gold Mining Company stepped in and spent considerable sums in probing the reefs now being so successfully developed.

There appear, however, to be distinct indications of a revival of this enterprise in many directions, as a consequence no doubt of the recent very promising developments both in the Dharwar and Deccan gold-fields, where a sufficient expenditure of capital to properly explore the ore bodies below the workings of the ancient miners has shown that former failures were not due to any lack of promise in the mines themselves but rather to the unsound way in which they were attempted to be exploited.

The experience now gained by the recent operations in the Deccan and Dharwar mines, following on those at Kolar, demonstrates most clearly that the men who worked these mines in bygone ages were undoubtedly clever miners. And, as a rule, it was not until they were "drowned out" owing to the comparatively primitive contrivances they had for dealing with water, or until they reached a zone of poor grade ore which did not pay for being worked, that they abandoned their operations. And consequently it is certain that such of these ancient mines as were on merely surface deposits or pockets of ore have probably been worked out altogether, and those in the more continuous geological formations to a considerable depth from the surface. Another cause of the stoppage of some of these old mines is no doubt to be found in the inability of the ancients to deal profitably with the refractory sulphide ores which are sometimes met with below the level of the permanent saturation, i.e., below the level at which the ores have become oxidised by weathering action. Modern methods, however, have to a great extent got over these difficulties; in many parts of the world such ores are worked at considerable profit, and there is no reason why those found in some part of India should not be equally profitably worked.

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To sum up ; the chief lessons to be drawn from the history of modern gold mining in India are : (1) that it is quite useless to expect any satisfactory results without an ample sufficiency of working capital to sink shafts to a considerable depth below the working of the ancient miners and thoroughly explore the ore bodies at various points ; and (2) that the handling of the mines must be placed in the charge of thoroughly qualified and experienced men. There is no doubt that there are several auriferous areas in Southern India, where there was an ancient mining industry, still to be opened up, which give promise of great things in the future. The economic conditions generally are probably as good or better than those of any other gold mining country in the world. The climate is as a rule healthy ; labour is cheap and abundant ; there is usually no difficulty about water ; ample supplies of cheap fuel and timber are generally available ; and the means of transporting machinery and stores almost invariably excellent.

If the lessons of the past are borne in mind and the various widely scattered and extensive auriferous tracts, which in former times have been the scenes of a busy and prosperous gold mining industry, are given a fair trial by men of good financial standing with plenty of capital, which they are prepared to spend in a thorough development of them, there is every reason to believe that in the not far distant future, under the modern conditions of mining, India will again take her place as one of the greatest gold producing countries in the world.

HAND-LOOM WEAVING IN INDIA

[A Paper Read Before the Benares Industrial Conference by Mr. R. B. Patel, Director of Agriculture and Industries, Baroda State].

1. Hand-loom weaving is the largest industry in India next to agriculture and it is also the oldest. There is some difference in opinion as to which country or nation can claim the honour of inventing the art of weaving, but most probably, there was an independent development in every old country. The Indian hand-loom, as it now is, is the same as it was some thirty centuries ago, and has still survived the competition of the power-loom. With the extension of rapid and cheap transit, however, which is bringing the products of the power-loom to the remotest corners of India, the decline in the industry is rapid, and unless something is done to give it a fresh impetus, the Indian hand-loom, will have to go the way of her more advanced sister of the West, before her

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formidable rival, the power-loom. Hand-loom weavers in India are engaged in weaving cotton, silk, and woollen fabrics, but the cotton industry, being the largest, requires our best and the first consideration, and that is the branch to which I shall confine myself in this paper.

2. It appears from the Census of 1901 that there are in all India about 27 lakhs of hand-loom weavers of cotton fabrics, supporting an equal number of dependants. To what extent this number is decreased, as compared to the number ten, twenty, or thirty years ago, is difficult to find. The headings in the census tables have been changed at each census. The number of hand-loom weavers as a class was never before separated, nor does the last census give their territorial distribution. It is, however, a patent fact that the industry has been slowly but steadily declining, since the introduction of Manchester piece-goods into India. Taking the principal weaving castes in India,

Name of weaver caste.	Provinces.	Strength in 1901.	Per cent. increase or decrease of general population compared with 1891.	Per cent. increase or decrease of weaver caste compared with 1891.	Percentage of actual workers following traditional occupation.
Tanti and Tetwa	Bengal ...	9,46,463	+4	+18	38
Sali and kosti	Bombay ...	1,41,052	-2	+9	63
Koshti ...	Central Provinces	1,36,079	-9	-1¼	73
Panka ...	Do. ...	1,37,855		-15	72
Kilokan ...	Madras ...	*	+7	*	59
Sali ...	Do. ...	3,25,912		+5¾	69
Julaha ...	North West Provinces ...	9,23,042	+1½	+2¼	*
Kori ...	Do. ...	9,95,680		+7¾	*
Julaha ...	Panjab ...	6,95,216	+7	+4	*

it appears that, between 1891 and 1901, all the weaver castes have held their own in point of population, better even than others, excepting the Panka weavers of Central Provinces, who lost 15 per cent. against a general decrease in population of 9%. on account of the famines. Curiously enough, this is the only caste in which all but 27 per cent. have left their ancestral art. The Bengal weavers

* Not available.

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are the next in order of renegades with 38 per cent, while nearly two-thirds of the weavers in Bombay are still weavers, notwithstanding the strongest competition of local mills and foreign goods. The Koshtis of the Central Provinces lead all other weavers, with 73 per cent. sticking to their traditional occupation.

3. To obtain an idea of the present production of the hand-loom is still more difficult. Mr. Robertson says in his "Review of the Trade of India in 1904-05," that the production of cloth by the hand-weaving industry is probably double that of the Indian Mills. The mill production of cloth is 15·87 crore lbs. or about 67 crore yards. At this rate, the hand-loom production would be 31·74 crore lbs. or 134 crore yards.

The yarn imported into India is	2·75 crore lbs.
and the yarn produced by the Indian mills is ...	57·84 crore lbs.

Making a total of	... 60·59 crore lbs.
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Deducting the yarn exported and re-exported amounting to 25·01 crore lbs.
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The yarn consumed annually in India is	... 35·58 crore lbs.
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In parts of the country remote from the railway and markets, a certain amount of yarn is still spun by the wheel, but this may be taken as more than compensated for by the amount of mill yarn put to uses other than weaving. On this computation, Mr. Robertson's rough estimate seems fairly correct and the total cloth production of the hand-loom may be taken at not more than a hundred and fifty crore yards. This divided among the 27 lakhs weavers gives an average output of 555 yards per weaver per annum, or 5½ feet per day at 300 working days in the year. This seems such a miserable return that further inquiry into the subject seems necessary.

4. The import of cotton piece-goods into India in 1904-05 is

	228 crore yards.
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The mill production...	67	Do.
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Total	295	Do.
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Deducting exports and re-exports	17	Do.
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This leaves for consumption	278	Do.
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The total population is 29½ crores, and allowing 15 yards per head per annum of cotton cloth, which would be a very fair average for a poor country like India, the total consumption would be 442½ crore yards. The difference between this demand and the mill supply is 164½ crore yards, the probable production of hand-loom. This calculation increases the average daily output by only six inches, and makes it a full fathom.

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5. Let us now look into the Indian weavers' home and see if we can find a solution. The census tells us that, among the weavers, there are half workers and half dependants. It also tells us that there is an average of four in an Indian family, and we may fairly take it that the weaver is not an exception. Thus in a family of four, two are workers and two dependants. One of the two is at the loom, while the other winds thread on the shuttle bobbins, gives out the warp by parts when necessary, helps the weaver in drawing the warp threads through healds and reed, and attends to other odd jobs. The warping and sizing is usually done by warp makers and sizers, and the weaver weaves either for himself or for a merchant, technically called the putter-out, who employs him. The drawing requires about $2\frac{1}{2}$ days of the weaver and his mate, and when the same class of pieces are to be woven one after another, a day and a half for twisting in. The warp is generally short, ranging from 18 to 50 yards according to the class of weaving, and, on an average, the time taken up in drawing is about a half of that taken in weaving. Calculating on this data we find that, out of every 2 taken as actual workers, one alone weaves on the loom, and that one also has to pass two-thirds of his time in weaving and one-third in drawing. Thus of every two weavers in the census, only $\frac{2}{3}$ of a person or $\frac{1}{3}$ of the whole number is at actual work on the loom. With the hand-loom making an average of 25 picks per minute, the daily production of a loom would range from about 3 yards to 10 according to the kind of cloth and would average about 6 yards. A third of this or 6 feet is once again the daily output of cloth per person engaged in the industry.

6. I do not think that this should at all discourage us. Think for a moment of the 27 lakhs of weavers who have successfully withstood the competition of the power-loom, notwithstanding this miserable output, and you will at once be convinced not only that they will be hard to beat, but also that any fresh impetus given to their industry will once again make them even the masters of the situation. If we can but raise his average from 6 feet to 6 yds. or even to 5 yds. a day, we can make him strong enough to withstand competition and at the same time obtain an additional supply of cloth even exceeding the total imports of India from Manchester. This, gentlemen, I understand to be the intention of this Conference. Most of us probably believe, as I myself did a few months ago, that when we have increased the working speed of the hand-loom to 80 or a 100 picks per minute, we shall have done all that is needed for this consummation. That, I am afraid, will be only partially true,

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as I shall show you by an example, and by taking you deeper into the web of the weaving business.

7. The English hand-loom before 1738 was almost exactly like the Indian hand-loom of to-day. It had just the same three motions of shedding, picking and putting the weft in place, performed in the same way. The two feet raised the heddles alternately to form a shed in the warp, one hand threw the shuttle with the weft thread through, and being disengaged, gave a slight blow with the reed-sley to put the weft in position. The other hand caught the shuttle emerging on the other side, and as soon as a shed was formed again, it did from that side what the other hand did before. This alternation of hands, both with the shuttle and the reed, took a lot of time, and the average work was 25 picks a minute, the same as in the Indian hand-loom. In 1738 John Kay invented the fly-shuttle. The alternation of hands was stopped and one hand gave motion to the shuttle, while the other stuck to the reed. This simple invention more than doubled the work and raised the number of picks per minute to 60. A very curious result followed:—Paradoxical though it may appear, this improvement in the hand-loom killed the industry. The accelerated hand-loom required larger quantities of yarn, and spinning machines were invented to meet the demand. The yarn-production soon overtook and left the looms behind, and the power-loom was invented to consume the excess of yarn. It was found, however, that preparatory processes of warping, sizing, &c. were too slow, and the power-loom did not make much headway in production, notwithstanding the enormous increase in the number of picks. Winding machines for warp and shuttle bobbins, and warping, beaming and sizing machines were next invented to take full advantage of the power-loom, and this put an end to the hand-loom. The invention of the fly-shuttle thus killed the hand-loom industry, but gave England a still higher form of textile industry, and the loss has really proved an enormous gain to the country.

8. In India, the conditions are somewhat different, and I believe we can find ways both to make the hand-loom more productive and to give the weaver its full benefit. To find how this can be done, we shall have to enquire in some detail into the whole course from the yarn to the finished cloth. We shall take it for granted that the weaver has got a simple contrivance, by the addition of which to his loom, he can work at the rate of 100 to 120 picks per minute. If he is weaving a cloth, say four feet wide, in one minute he will use up 160 yards of weft, and he will have to change the

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shuttle bobbin every minute and a half. This will take about 15 seconds or one-sixth of his working time, unless there is some one to keep his shuttles ready filled. The number of bobbins required in a day will be so large that a woman working with the ordinary wheel will not be able to supply them and a small hand machine for this purpose will be an absolute necessity, if full advantage is to be taken of the loom. The warp, as is now made, will run out in a short time, and the weaver will have to give more time to drawing in than to weaving. Larger warps equal to about 200 to 300 yards will be required and these cannot be made by the peg system. This will require hand warping machines, with winding and beaming machinery. The present system of sizing by stretching the warps and brushing in the size will not avail, and some sort of sizing machines will also be necessary.

Assuming then that some contrivance is found by which the number of picks per minute in the hand-loom is increased, say four times, the industry will naturally divide into four sections.

(1) *Warping*—This will be done by central factories, generally with hand-winding and warping machines. The owners will either buy their own yarn and sell the warps, or simply warp the yarn supplied by the weavers and charge for the labour.

(2) *Beaming*—To beam long warps by hand is very difficult and the work is generally uneven. Beaming by hand machines will be the next work that can either be done independently or in connection with warping.

(3) *Sizing* will also have to be done either in an independent small establishment or it may be combined with the warping and beaming, in places where the number of looms is large. In this last case, a small factory using steam and working with steam machinery, will probably be the best arrangement.

(4) The fourth or last section of the industry will be the *weaving* proper.

The recent Universities Act is sure to create a large army of half-educated young men of moderate means, and some of these will find the founding and working of such small village factories one of the best things that they can do. With such small concerns, aiming at moderate profits, planted throughout the weaving centres to help him, and with a loom giving him more than half the out-turn of a power-loom, the Indian weaver can hold his own against the power-loom for generations to come, in fact, until such time as most of these small concerns, by growing bigger and bigger, get converted into veritable power-loom mills. I have left the yarn out

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of consideration, as that can be imported instead of the cloth, till the increase of spindles in the country produces enough for our needs. This, gentlemen, is neither a dream nor too glowing a picture of the coming millennium. I can assure you that it is coming within a measurable distance of time. Four causes are working strongly towards it :

- (1) Trials in all parts of the country to improve the hand-loom.
- (2) The Universities Act.
- (3) The interest the educated classes are taking in the development of industries, as witness the exhibitions and this conference.
- (4) And last, though not the least, a spirit which is taking a firm hold on the masses all over the country, I mean, the *Swadeshi* spirit.

10. *The Indian Textile Journal*, writing about the hand-loom at the Bombay Exhibition, says : "The improvement in the Indian hand-loom is a matter of great urgency. An enormous number of good looms is required, but a new design of general utility would seem to demand the combined ability of several experienced weavers and inventors. The object of the inventors should be to ascertain the best possible working speed in picks per minute of the average weaver, and then to adapt the mechanism of the loom to withstand this strain of work." This is excellent advice. Whether the new loom be worked by the feet alone or by both hands and feet, a weaver will not on an average be able to move them more than twice in a second, and when it is considered that the shuttle has to travel the width of the loom between each pick, this speed seems to be the highest that may be attempted. 100 to 120 picks per minute, for cloths ranging from 50 to 24 inches in width respectively, seems to me to be the best average speed attainable for a loom of general utility.

11. At the desire of His Highness the Maharajah Gaekwar of Baroda, I collected many of the improved hand-loom available in India with a view to select the most suitable one for general introduction among the weavers in the State and I take this opportunity to note here my conclusions, which were drawn after a careful examination and consultation with experienced weavers. The Hattersley Automatic Loom was found to be the fastest of those that were tried, but its complicated construction, rather heavy working and its prohibitive price are against its general adoption. The same remarks would almost apply to the Japanese loom, which is less automatic in working and consequently less complicated in construction. The Churchill loom of Ahmednagar is only a

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coarse calico-loom, working freely at from 100 to 125 picks per minute and is, perhaps, the best loom designed for the kind of cloth for which it is intended. But its present price is heavy for the class of work it turns out. Most of the other improved hand-loom in the market are slight variations of the ordinary fly-shuttle loom, and they are good general purpose looms, but their working speed is only 60 picks. Mr. Havell's Serampore Loom is probably the cheapest of this type.

Unless I am greatly mistaken, the problem of the loom is still open, and it may be stated thus for intending inventors :

(1) Wanted, for the village weaver, a special attachment, by the addition of which to his existing loom, he can increase its working speed to 100 picks per minute. The cost of this attachment not to exceed Rs. 20 and the parts easy of repair by the village carpenter.

(2) Wanted, for hand-loom factories and for well-to-do weavers, a loom making 100 to 120 picks per minute and providing a simple arrangement to control the picks per inch in the cloth. The construction to be as simple as possible and the parts should be easy of repairs by town mechanics. The cost of the complete loom should not exceed Rs. 100.

(3) Wanted, for the full development of the industry, hand adaptations of winding machines for warps and shuttle bobbins and of warping, beaming, and sizing machinery.

These are the three chief problems to be solved. With the co-operation of a weaver, I have tried to solve the problem of the village loom, and the result is exhibited as the Sayajee Cottage Loom in the Beneres Exhibition, but I have no doubt that some one better fitted for the work will work out a still better solution in time. I commend these problems to the earnest attention of all interested in the regeneration of the weaving industry of India and the material progress of their country. Their solution requires the special efforts of a few brains and when they are solved, the *Swadeshi* spirit and the educated young men without work will do the rest to bring about the weaver's millennium.

THE KUMBH MELA

(From *The Pioneer*)

THE GREAT HINDU RELIGIOUS GATHERING AT ALLAHABAD

India is a great land for pilgrimages ; they are in fact, in the words of the last Census report, "the substitutes (to the Hindu) for

most other religious observances, always excepting those connected with the propitiation of local spirits, whether family or attached to the house or village." Just as in mediaeval England people flocked in their hundreds at a certain period of the year to Canterbury, so, too the pious Hindu is wont to gather in his millions at some particularly holy spot, be it shrine or river, to do penance for his past offences and propitiate the unseen forces of the world. Nor are the occasions few and far between when he can take part in these pilgrimages, for the *tirth* bulks largely in the Hindu calendar, with countless melas to choose from and nearly all of them dating back to immemorial antiquity. It is the Kumbha Mela, however, recurring once in turn in a cycle of 12 years at Allahabad, Ujjain, Hardwar and Nasik, that usually attracts the largest crowd of devotees. The word Kumbh is a shortened form of *Kumbha* (lit. pitcher of water) or Aquarius, one of the signs of the Zodiac, the Kumbh Mela falling at Allahabad when the Planet Jupiter enters Kumbha and the Sun is in Aries. This phenomenon occurring only once in every twelve years, the mela which owes its name to it is naturally regarded by the Hindus as an occasion of peculiar sanctity.

The "Kumbh Mela" at Allahabad is, of course, only a glorified edition of the ordinary "Magh Mela," which yearly gathers its multitude of pilgrims outside the walls of the Fort. Various reasons are assigned by the Hindus themselves to account for the great celebrity of Allahabad as a place of pious visitation. It was here that the incarnation Ram Chandra, King of Ajodya, during his fourteen years' search for his wife Sita, came to bathe and perform puja. Here, too, is the "Sangam," the junction of the three rivers—two, the Jumna and the heaven-descended Ganges, visible to the ordinary being; the third, the Saraswati seen only by the eye of the "illuminati," welling up at this spot after a long course underground from the sands of Sirhind, 400 miles to the N. W. of Allahabad. The slight eddying of the water marks the meeting of the streams, and "the triple braid" flows on thence as one stream to the Ganga-Sagar or Bay of Bengal.

Tradition and superstition have thus leagued together to invest the locality with a supernatural and religious atmosphere, which makes it for the simple pilgrim winding his steps hither a veritable "tirth-raj." Allahabad, too, is one of the three spots in India where the mysterious ceremony of the "Shradh," one of the most necessary observances for the Hindu, can be performed; while the city's ancient name "Prayag" is evidence that at some period in the distant past it was a place of sacrifice.

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Perhaps the first glimpse history affords us of this great pilgrim-festival is the visit of the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang to Prayag in the reign of King Harsha in 644 A. D. According to the explanation given by the King, he had been accustomed for the past thirty years to hold a great quinquennial assembly at the junction of the rivers and there to distribute his treasures to the poor and needy. On the occasion when Hiuen Tsang was present, the assembly was attended by vassal kings and a vast concourse of people to the number of half a million, this including Brahmans and ascetics of every sect from all parts of Northern India. The "mela" lasted for nearly $2\frac{1}{2}$ months, and on the opening day there was a magnificent procession of Rajas with their retinues. Offerings were made to images of Buddha, the Sun and Siva, and the fourth and following days, for a space of over two months, witnessed the distribution of a truly royal largesse to 20,000 Buddhist priests, Brahmans, "heretics" (Jains and other sects), mendicants and poor, orphaned and destitute persons with the result that "the accumulation of five years was exhausted. Except the horses, elephants and military accoutrements which were necessary for maintaining order and protecting the Royal estate nothing remained." (Mayers). The King, indeed, appears to have been recklessly extravagant in his gifts, for at the end of it all he had to beg from his sister "an ordinary second hand garment," rejoicing the while that "his treasure had been bestowed in the field of religious merit."

There are no longer kings to lavish gifts on every hand, for the Sirkar that has taken their place is of a more practical mind. Nor are there Rajas to pass by in glittering processions, though occasionally a Prince like the Maharajah of Kashmir may descend upon the mela with a small army of followers. The scene on the great days of the mela now-a-days is of a different kind, but for all that not wanting in picturesqueness. The fakir is now the principal actor in the drama; the humble pilgrim the giver, rather than the receiver, of alms, content to perform his religious duties in unostentatious style and look on as an interested spectator at the wondrous tamashas unfolded before him on procession days. The Kumbhas, in fact, are a sort of grand assemblies of fakirs, who swarm into the mela in their thousands, not singly but in clans or akharas. Very jealous of each other's privileges and rights, some of them are ready to create a disturbance on the slightest provocation, and were it not for the great care taken to keep apart the various akharas—and in some cases the different sections in each akhara—and prevent them from getting into mischief, trouble would infallibly arise. Even with

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every precaution taken that forethought can suggest, regrettable incidents are apt to occur, as, for example, at the last Allahabad Kumbh, when two sections of the Bairagi akhara struggled for precedence at the Sangam and were with difficulty restored to their proper places. The most elaborate arrangements have to be made to marshal the processions and maintain order, and the Police Officer, upon whom most of the responsibility rests on these occasions, has no light task. He is the General in command, the man who has to direct the operations ; his Civilian colleague, the Political Officer in the field, the representative or rather embodiment for the time being of the Sirkar

It must not be imagined that it is only the purely Hindu element that is represented at these fairs. No less than five of the akhras are usually classified as Sikhs, e. g., the Nirbanis, Niranjanis, Junas, Nirmalas and Udisis ; and in the procession that will take place on the occasion of the 'bath' the Sikhs will have the leading places. Among these, the Niranjanis (" Pure "), who will come second in the procession, were founded in the middle of the 16th Century by Handal, the cook of the third Guru. Their chief peculiarity is that they reject the ordinary burial customs of both Sikhs and Hindus, have special marriage rites of their own, and do not reverence the Brahman.

The Udisis, on the other hand, are not as exclusive as their name (" Udas " to sit separate or apart from) might suggest, for they are recruited from all castes and will eat food from any Hindu. They are said to have been founded by Sri Chand, the son of Nanak, and while paying special reverence to the Adi-Granth, also respect the Granth of Govind Singh and worship at the same shrines as the ordinary Sikhs. They are usually celibates and are sometimes congregated in monasteries. Members of the akhara are to be found both in the Punjab and these Provinces, and even range as far afield as Malwa and Benares. Of the non-Sikh akharas the Bairagi, already mentioned, are the most important. They are, as a matter of fact, the largest akhara of all (numbering on procession days as many as 20,000 persons), and incidentally by far the most troublesome. The akhara is split up into three main divisions, called respectively the Nirbani, Digambar and Nirmohi, and is by no means what one might call a united family. This is not altogether surprising, considering the fact that the akhara is composed of non-descripts of any religion and caste, the Native Christian even, it is said, being eligible for admission to its ranks. The Bairagis are worshippers of Rama and Krishna and chiefly hail from the United Provinces where the popularity of these two deities has always been

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greatest, the sect being found in fairly large numbers in the districts of Meerut, Aligarh, Bulandshahr, Lucknow, and Agra. They have their religious differences,—among others what are somewhat quaintly described as the “markata kishora nyaya” (young monkey theory) and marjala kishora nyaya (kitten theory), one party insisting on the power of the human will in the work of salvation and representing the soul as laying hold of God as a young monkey clasping its mother in order to be carried away to a place of safety ; another maintaining the utter helplessness of the soul till it is seized and carried off as a kitten is by its mother.

Each akhara is ruled over by a Mahant, who is on these occasions the recipient of marked attention from the authorities, every thing possible being done to conciliate his friendship and win his influence over to the side of order. The Mohant is usually a very important individual apart altogether from his religious position, this being also true of the Mahant of the various sub-sections of the “akhara.” Crooke, for example, states that the Mahant of the Dehra Udisis “is the richest man in the Dun.” This was written ten years ago but will probably stand as true to-day. A not altogether pleasing feature of some of the “akharas” is their division into two “brigades”—the Clothed and the Great Unclothed (Nagas). Many, if not most of the “Nagas,” however, only affect Nature’s garb for the occasion. At other times, in the seclusion of their huts and when the day of festival is over, they are not indifferent to the charms of dress. None the less, even the winter bathers in the Serpentine might envy the fortitude and resolution required for turning out, bedecked only in the meagre covering of paint and ashes, for a procession that starts in the chilly hours of morning and lasts well on into the dewy eve, with all the tedious waitings between before a plunge can be made into the sacred stream.

THE JAGANNATH CAR FESTIVAL

(From *The Asiatic Quarterly Review*)

The shrine of the god Jagannath in the sacred town of Puri, which is situated between Calcutta and Madras, on the east coast of India, has been for many centuries past one of the most famous in the whole of India. Thousands of foot-sore pilgrims and mendicants annually wended their weary way along the Orissa Trunk Road, coming from north, south, east, and west. It may be doubted if the oracles of *Delphi* and *Dodona*, or even holy Mecca

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itself, ever claimed a greater or more enthusiastic throng of worshippers than this celebrated seat of Hindu worship. By the construction, a few years ago, of the Bengal Nagpur Railway from Calcutta to Madras, with a branch-line to Puri, the road traffic has much decreased, and the ravages of cholera among the pilgrims have been simultaneously checked. For many days prior to the Car Festival special trains, crammed full of passengers, block the line, and on the great day itself the sight is almost indescribable. Hitherto Puri has been unvisited by the globe-trotter, lying off the beaten track and not being easy of access. The Cook's tourist visits Bombay, and from thence he probably proceeds to Jaipur, Agra, Delhi, Cawnpore, Lucknow, Benares, and Calcutta. If he can fit in a short rush up to Darjiling to see the Himalayas, he feels he has seen India, and departs well pleased to write a book thereon. But now there is no longer any reason why the visitor, hard pressed for time though he may be, should not include a visit to Orissa in his itinerary. Although the Car Festival does not take place till July, after the setting in of the rainy season, there are still many things worth seeing in the towns of Orissa, from Balasore, where the first English factory was established about 1635, to Cuttack, with its fortress, and Bhubaneswar, with its well-known carvings and quaint temples. In the south of Orissa lies Puri, with the temple of Jagannath, only a day's journey by rail from Calcutta.

After a life-time spent in India, an Englishman may hope to know but little of the innermost life of the people ; but it will be his own fault if he has neglected the many opportunities open to him of coming in contact with them and of gaining their confidence. Nothing is more extraordinary or more worthy of attention than the conduct of the Indian people at the time of their great religious festivals. It was with the object of seeing for myself a unique spectacle and learning at first hand what took place at the dragging of the cars that I visited Puri at the time of the Car Festival. I did not make the visit in any official capacity, though I accepted the hospitality of the resident magistrate, and thereby got better opportunities for seeing what took place.

When a small town is suddenly filled to overflowing with a multitude of enthusiastic mendicants and fanatics, it may well be imagined that the sanitary arrangements require the utmost attention of the authorities. The magistrate and civil surgeon, both British officials, have the charge of these arrangements. Outbreaks of cholera are of common occurrence. Another danger is the possible loss of life from overcrowding at the Temple gates. The great

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preliminary ceremony, which sometimes takes place in the middle of the night, consists in placing the three gods—Jagannath and his brother and sister—in the three large cars which are kept waiting outside the Temple for this purpose. At about 2 A.M. I received an urgent summons to say that this ceremony, known as the “Pahandi,” was about to take place. The magistrate, Mr. Garrett, had been on the scene for some hours previously, working for all he was worth, to get everything ready. At the time of bringing forth the images of the gods the crush of sight-seers is so great that there is much danger of a catastrophe, and on one occasion a number of pilgrims were killed on the very threshold of the Temple. Hastily throwing on my clothes, I drove down through the narrow and badly-lit streets to the great square. There I found that the “Pahandi” had already commenced, and vast crowds were gathered together. By the lurid light of torches the swaying masses could be distinguished, as a special band of priests carried round the image of the god Jagannath for all to see before placing it in the central car. There I found the magistrate well satisfied with the result of his efforts, as were also all the priests themselves. The huge image was brought close opposite and shown to us by a motley crowd of temple servants. It is an effigy made of wood and painted in white, black, and red. The people seemed half mad with religious excitement, while the horns blew and the torches waved frantically. All this takes place in the square before the Lion Gate (Singh Darwaza) of the Temple, which stands out grimly in the half-dark of the torch-light. Gradually the noise somewhat subsides, and some steal away for a few hours’ sleep before the labours of the morrow, while many keep an all-night vigil about the sacred cars.

On the next morning the greatest and most important ceremony takes place. The cars, with their divine occupants, must be dragged from the Temple Square to the Garden House—a distance of about a mile and a half down the broad main street of the town. At the top of the street stands the Temple, and all around it are the stalls where the blessed rice (known as “mahaprasad”) is sold to the people. All who come to Puri must partake of this food. The Temple itself, except for its antiquity, is not particularly imposing. It is in the form of a pagoda. No European may cross its threshold but there is no embargo upon Hindus; even those who have adopted Western ideas and abandoned their caste are not prevented from entering. Consequently we are in possession of complete information as to the inside of the Temple, and photographs even

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have been taken of it by educated natives. A full description of the Temple will be found in Sir William Hunter's "History of Orissa," which, though written over thirty years ago, is still the only authoritative work on the subject. In front of the Temple there stands a wonderfully delicate and exquisite sun-pillar, which does not form any part of the Temple building, and was brought from elsewhere. But interesting as the shrine and its precincts are to those who remember their history and their sanctity in the eyes of millions of the natives of India, the crowd that fills the square, the whole broad street, and all the houses and roofs along the way, is still more extraordinary. Fanatical sadhus, devotees from the Golden Temple of Amritsar, Brahman priests from Benares, Fakirs from Hyderabad, thousands upon thousands of devout women, and crowds of sight-seers and pilgrims from all parts of India, added to the vast numbers of Uriyas who come from nearer towns and villages—this is the picturesque and curious sight that meets the eye. The dragging of the cars, each of which must be drawn separately from the square to its destination at the Garden House (for the god is supposed merely to be upon a journey from the Temple to the Garden House), has to be carefully supervised by the local authorities. Sometimes the huge ropes supplied by the Temple priests are not sound, and break beneath the strain, and an accident is narrowly averted. In the olden days, before British rule had altered such things, a devotee would now and then be run over by the wheels of the car. Hunter has disposed of the fiction that many suicides took place in this way, but enough deaths occurred, no doubt, to justify the well-known allusions to the "Car of Juggernaut" as an engine of destruction. Slowly the heavy ropes are affixed to one of the ugly wooden cars, and the order to start is given by someone in authority. Hundreds rush forward to assist in drawing the car upon its journey, but the energies of the votaries is soon exhausted. Curiously enough, up to a very recent date, when the Temple management was reformed and improved, the actual dragging of the cars to the Garden House, though only a short distance, sometimes took a week to accomplish. For when the first day's excitement was over, many of the pilgrims cleared off and the hard work of dragging the wooden-wheeled chariots through the heavy sand was universally shirked. Finally, hired labour had to do the needful. Such was the case when I witnessed the performance. Still, at the commencement the enthusiasm is enormous, and no apathy is apparent. Each car is provided with a large automatic brake, and the speed is carefully regulated, because as

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the route lies down-hill the cars might get out of control, and run over the crowd before the people could escape.

Generally the magistrate and superintendent of police accompany the car, walking in the centre of the road, while the two large ropes on each side are thick with natives of all castes and classes, running alongside and tugging the car along. During the transit the priests strike cymbals and shout, and devotees shriek replies and prayers, and the din is hideous. The women, above all, are most conspicuous—every roof and window is thronged, handkerchiefs and saris are waved furiously, and loud cries of “Jagannath Ji” rend the air. The strained and eager faces of people standing on the verandahs and roofs of the houses while the procession is slowly advancing down the street are most impressive. Numbers of these people have come on foot, by long and wearisome marches, walking day and night continuously for many weeks, and *this is the consummation of their desire*. They return towards their homes *happy in mind, though moneyless and destitute*, often to die of disease on the journey. All the savings which they brought with them have been dissipated in offerings to the god, and in fees to the rapacious priests and servants of the Temple, who are past-masters in the art of cheating the unsophisticated villagers who come to the shrine. The festival lasts in all about ten days, and the priests are careful to keep up several minor celebrations throughout the year as an excuse for looting the pilgrims. But the great day ends with the first Car Procession. After that the heterogeneous crowd of sight-seers begins invisibly to melt away, and European non-officials depart, having seen what they came to see.

It is difficult to describe upon paper the varying impressions produced upon the European mind by the Car Festival of Jagannath. The fact that this same ceremony has been repeated yearly for hundreds of years, preserving probably the same essential features, has in itself a certain fascination for most people. In spite of the inroads of Mahrattas and Mughals, and, finally, the British conquest, comparatively no change has occurred in the annual festival. Truly has the poet sung :

“The East bowed down before the blast
In patient, deep disdain ;
She saw the legions thunder past
Then plunged in thought again !”

The picturesque blending of colour has its usual effect upon the artistic temperament. Over all, there is the *romantic glamour of the East*. During the coming winter many Englishmen, globe-trotters, and others, will visit India, and perhaps not a few, if they

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are well informed, will include in their itinerary the towns of Orissa and the Shrine of Jagannath. The holy town of Puri, like Venice, is best approached from the sea. The Temple, which is not far distant from the shore, is seen from a long way off dimly outlined in a vista of haze, and appears to rise from the water itself. The bright golden sand, the white surf, and the ever-present stately palm-trees, form a proper setting for the great pagoda—the ancient tabernacle where Lord Jagannath still reigns supreme, surrounded, as of yore, by his myriads of devoted worshippers, and venerated as the presiding genius of Orissa.

NOTES & NEWS

GENERAL

The disarmament of the inhabitants of the wild territory in Burnia which lies between the Chin and Lushai Hills has been practically completed. No more guns are now being licensed and the unlicensed weapons still in the hands of the people are being confiscated.

* * *

The immunity of Europeans continues to be one of the most noticeable features of the plague epidemic. Last year in the Bombay Presidency, where the disease carried off over a quarter of a million people, only nineteen Europeans in all were attacked, of whom ten died. In the previous year in the same region, where 3,16,000 deaths took place, only eight were amongst Europeans.

* * *

It is notified that the grant of exchange compensation allowance to members of the superior Police Service, permissible under paragraphs 20 and 23 of the Finance Department Resolution, dated the 5th November 1898, shall be discontinued in the case of all future entrants in or after the current year. This does not affect officers in the Department, who are already in receipt of the allowance.

* * *

A Whitehall gossip says that a long dispatch has been received at the India Office from the Earl of Minto, the Viceroy, outlining a number of reforms in the Government administration which it is proposed should be made. Some of the proposals closely affect the relations with the Native Princes whose help and counsel, it is urged, should be increasingly sought by the Government for the purposes of, educational movements among the natives and improving sanitation among other matters.

* * *

The Widow Remarriage Association of Upper India, which was established at Shahjahanpur in May 1902, under the patronage of the Gaekwar of Baroda, has been instrumental in promoting no fewer than 127 widow remarriages, most of which have taken place in respectable Brahmin families. Of this number 47 were solemnized last year. The Association has 250 members on its roll and

carries on its work by assisting willing applicants for remarriages, by defraying matrimonial expenses and deputing officers to organise arrangements in cases where opposition is feared from people of the same community. It also delivers lectures at which opportunities are given for discussion with the object of popularising the movement for the amelioration of the condition of Hindu widows.

* *

Some time ago the Bombay Corporation passed a resolution expressing the opinion that the time had arrived when the question of introducing free and compulsory primary education into the city should be investigated and conveying the request that the Government would be pleased to appoint a Joint Committee to investigate and report upon the matter. The Bombay Government, in a resolution just issued, intimates its readiness to appoint such a committee, although the Governor in Council remarks that it seems very doubtful whether the introduction of anything resembling universal compulsory education is at all practicable. The Government resolution embodies the suggestion that the enquiries of the committee should not be limited to the practicability of introducing free and compulsory education, but should embrace any measures of reform whereby they conceive that primary education would be materially extended. The financial results of any measures which may be recommended, and the degree to which Government and the Municipality respectively ought to contribute, should be fully treated by the committee in their report.

* *

We have from time to time remarked, says *The Englishman* on the excessive drinking that prevails amongst the aborigināi tribes in Sikhim: and the adjoining tracts. The Lepchas, Sikhimese, Bhutanese and Nepalese are steadily contracting a vice which injures them materially and depraves their morals. The improvidence of the hill-tribes is due in a large measure to their drinking habits. A visit up the Teesta Valley affords melancholy evidence of the deterioration that is setting in amongst a people who are naturally full of the best qualities, and whose engaging and friendly ways have endeared them to all Europeans. It is unfortunate that the same lamentable tale should now have to be told of the hill-tribes of the Chota Nagpur Division. In a resoultion on the quinquennial report of the Division, published in the "Calcutta Gazette" we read: "Though in certain more remote quarters of the division the people are poor and the

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margin between bare sufficiency and actual want is narrow, the fault is largely due to the improvidence of the people themselves and the fact that they are so strongly addicted to drinking. Absolutely reckless of the future, they are even eager to borrow to satisfy the desire of the moment, regardless of the fact that they are placing themselves entirely in the hands of mahajans who do not scruple to make full use of the hold they thus acquire over them." Again, referring to the multitudes who have abandoned agriculture, the Divisional Commissioner writes: "In Manbhum the development of the coal-mining industry in the subdivision of Govindpur and the opening of new lines of railway gave ample work to the people of the neighbourhood, and they would have been well off were it not for their tendency to indulge in excessive drinking which is very marked, men in a state of drunkenness being commonly seen." The fact appears to be that the aboriginal races, having behind them no inherited traditions and being without the support which is afforded by settled religious beliefs, are particularly susceptible to the temptations which the Hindu and Mahomedan races easily overcome. There is all the more reason for official control of the supply of drink.

* * *

The report of the Indian Survey Committee is published in two bulky volumes. The main recommendations are that the Survey Department should be strengthened and that it should be relieved of all cadastral and other outside work to enable it to bring the whole of the topographical maps up to date in course of the next twenty-five years. The recommendations include the following :—

- (1) Immediate preparation of a one inch map of India,
- (2) The number of topographical parties to be fixed at fifteen,
- (3) special arrangements to be made to complete the work required near the north-west frontier within the next six years,
- (4) cadastral and other large scale surveys to be left entirely to the local authorities and the cost of all special forest surveys to be debited to the Forest Department,
- (5) the question of handing over tidal work to the local authorities to be considered,
- (6) Deputy Surveyor-General to be given an assistant and the post of Assistant Surveyor-General in charge of the Survey Office to disappear,
- (7) the Surveyor-General to be allowed an inspecting officer,
- (8) Surveys beyond the frontier to be placed directly under a Superintendent of Frontier Surveys occupying a position similar to that of the Superintendent of Trigonometrical Surveys,

- (9) the post of Superintendent of Forest Surveys to lapse,
- (10) the Trigonometrical branch to be strengthened by two officers,
- (11) the strength of the field parties to be increased fifty per cent,
- (12) each ordinary topographical party to have two officers, one in charge and the other to be his assistant, and frontier parties to have three officers,
- (13) to meet these proposals the strength of Imperial Service for topographical and trigonometrical work to be increased from forty to seventy officers,
- (14) first appointments of army officers to the Imperial Service to be for five years and a language test to be imposed,
- (15) the Provincial Service to be divided into two services, a Provincial, or Indian, Service, and a Junior Service, the pay of the former to range from Rs. 250 to Rs. 800 and that of the latter from Rs. 80 to Rs. 400, and some modifications in recruiting to be introduced,
- (16) Indians to be employed in a certain proportion of the Provincial and Junior Services,
- (17) Imperial and Provincial officers employed on cadastral or similar work to be seconded and their places filled in the department,
- (18) an additional officer to be appointed as an assistant to the officer in charge of the photographic and lithographic office, the two to then include the mathematical instrument office in their charge,
- (19) Local Governments to reproduce their own cadastral maps and no drawing of extra departmental work to be thrown upon the Survey of India Office, and
- (20) the question of the removal of headquarters from Calcutta to be postponed for the present.

INDUSTRIAL & COMMERCIAL

It is understood that a Committee will assemble to consider and report upon the supply of Government stores in India. The idea is to arrange for obtaining more of these from firms and factories in the country itself.



The *Times* publishes the following: "The lowest English tender received by an Indian railway company for 1,000 steel tires for carriages and wagons is just twice as much as the lowest German.

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The material, workmanship, etc., is reported by the consulting engineer of the Indian Railway Company to be the same in each case. The German firm received the order."

* * *

The production of petroleum in India during 1904 was 188,491,382 gallons (of which the production in Burma represents 115,903,804 gallons) compared with 87,859,096 in the previous year. The rapid increase in production has naturally displaced some of the imported foreign oil, of which only 70,590,858 gallons were introduced against 76,361,579 gallons in 1903. The reduction has been entirely on Russian oil, which fell from 65,434,324 to 42,266,738 gallons. At the same time, there has been a remarkable increase in the exports of petroleum from 747,834 gallons in 1903 to 3,787,677 gallons in 1904.

* * *

Endeavours are being made in the North-West Frontier Province to improve the quality of seed grain by the introduction of English rice and of American maize which has already been found to do well in the Hazra District. In Bannu an experimental seed farm has been started under the direction of the Settlement Officer, and good results have already been obtained. Endeavours are being made to provide for a more economic use of canal water in Bannu and Peshawar, in which districts it is believed that the inhabitants employ water on an extravagant scale, thereby water-logging the soil and actually decreasing the ultimate outturn.

* * *

A resolution of the Government of India has been published giving particulars of the appointment already announced of a whole-time Inspector-General of Irrigation. An appendix is also published giving particulars of the irrigation schemes which have been approved by the Government of India as the result of the report of the Irrigation Commission. These schemes will cost in all thirteen crores of rupees, and are expected to yield, when completed, slightly over a crore of rupees annually. They are to protect 7,009,000 acres in all and annually irrigate 3,000,000 acres. They are to be carried out as funds can be provided. The following is a list of the more important of these schemes, each with its estimated cost :—Paharpur, Rs. 7,07,703 ; Hazarkhani, Rs. 4,95,633 ; Upper Sivat Canal, Rs. 1,77,64,752 ; Upper Jhelum, Rs. 2,90,70,397 ; Upper Chenab, Rs. 2,89,29,792 ; Lower Bar Doab, Rs. 1,78,11,831 ; Talai, Rs. 13,44,410 ; Manka Dhori, and Shoria, Rs. 5,51,982 ; Ken, Rs. 36,74,729 ; Dassan, Rs. 38,79,619 ; Betwa Reservoir,

Rs. 11,77,780 ; Mat Branch, Rs. 11,60,393 ; Fatehpur-Sikri, Rs. 6,67,038 ; fifteen tanks in the Central Provinces, Rs. 29,81,618 ; Ramtek Tank, Rs. 15,86,409 ; Tribeni Canal, Rs. 50,20,251 ; Dhaka, Rs. 5,93,213 ; Mon, Rs. 42,63,836 ; Ye-u, Rs. 34,05,297 ; Nagavalli Project, Rs. 10,26,606 ; Mofad Reservoir, Rs. 11,36,000 ; Divi Pumping Station, Rs. 18,06,000 ; Bhavanasi Tank Project, Rs. 1,24,760 ; Budhihal Tank, Rs. 13,98,529 ; Victoria, Rs. 4,37,530 ; Pathri, Rs. 6,43,141 ; Tranza-Nagramma Tank, Rs. 2,61,048 ; Chankapur Reservoir, Rs. 13,11,518 ; Reservoirs for the Mutha Canal, Rs. 41,30.

* *

Remarkable facts relating to the expansion of German trade with India will be found in a report received by the Foreign Office (Annual Series No. 3,523) from the British Consul-General at Hamburg. During the last ten years the total value of the annual imports from India to Germany has increased about 50 per cent., while the total value of the annual exports from Germany to India has increased about 100 per cent. Germany now ranks third among the countries of the world in respect of the value of Indian imports and exports. The imports from India to Germany in 1904 amounted to £14,745,000, as against £10,725,000 in 1902, and the exports from Germany to India to £4,155,000, as against £2,870,000. Germany now takes annually about one-fifth of the aggregate Indian cotton crop, or, next to Japan, more than any other country in the world. A further quantity is imported indirectly via the United Kingdom. Germany also takes about one-fifth of the total Indian raw jute exports, amounting in value to nearly £2,000,000, about 40 per cent. of the total export of the dry hides exported, and one-sixth of all the seeds exported. The demand for indigo, however, has dwindled considerably in view of the German domestic production of synthetic indigo, which is not only popular among German dyers, but is also being exported in annually increasing quantities to the United Kingdom. The greater proportion of the exports from Germany to India consist of woollen and cotton textile goods and of iron manufactures. Germany has now nearly 30 per cent. of the Indian import trade in woollen textile goods, especially in woollen shawls. Of the shawls imported into India 50 per cent. are now made in Germany. In cotton textile goods Germany does not compete with the United Kingdom to any important extent except in hosiery and knitted goods and in coloured and printed piece-goods. In machinery, cutlery, and hardware Germany is making special efforts, and it is pointed out that a proportion of

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the iron and steel manufactures now shipped from Belgium to India are derived from Germany. Several German motor-car factories are supplying Indian firms and are said to be pushing their trade vigorously. Sugar exportations, in consequence of the abolition of the countervailing Indian import duties, leaped up from £15,391 in 1903, to £100,356 in 1904. It is to be observed that the figures given in the report refer to the trade of India with the German Customs Union only and, therefore, do not altogether compromise the trade carried on between India and Hamburg and the other German seaports where free districts exist.

* *

An interesting report on the progress of education in Hyderabad has just been issued by the Hyderabad Education Society, covering a period of two and a half years from the end of 1902 to the 31st of October last. This Society has worked hard and successfully in the cause of education, and its members have made very considerable sacrifices in order to provide the funds necessary for its schemes. For instance, the new Hiranand Academy building cost over Rs. 77,000. Of this the Government grant was Rs. 33,000 and funds raised by the public amounted to Rs. 24,000. The remaining Rs. 20,000 fell on the shoulders of the Society who have provided Rs. 15,000, leaving a debt of Rs. 5,000 still to be paid off. A great want, however, yet remains namely a hostel or residential quarters for the numerous students who come from all parts of Sind.

* *

During the past year the numbers attending English schools and colleges in the United Provinces has increased while the numbers attending the vernacular schools, secondary or primary, have slightly declined or remained stationary. The continued advance in English education is attributed to the steady development of a Province still educationally backward. The temporary check in vernacular education is attributable to the prevalence of plague. The numbers attending public institutions of all kinds increased, while those attending private institutions of all kinds declined. There was a further substantial increase in expenditure, the increase being distributed over all branches of education. The sum of twenty lakhs was contributed by the public towards education. The year has witnessed the enlargement of the medical school at Lucknow, which was not fulfilling its purpose, enter on a new career as an institution for mechanical and manual training, while the scheme has also been drawn up for the development of mechanical training and electrical work at Rurki.

A NOTABLE VIEW OF THE MONTH

Mr. W. T. Stead writes in the January number of *The Review of Reviews* :—

“The Indian group in the cabinet consists of Mr. Morley, Lord Elgin and Lord Ripon, who have both been Viceroy, and Sir Henry Fowler, who has been Secretary of State for India. They have the disadvantage of having a Viceroy not of their appointing, who was sent out to allow Lord Kitchener to rule the roast in India. Mr. Morley will not have a bed of roses. He will have to face a new India, an India whose inhabitants have been flushed with pride over the victories in Japan, and an India whose inhabitants are just waking up to the great resources of the weak against armed force—the Boycott and the Strike. He will have to make up his mind whether to confirm or to reverse the decision of Mr. Brodrick, which sustained Lord Kitchener against Lord Curzon and the opinion of the whole Civil Service of India. He will have to decide whether he will abide by the decision of his predecessor as to the partition of Bengal. He will probably think it is the line of least resistance to assume that what is done cannot be undone, and therein he may make the mistake of his life. For, if the Bengalees profit by the Russian example, Mr. Morley may find himself confronted by a far thornier problem than faced Mr. Forster in Ireland in the worst days of the Land League. Finally, Mr. Morley will have to take his courage in both his hands, and insist upon a drastic reduction of military expenditure in India. The military budget in India has been raised to its present figure solely because of the alleged Russian menace. Whatever the Russian *débâcle* has done, it has at least freed India from all dread of a Russian Invasion. It ought, therefore, to follow that at least two millions a year should be withdrawn from the military budget, to be used either in the reduction of taxation or in the extension of popular education. Mr. Morley has never been in India. His appointment has raised great expectations amongst the educated natives.”

SUMMARIES OF ARTICLES

A FEW WORDS TO INDIAN WOMEN

The current number of the *Hindustan Review* has an article with the above title. This article formed the Presidential Address delivered by the Rani Ramprya of Pertapgarh at the Ladies' Conference at Benares in December last. The Rani discusses infant marriage, polygamy, seclusion of women, &c., but urges her audience to keep out the question of widow-remarriage from the reform programme for some time. She next insists on unity. Referring to the instance of the ants, she says that they would long since have been vanquished in the race of life if they were not united. They hold their own because of their union. Early-marriage is strongly condemned. Its evil consequences are pointed out and the reason why it came into existence is mentioned. The time when India flourished under the different *asrams* or stages of life is referred to and the evils springing from the unhappy mixing together of *Brahmacharyya-asram* (student life) and *Grihastha-asram* (family life) are briefly touched upon. In conclusion, she appeals to her audience to fight resolutely against child-marriage.

AN INDIAN WOMAN'S PLEA FOR FEMALE EDUCATION

Mrs. Ramanbhai Mahipatram Nilkant, B.A., contributes an article to the current number of the *Hindustan Review* under the above title. The article, in the first place, makes the statement that man cannot advance without woman progressing and, on the strength of this statement, the writer declares that Indian women should no longer be debarred from enjoying the rights and privileges of men. She also avers that the future generations of India cannot be improved unless our mothers and sisters are well educated. Knowledge, according to the writer, is the birthright of all and it is a piece of gross injustice to deprive the womankind of it. In India, the cause of all sorts of reforms lacks support owing to the ignorance of women. Ancient India could boast of women well-versed in literature and science, and the writer regrets that the ancient ideals are not followed in modern times. The people of ancient India knew how to respect women and Manu has said, "where women are worshipped

SUMMARIES OF ARTICLES

there are the deities pleased." Modern India does not know how to pay respects to women and is robbing them of their rights and privileges, domestic and proprietary. Nevertheless, it is gratifying to notice that female education is slowly gaining ground and becoming an appreciable factor in the "marriage market." In the end of the article, the writer suggests that as the Indian girls have to leave schools at an early age, provision for their further education should be made by opening home-classes and arranging lectures for women. Lectures on general and scientific subjects with the aid of lime-light pictures should be encouraged all over the country, says Mrs. Nilkant, for the purpose of stimulating women's love of knowledge.

BUDDHISM IN INDIA

In a very interesting paper on "The Faiths of Ancient India," Mr. Romes Ch. Dutt discusses the main tenets of the Vedic and the Buddhist religions. He quotes chapter and verse to show that the earliest religions of India was a sort of Nature Worship—the worship of the various powers and forces of Nature under different names and forms. The immense popularity of the religion of Gautama Buddha Mr. R. C. Dutt explains in the following way:—

"The millions of the non-Aryan people who had adopted the civilisation, the language, and even the religious faith of their Aryan teachers and masters, were still jealously kept out of the pale of Vedic rites and sacred laws; and thus a great and unfortunate distinction between the handful of Aryan Hindus and the mass of Hinduised non-Aryans was perpetrated and deepened with the lapse of centuries. On the one hand, the Aryan communities with the pride and exclusiveness of all civilised and conquering races in ancient and modern times, jealously guarded their privileges against the non-Aryans. On the other hand, the non-Aryan races, having assumed the mantle of Aryan civilisation and customs, and having risen to political power in Magadha and other provinces demanded admission into the charmed circle. The anomaly required a solution, the times called for a leveller—and a great leveller arose in Gautama, the Buddha."

Mr. Dutt has also a plausible theory to explain the ultimate disappearance of Buddhism from India:—

"It is generally believed that Buddhism has now disappeared from India, because it failed to shake the stronghold of Hinduism. The very reverse of this is the truth. Buddhism has disappeared from India, because its work is done; the Hindus are united, and Hinduism has accepted and adopted Buddhist maxims and observances. The distinction between Aryans and non-Aryans exists no longer, all Hindus from the Punjab to Travancore, although divided into professional castes, are the followers of the same religion and perform the same rites. The Vedic sacrifices, from which the non-Aryans were jealously excluded, have died by reason of this very exclusiveness, or survive only in marriage and funeral rites which all Hindus have an equal right to perform. Buddhist celebrations and pilgrimages were imitated and Gautama, the Buddha, himself has found a place in the modern Hindu pantheon. It is necessary to remember these facts to understand the history of Buddhism in India; Buddhism has disappeared from India because its mission is fulfilled. Modern Hinduism has eschewed its old sacrificial rites and exclusive Aryan privileges, has adopted the joyous celebrations of the million, and has re-united Aryans and non-Aryans into one united Hindu community."

DIARY

FOR THE MONTH OF JANUARY

1906

1. Purda-party at Belvedere.
2. A grand entertainment given to T. R. Highnesses on the maidan in Calcutta by the Indian population.
3. The Hon. Pandit Sunder Lall, Rai Bahadur, is appointed Vice-Chancellor of the Allahabad University in succession to the Hon. Justice Sir George Knox.
- Public illumination of Calcutta on the occasion of the Prince's visit.
4. Laying of the foundation stone of the Victoria-Memorial Hall by the Prince of Wales.
- A very serious fire at Lahore, jutting the Bank of Bengal branch.
5. The Prince of Wales attends the Calcutta University Convocation to receive the degree of D.L.
6. The Royal party leave for Barrackpore.
9. Great fire at Simla destroying the bazaar. The Governor of Bombay opens a Jain High School and Dispensary in Bombay named after Babu Pannalal Pooranchand, a wealthy Jeweller of the Community, who has bequeathed 4 lakhs of rupees for the purpose.
10. The Prince and Princess of Wales leave Barrackpore and embark on board the *Renown* at Diamond Harbour *en voyage* for Burmah.
12. Lord Minto, Viceroy, received an address from the Indian Association of Calcutta in reply to which he said that the Partition of Bengal was an accomplished fact and that it was not in his power to undo it now and that the executive proceedings taken in East Bengal to suppress Swadeshi and Boycott appeared to him to be "fully justified."
- The Indian Railway Conference Association met at Calcutta, Mr. Douglas of the E. I. Railway presiding.
14. Celebration of the first day of the Kumbh Mela.
- The Royal party visit a teak yard at Rangoon.
15. The Madras Government proposes to restore tanks by irrigation operations.
16. The announcement of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji's defeat at North Lambeth in the Parliamentary General Election is received with intense disappointment all over India.
- The Prince of Wales visits Mandalay.
21. Their Royal Highnesses leave Rangoon for Madras.
22. At a meeting held this day, the Bombay Corporation adopted Indian standard time for all offices and clocks under its control.
24. The Royal party arrive at Madras. This was the great day of the Kumbh Mela when close upon two millions of people bathed at the Ganges at Allahabad. Several casualties, people being trampled to death.
25. The Prince of Wales laid the foundation stone of the Victoria-Memorial Hall at Madras.
26. At a Meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council, Mr Baker introduced a Bill for amending the Indian Tariff Act with a view to enhance the duties on imported spirits, liquors and perfumed spirits. The Bill was passed into law unanimously.
- The Bharata Dharmia Mahamondal opened at Allahabad by the Maharaja of Durbhanga.
28. The Royal party leave Madras for Mysore. The name of "Black Town," in Madras is changed to "George Town."
- The Hyderabad Exhibition opened.
31. A grand meeting is held at the Calcutta Town Hall to protest against the Partition of Bengal.

Reflections on Men and Things

By the Editor

The King's speech in opening the new Parliament is a great disappointment so far as India is concerned. A new constitution with a responsible Government is promised to the Transvaal and also to Orangia.

**The King's Speech
and the Govern-
ment in India**

The King also expresses his desire that the Government of Ireland should be carried on "in a spirit regardful of the wishes and sentiments of the Irish people." But what of India? The only mention of India in the King's speech is made with reference to the papers concerning the Indian Army Administration, a controversy which has at present degenerated into a mere consideration of departmental details, and to the Prince and Princess of Wales' visit to this country. Speaking of this visit, the King trusts that it will "tend to strengthen among my Indian subjects loyalty to the Crown and attachment to this country." With famine casting its shadow over nearly a third of the land and discontent spreading throughout Bengal, and lads and striplings being thrown into prison for mere boyish freaks, it is difficult to see how loyalty to the Crown can be strengthened by a royal visit, specially engineered by the most unsympathetic bureaucracy going. But what is much more perplexing is the statement that the royal progress through this country 'will tend to increase the attachment' of India to England. How can this be, we fail to comprehend. Does the King really believe, do his ministers really think, that the attachment of one people to another depends upon such factors as His Majesty seems to hint at? We trow not, for the King himself says in connection with the question of a new Constitution for the South African States that "the grant of a free institution will be followed by an increase of prosperity and loyalty to the Empire." May we be permitted to enquire why two different policies should be followed in two different parts of the Empire, under the same Government and at the same time, to ensure a common end—"the increase of prosperity and loyalty to the Crown"? If India has not yet been fit for free institutions, it is certainly not her fault. If, after one and half a century of British rule, India remains where she was in the middle ages, what a sad commentary must it be upon the civilising influences of that rule! When the English came to India, this country was the leader of Asiatic civilisation

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and the undisputed centre of light in the Asiatic world ; Japan was then nowhere. Now, in fifty years, Japan has revolutionised her history with the aid of modern arts of progress and India, with hundred and fifty years^{of} English rule, is still condemned to tutelage. Is this to go on for ever or a departure is to be made ? And the King's ministers know too well that a responsible Government granted to India with sufficient and necessary safeguards and 'in a spirit regardful of the wishes and sentiments' of the Indian people only can allow the present party in power in Parliament a healthy and inspiring scope for the exercise of Liberal principles in England's relation with this great dependency. The Conservatives used to look upon India as a semi-savage country where personal and autocratic rule was believed to suit the genius of its people ; but may we not hope that Mr. John Morley knows the situation better, both as a scholar and a politician ? Will the Liberal Party treat India as the Conservatives did and allow no reform in the constitution and Government of the Indian Empire ? If India finds that there is nothing to choose between the two great parties in England, then her loyalty and attachment to England will, as a matter of course, receive a great shock. It would not be prudent statesmanship at any rate to try India's patience for any indefinite length of time or to 'hustle the East' as the poet says, and the sooner English Liberalism realises the situation the better.

Meanwhile it is India's duty to enlighten English public opinion in her affairs and press her claims upon the attention of the English Government. The Archbishop of Canterbury in his New Year's pastoral letter has told us that among the gains of the memorable journey of the Prince and Princess of Wales is an "increase in the intelligent interest each stage awakens among the stay-at-home folk of England in India and Indian problems." If the Prince's visit has done what the English Primate claims for it, India has very good reasons to be thankful to the royal progress ; but it is the duty of every educated Indian to see that this interest be not allowed to flag when the Prince gets back to England. We must go on reminding Englishmen at home that if we have got some obligations, the white man has also some duties to do by us, and that if England expects us to be loyal and attached to her, she must extend to India the rights and privileges which she is granting to all our white fellow-subjects in other parts of the Empire. The white man's 'burden' must be justified before India can be expected to pay willing allegiance to the Crown of England. It is for Mr. John Morley to justify this 'burden' : we hope he will not throw away this golden opportunity of bridging the gulf of the races.

EDITORIAL REFLECTIONS

The material salvation of India lies not in fighting against the drain of our wealth to England or against the obnoxious and repressive bills that pass into our Statutes Books nor by preventing the officialisation of the Indian Universities either, but it lies only in the diffusion of the light of knowledge throughout the length and breadth of the country and in changing the character of its government. We must for the nonce cast all other cares aside and concentrate our attention upon these two main heads only. Under the system of government that now obtains in the country, the development of any popular institutions in India or even our training for any sort of representative government must be considered absolutely impossible. Bureaucracy and personal rule, two bastard issues of Imperialism, are holding their reins too tight in India and it is only upon the ashes of autocracy that the temple of freedom can be built. We must therefore wage an uncompromising war against autocracy and appeal to our Liberal friends in England to help us in this crusade. Once we are down with that feudal and time-worn form of government, our salvation will begin to dawn upon us. It will not do any more to tell us that the East is East and that no popular government can thrive this side of the Mediterranean, for Japan has effectually dispelled the western *superstition* on this point and has proved as worthy of representative, and self, government as any country in Europe. The time has gone by when one could say that something does not suit the East or some other the West ; and now statesmen, all over the world, whether in the East or in the West, only appeal to the spirit of the times and not to the genius or temperament of any people. Why should not then the Government of India be revised in the light of modern progress and be adapted to the needs and requirements of the modern day ? We must press on and on and get all friends of freedom to support and help us. Shall our appeal to the party that believe (or, at least, used to believe during the lifetime of Gladstone and Bright) that 'righteousness alone exalteth a nation' go in vain ? Let us wait and see.

In the meantime, we must go on educating our people and diffusing the light of knowledge to the inmost recesses in the Empire. Knowledge is power—greater than that of the sword or the gun ; and the nation that enjoys its blessings wields a mightier weapon than Caesar, Alexander, Charlemagne and Napoleon could ever dream of forging. It is therefore a sacred duty for all patriotic sons of India to carry the torch of knowledge to the door of the humblest artisan as well as the poorest peasant in the land. In these

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days, every educated Indian has his eyes turned towards Japan but New India forgets that the lever that has raised the tiny yellow race of the East to the level of the proudest nations in the world is neither the weird touch of the East nor the philosophy or ethics of Buddhism, it is neither the soft rays of the rising sun or the fragrance of the chrysanthemum, it is neither its climate nor its insular position, but it is, above everything, EDUCATION. Let us follow in the footsteps of that great Asiatic people and confer upon all and sundry, the humble and the lowly, in this land the blessings of education. If England will not even then help us out of our tutelage—Heaven undoubtedly will.

An esteemed English friend of ours sends us the following Aphorisms of Nationality which ought to be closely studied by every educated Indian :

Aphorisms of Nationality

1. Every country, geographically distinct, is destined inevitably sooner or later, to give birth to a single united nation.
2. The people of such a country become a nation so soon as they realise their own Nationality.
3. Neither race, faith, language, nor tradition, can form any real or lasting division between those who are made one by a common home and educated by common interests.
4. As regards Nationality, all who share it are equal. No disability can be inherited. It is for the benefit of the nation that opportunities should be equal.
5. In civic and national life, the essential virtue is devotion to the civic and national idea. Opinions, faith, and custom go free and unquestioned.
6. The duties of a nation, as a nation, are three-fold : To maintain and develop its own industrial life ; to preserve and re-make the country it has inherited ; and to aid unceasingly in the evolution of higher and more ideal types of humanity. These three duties in combination,—the Technic, the Geo-technic, and the Evolutional,—constitute "Dharma" or "National Righteousness."
7. The people of a country have the right, because they have the duty, to do the work of their own country. For this, the nation must have control over the education of the nation. National education is thus, in one of its aspects, the assault of a nation upon its own Nationality.

A RETIRED SUBADAR MAJOR'S

INTERESTING LETTER

Mr. K. Ramaswami is a retired Subadar Major, "Bahadur," (late "Queen's Own" Sappers and Miners), and he now resides at 12, Casuariana Street, St. John's Hill, Bangalore, India. We are sure our readers will peruse his letter with great interest. Mr. Ramaswami writes :—

"Dear Sirs: I have great pleasure in telling you that Doan's backache kidney pills have cured me of kidney disease magically and marvellously to the astonishment of everyone. For the past two years I suffered from backache and kidney complaint, and was treated by several English and Native doctors without success. I am a man of 53 years of age, and this terrible disease distressed me a great deal.

"I am extremely sorry that I am unable to find proper words to describe my gratitude for the good Doan's backache kidney pills have done me. My opinion is that these pills are most valuable, and I can only wish long life and the best of health to the proprietors of the medicine, and I trust that Doan's pills will become widely known, for the sake of all human beings.

"I request that you will add this testimony to your long list of people who are speaking out for Doan's backache kidney pills.

"Again thanking you, I conclude with best respects, yours sincerely, (Signed) K. RAMASWAMI."

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JUST OUT !

JUST OUT !!

The Congress & Conferences of '05.

This is a collection of all the papers read at and submitted to the **Industrial Conference at Benares** and the Presidential Addresses delivered at the Benares Session of *The Congress, the Social Conference, the All-India Temperance Conference.*

It contains also Mr. B. G. Tilak's speech at the Bharat Dharma Mahamandala and the Hon. Syed Mahomad Hussain's Presidential Address at the Muhammadan Educational Conference at Aligarh.

The special feature of this publication is that it contains the following important papers submitted to the Conference which have not hitherto been published anywhere else. The papers are :—

Cotton Cultivation in Bengal. By Rajah Peary Mohan Mookerjee. **The Industrial Development of India.** By Rai Bahadur Lala Baij Nath & By Sir Guilford Molesworth, K.C.I.E. **A Plea for a Chemical Laboratory.** By Mr. Puran Chand. **Some Leading Industries of Upper India.** By Rai Bahadur Lala Baij Nath. **Price Rs. 1.**

The Price of the Pamphlet is 1 Rupee, but it will be given free to all old and new Subscribers of the "Indian Review" who remit the current year's subscription by the 31st March. To ensure safe delivery the book will be sent free by post to Subscribers who have already remitted their subscription for the current year. Those who have not paid as yet are requested to order the **Supplement** to be sent by **V. P. P. for the current year's subscription.** It is to be noted that the publication will be given free only up to the 31st March, 1906.

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THE HON. MR. G. K. GOKHALE, C.I.E.

This is a lengthy sketch of the life and work of the Hon. Mr. Gokhale, President of the Twenty-first Congress which will be read with interest at the present time. The sketch contains an account of his life, and an appreciation of his services with copious extracts illustrating his optimism, his ideals of public life, his estimate of the present political situation, his reverence for political leaders, his views on the employment of Indians in the public service, his criticism of the official bureaucracy, his four great suggestions for administrative reform, his attachment to the Liberal Party in English politics, and his views on Indian Finance. *With a Portrait.* **Price Annas 2.**

MR. GOKHALE'S PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

A few copies of the full text of the Hon. Mr. Gokhale's Presidential Address to the Congress at Benares have been published in pamphlet form. **Price, As. 2.**

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[No. 12

SITA IN CAPTIVITY*

In dark Asoka's forest glen, immersed
In grief, fair Sita mourned her woeful lot.
The female warders lured by festive sounds
Within the leagured city's walls, tonight
Their charge desert : So doth the tigress fierce
Deposit in her den the trembling doe
And roam at large. The captive's lovely face
Was pale with grief, like diamond bright entombed
In some deserted, sunless mine ; or like
The banished goddess Lakshmi when immured
In Ocean's cave, she wept her exile from
The radiant halls of heaven. The distant breeze
Like plaintive lover's sigh breathed soft from time
To time ; the rustling leaves in concert waved ;
The tuneful birds sat mute and songless now ;
As if, they too, bewailed the captive's lot.
The trees had shed their blossoms on the ground
Like jewels rich cast off by widowed queens
In grief. Afar, a broad majestic stream
Its sounding billows seaward rolled, as if
'T was hastening to its briny mate to tell
The captive's mournful tale—No ray of light

* This poem is a literal and dignified translation by one of Bengal's most gifted and cultured sons and the President of the XIXth Indian National Congress of a singularly beautiful and spirited passage in Michael Madhu Sudan Dutt's *Meghanada Badha*, the greatest effort in blank verse in Bengalee literature. Rama, one of the most well-known and beloved Aryan Princes of Hindustan, was banished to exile at the instance of her step-mother on the eve of his coronation. He was accompanied by his faithful wife, Sita, and devoted brother, Lakshman, in exile, and during the course of their sojourn at Nassik, Sita, the ideal of a good and noble Hindu wife, was decoyed by Ravana, the king of Ceylon, and taken to his capital. Sita was there kept in captivity under strong female guards and warders till her husband traced her whereabouts, raised an army, invaded Ceylon, sacked its capital and rescued her. The poem here translated describes Sita in her captivity in Ceylon when siege was laid to its capital by Rama.—Ed., J. W.

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No silver beams illumed that darksome glen
But Sita's beauteous face alone dispelled
Like some resplendent gem the forest's gloom.
Sarama Sundari, the consort fair
Of Lanka's banished prince, now came and sat
At Sita's feet. She wiped her tearful eyes
And said :—" Thy warders fierce tonight have left
Thee free and thus, fair Lakshmi, I have come
To pay my homage at thy holy feet.
But say, doth it become a wedded wife
To go without the matron's mark ? Permit
Me then, sweet lady, to anoint thy brow
With bright vermilion, the sacred sign
Of holy wedlock. Cruel indeed must be
The hand that robbed the jewels rare that decked
Thy lovely form ; could Lanka's wicked king
Commit so foul a deed ? "

With reverent hand
She placed the holy mark on Sita's brow,
Between whose parted raven locks, the bright
Vermilion spot shone like the evening star
In heaven's azure vault ; then bowing low
Sarama touched the captive's feet and said
" Forgive, fair Lakshmi, my presumptuous hand
That dared to touch that sacred brow that gods
Themselves would dare not touch, and deign to keep
In mind that in poor Sarama thou hast
A humble friend and a devoted slave."
She sat her down again at Sita's feet
And like a radiant lamp of gold that burns
Beneath the holy Tulsi plant illumed
The scene.
With softest voice then Sita thus
Replied :—" Many a charge has Lanka's king
To answer when arraigned before the last
Eternal judgment seat, but add not friend
A groundless one to the long list of crimes
That stain his record. I myself took off
The jewels, and to let my husband know
Which way to follow me I cast them off
On either side as landmarks of the route.

NO DIVINITY, NO KING

What pearl, what gem, what diamond is there
That every faithful wife would not with all
Her heart bandon to regain her spouse,—
To loving wives the richest pearl of all ?
Thus hath my princely consort followed me
To Lanka's isle and bridged the silver sea,
And hence these countless troops surrounding your walls."

Lalmohan Ghose

NO DIVINITY, NO KING

By the above heading, I mean to convey, in a condensed form, the purport of the Aryan dictum "na Vishnuh Prithivi-pathihi" (ना विष्णुः पृथिवीपतिः) which, to my mind, embodies a grand political doctrine. In the correct view of it or, at any rate, in the view I take of it—a view I shall explain and support in the following pages—it inculcates a far nobler and far sounder conception of the functions of kings or rulers of earth and the duties of their subjects than is denoted by the now-discredited Western idea of "divine right and passive obedience." Despite the Scriptural sanction in the averment, "a divine sentence is in the lips of the King" (Prov. XIV—10), Lecky has classed this idea among the most enduring and influential superstitions of ages and has defined it as "the right of Kings, independent of the wishes of the people." Of late, it has been in the mouth alike of men versed in Sanscrit and of others who have either a smattering of that divine language or none at all. These latter have evidently caught it by the ear, and their lips have echoed and re-echoed it by rote, without their minds grasping its full and *both-sided* significance. It has been enunciated as though it were nothing more than a plea for blind loyalty towards rulers—however they behaved themselves—on the part of such as profess to trace their descent, or to derive their guidance, from Aryan forefathers. None of those who have pressed it on people's attention have, as far as I am aware, so much as suggested that, as they urge it, it is but one half of the truth but that it also involves another and larger half which equally determines what ought to be the attitude of rulers towards their subjects, so as to warrant as well as to quicken the latter's worthily-begotten homage. One subtle and silent effect of the prevailing unilateral presentation of the dictum—dissociated from the correlative duties of rulers, which it as plainly inculcates—must inevitably have been to tickle the vanity of nearly all holders of authority in our midst—from

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the Viceroy to the lowest policeman ; for all of them presumably fancy themselves to be the emblems of the sovereign power and, as such, entitled to challenge or to exact an apotheosis—more especially those flighty few who lack intrinsic merit enough to support the extravagant pretensions and inordinate privileges which are attached to office in this country and to which they nevertheless lay bold claim. Thus deluded into an all-but-divine notion of themselves, many of them cannot help forgetting that if the Aryan dictum in question is identical (which it is not) with the Western creed, the latter has now been long exploded and that it must necessarily result in a like repudiation of the former—more especially by those who are not among the believers in Vishnu as a manifestation of God of infinite goodness. Possibly, as against Orientals, it is still considered cogent enough as an *argumentum ad hominem* and might some day prompt a claim to *pranam* in the form of prostration, as the climax of the childish freak which is making itself busy and fussy in the way of exacting *salams* and other Oriental but obsolescent tokens of anthropolatry, from the people of this country, under pains and penalties of some sort or other for omission. There are, I am afraid, already too many of demoralising and debasing influences at work. The bulk of the men, who are collectively designated the Bureaucracy, have had the exalted situations of the Indian Service as a sort of pre-ordained reversion from fathers, uncles, cousins, near and remote, who had held sway in this land. In early years they are sure to have listened, and listened with gusto, to their forefathers having lorded it over out here. Nursery tales, table-talk and society gossip of this description of achievements are bound to imprint something like a lust of power on plastic minds, notwithstanding that these latter belong to a race which is distinguished for a strong substratum of robust common sense. With minds thus impressed with the spirit of the autocrat, a fair percentage of them arrive in our midst largely predisposed to be arbitrary and considerably unfitted to expect or respect self-respect in the people of this country or to encourage approaches by them with any sense or notions of equality. Exiled from the bracing, chastening and conceit-curing English public life—immersed amid environments, eminently calculated to flatter pride in them and foster servility in others, used to it for ages—and wedded to a policy of self-isolation and an unchecked propensity to domineer under cover of office and of the legislated immunities appertaining to such office, it would indeed be a marvel—human nature being what it is—if heads were not swelled and morals and manners were not blunted in a

large number of cases. The sum-total of the well-known, inevitable consequences, caused on both sides, by such surroundings, has already to be faced—not indeed without admirable exceptions : and it would be like adding fuel to the fire if the seemingly-deifying dictum in question were construable into chapter and verse, to afford a plausible justification for fictional claims to honors, properly due to God and to the Godlike. That it admits of no such construction and cannot be put to such use must be clear when it is fully examined and its true bilateral force and the reciprocal obligations, which it postulates as between rulers and the ruled, are ascertained.

There are indeed some difficulties in the way. The dictum in question has been, too often, uttered as a by-word, as a maxim. Few of those that have been making use of it are able to conceive that it has *another* side any more than they can either name its author or say where it is found recorded in black and white. Although they must know that it is but one line out of a stanza of four lines, not even the living encyclopedias in and about Madras, whom I approached, could say what the remaining three lines were. This state of things would, at the first blush, go far to make it doubtful, unless we quote chapter and verse, whether it is, at all, genuine and whether it might not be one of those stray verses, technically called *chatus* i.e. clever aphorisms which some inglorious Milton, possessed of metrical facility to write terse verses, has cast into the wide world, in the hope that it might catch the general fancy, take its place among current sayings, and pass from mouth to mouth, as is too frequently the case. One would naturally look to its being cited or referred to (if true) in one or other of the many commentaries on the *sloka* in the *Manava Dharma Sastra* which describes the superhuman elements that enter into the composition of a King, particularly because it enumerates only certain minor deities in the Hindu Pantheon (Vide *sloka* 4 of *Adhyaya* VII). But it is not there. Again, there are, in *Vishnu Purana*, some *slokas* which contain pronouncements of an analogous import. One equally expects the dictum in question to be quoted under them by way of confirmation. But there too we miss it. So far as my investigation has gone, it is not mentioned or alluded to in any other well-known *Smriti* or prominent *Purana*. Nor does it find express mention anywhere, so far as I can recollect, in any chapter or episode of the *Mahabharata* or the *Ramayana*. But it happens, nevertheless, to be perfectly genuine. That it is *not* a spurious verse is placed beyond all doubt when we come to *Kavya* Literature—not to speak, for the present, of a book which, to the best of my knowledge, was published about fifteen

years ago and to a consideration of which I have soon to return. I find that, Mallinatha, the great and versatile commentator of several Sanscrit Classics, has cited the whole dictum to support his interpretation of the word *stutibhihi* as divine homage, in connection with King Raghu, in Kalidasa's *Raghuvamsa* (verse 6, canto IV), a reference for which I am indebted to a hint thrown out to me by my accomplished and learned friend, Mr. Krishnaswamy Iyer, of vast and varied learning and of a ready and prodigious memory. But even Mallinatha, while he thus stamps the dictum as authentic, does not advance our inquiry one bit further : for he does not give either the name of its author or the context in which it is to be seen. Very likely he, as an erudite gloss-writer of considerable fame and research, had, like other celebrated men of letters of his day, access to some mss. copy of the book which, as I said, has been recently brought out in print and with which I shall now deal. It is called the *Sambhu Rahasya* : and, for possessing it, I must here make my acknowledgements to my friend and relative, Mr. V. Raghava Chariar, an advocate of Mysore—one who takes a laudable interest and pleasure in assiduous antiquarian pursuits. Its opening chapters lay down several directions bearing on composition of *Kavyas* or literary products. One of such directions is in the nature of an injunction to worthy authors to dedicate, if not also to devote, all meritorious *Kavyas* to Kings : and the purpose of quoting the dictum in question there is obviously to justify the propriety of such advice by the authoritative assertion that monarchs have divine element in them in order to exonerate them (authors) from incurring the blame of *nara-stuti* (man-worship), which our ancestors universally voted a degradation on the part of true genius. The particular *sloka* runs thus :—

नादेवाशी ददात्यन्नं नाविष्णुः पृथिवीपतिः ।

नाऽरुषिः कुरुते काव्यं नाऽरुद्रः क्रमपाठकः ॥

TRANSLATION :—

“ No one without the divine element in him will give food ; nor can one without the element of the God Vishnu in him be a lord of the earth. None can compose a *Kavyam* unless he has the *Rishi* in him ; nor can one be a reciter of *Krama* without the element of the God Rudra in him.”

I need hardly point out that the stanza is really a stringing together of four different and independent aphorisms, if I may say so, and that, neither as a whole nor by the context in which we see it, does it afford any extraneous help in construing the scope or the full significance of the dictum which is a part of it. There are

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other verses, a few stanzas below it, which also lay down precisely the same dictum, with but a mere variation in the wording, and which run thus :—

सर्वदेवमयीराजा सख्यः कविवरैस्सदा ।
 यावदिन्द्रादिदेवानां स्तुत्या फलमवाप्नुयात् ।
 तावदेकस्य भूपस्य स्तोत्रेण लभते कविः ॥
 नाऽविष्णुः पृथिवीपालस्य स्तोत्रेण भागद ।
 प्रीणाति भगवान् साक्षात् संशयोनात्र कश्चन ॥

TRANSLATION :—

“The King being composed of the elements of which all the Gods are made is always worthy of being praised by the best poets. Whatever merit can be attained by praise offered to Indra and the other Gods, that merit a poet can attain by praise bestowed on even one ruler of the earth. A protector of the earth cannot be other than Vishnu, respectful (young one) : eulogy bestowed on him will please the Almighty himself. This can admit of no doubt.”

To the same effect, as the dictum in question, are the verses, purporting to come from the great Rishi Parasara, in *Vishnu Purana*, to which I already once alluded and which I take the liberty to give below :—

एते सर्वे ब्रह्मस्य स्थितौ विष्णोर्मात्मनः ।
 विभूतिभृता राजानो येचान्ये मुनिसत्तमः ॥
 येभविष्यन्ति येऽतीताः सर्वभूषेन्द्रा दिज ।
 ते सर्वे सर्वभूतस्य विष्णोर्भा द्विजोत्तम ॥
 न हि पालनसामर्थ्यवते विन्नेत्ररं हरिम् ॥

TRANSLATION :—

“All these and other Kings are but portions of the Great Vishnu engaged in the maintenance (of the universe), O foremost of *munis*. O, the best of *Dwijas*, all the lords of the earth that shall be or have been are but portions of Vishnu who is all and every thing. There can be no capacity to govern without the possession of the element of Vishnu—the Lord of the universe.”

My object, in citing these additional verses, which are nothing more than mere reduplications of the dictum under consideration, is to accentuate that the teaching in that dictum is not a mere casual effusion of poetic frenzy but that it is the deliberate expression of a dogma, to which marked and earnest attention is intended, by great minds, to be applied, for the reciprocal advantage of Kings and their subjects and for the recognition, by both the parties, of their correlative duties and obligations.

What then is the full meaning of the dictum in question ? In answering it, we must, as already said, despair of any extraneous

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aid. Nor is any needed : for we can settle it from the internal evidence, supplied by the very wording of the text. To begin with, be it noted that the divine element predicated in it and in all the other *slokas* I have quoted above is that of *Vishnu*, and *not* any other manifestation of God recognised by the Aryan creed. Every person, who has but a tincture of the theological conceptions of the Aryans, must see, easily and at once, that the essential and central attribute which is symbolised in Vishnu is what is called *Satwa Guna* or *goodness*, as it has been briefly translated by the famous and erudite Professor Ranga Chariar. It is radically and wholly differentiated from *Rajo-Guna* and *Thamo-Guna* which have been respectively rendered by him, equally briefly, as *passion* and *density*. Now, I take it that it goes without saying that, by necessary implication, the two latter qualities stand discredited as utterly unworthy of a place in sovereigns who would be Kings in the true Aryan sense of the word. *Sathvic* divinity is *the one* differentia. With it, a King is, in truth, worthy of the virtuous ruler's *role*. Without it, he is a virtual non-entity, if not a monster, although he might lodge in a palace, hold a sceptre, wear a diadem, and enjoy royal tribute, fearfully or fatuously paid. All the customary regalia and other paraphernalia of pomp, power, and pelf would not make up for the lack of a feeling, God-fearing and God-inspired soul, which alone would, after all, prove the active presence in him of divine inflatus and gain for him the renown of a good King and for his vicegerents, the title of worthy representatives—a renown which would present a worthy model to succeeding generations and which the world would not willingly let die.

To not a few minds will it readily occur, in this connection, that an almost similar sentiment has been expressed by two other exalted minds—by the Indian Shakespeare when he asserts, speaking of the Solar King Raghu, that the epithet Raja was, in his case, an echo to the sense and that he merited it on the score of his pleasing his subjects (सीमूहन्वर्धो राजा प्रकृति रक्षणात्)—and by the English Kalidasa when he described the quality of mercy as the mightiest in the mighty, as becoming the throned monarch better than his crown, as above his sceptred sway, as enthroned in the heart of Kings, as an attribute to God himself, and as a feature which enables earthly power to show likest God's.

This is not all. Such as are indoctrinated with the teachings of elaborate expounders of the Vaishnava school of theosophy, down here, must be aware that Vishnu is signalised by such expounders to manifest Himself pre-eminently in three specialised aspects, termed

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held up as a *Vatsalya*, *Souseelya* and *Soulabhya*—quite apart from *Swamita* (lordship) which is allowed to God under all systems of faith known to man. *Vatsalyam* is defined as the boundless kindness which brushes aside and takes no account of faults and defects, inseparable from frail and imperfect humanity. Sri Rama's unhesitating acceptance of Ravana's brother, Vibheeshana, as a friend, in spite of the *Rakshasa* or innately-evil nature of that refugee, is quoted as proof of this aspect. His like acceptance of Sugreeva, on the footing and in the sense of perfect equality, despite the wide difference between that incarnate Vishnu and the monkey-ruler, is striking illustration of the second of the three specialised aspects. The third and the last of them is taught to be exemplified by the unaffected affability and the unstinted accessibility, which unexceptionably characterised the two incarnations of Vishnu, in the forms of Sri Rama and Sri Krishna. According to these expounders, where the true spirit of Vishnu operates in full in Kings or their emblems and delegates, one must find these latter to be active for good and averse to evil, alert to befriend and slow to smite, giants in power but ministering angels in using it. To be able to display these traits of character, the habit should be studiously and steadily cultivated, so as to become quite a second nature, to evince them, alike, in affairs great and small, and to men, high and homely. To crown all, let me say, as the final word on the subject, that Sri Krishna himself—the latest of Vishnu's manifestations to man—spoke of his own position, in relation to others, thus :—

दासं मैत्र्यर्थादेन

which may be, freely rendered thus :—In virtue of the Divine power I am esteemed for, I am bound to slave (for my people).

P. Ananda Charlu

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(From the French of M. Pierre Loti)

AT THE MAHARAJAH OF TRAVANCORE'S

Here's evening, the time of peace and coolness which suddenly commences after the abrupt sinking of the sun in the West. I have been resting since some minutes at Palamcota, an unknown village where I am to pass the night. And it is here that I feel for the first time truly lonely,—at this decline of the day, under these trees, and in the midst of this silence.

After a week's halt in the green and watery island of Ceylon,

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where I was landed by the French packet, I crossed, last night, in an ill-built coast craft, the gulf of Mannar whose waters agitate in a ceaseless tumult. Then, all day, I travelled rapidly to this village, where a delegate of His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore, who had already arrived, installed me in a white cottage nestled under the shade of thick foliage.

Tomorrow I leave this place, in an Indian cart drawn by zebus, for the Travancore country, from whence my Indian journey must commence. The Travancore country, otherwise called the Land of Charity, appears to be a region of happy tranquility, which has as yet remained without communication with the raging idiots of the generation ; a solitary region, secure so far against outside incursions, lying under the vaults of palms.

Night closes all around presently ; an exquisite summer night, but a night without the Moon. They take me in a carriage to inspect a Brahmin temple with night-lights. It is the greatest temple, in the South, which lies in a town hard by called Tinnevely.

At an easy trot, over a flat level road, we go through the mystery of the trees, under their dark enlacings ; roots descend from their spreading branches only to meet again, crowds of such radices hanging down like long falling hair. Above the leaves, through the smallest of clear openings, scintillate in the sky myriads of worlds, while beneath, just on the herbs and undergrowths, hover innumerable fire-flies, which simulate fire-works every evening in warm countries ; and all these scintillations, all these twinkling lights, above and below, so much blend into one another, that, in our rapid course, we scarcely know the fire-flies from the stars.

After the enervating humidity of Ceylon, one feels deliciously refreshed here, in the dry, salubrious air of the place : in breathing we feel as if we were enjoying the beautiful summer nights of France, and everywhere crickets chant us in our country districts in the month of June. Meanwhile we come across strange pedestrians on these roads, passers-by of bronze complexion, who move without noise, with their naked feet, draped in a muslin sheet thrown across the shoulders. And from time to time, the beating of a far-off tom-tom or the moaning prelude of a bag-pipe are wafted to our ears and recall us from a great distance to the reality of what actually happens to be this bit of earth, called India or—Bramha.

Small verandahed houses, patches of white in the gloom of the trees, now commenced to appear on both sides of the road,—and it was already Tinnevely, the town where we were going. At last a silhouette, sharply pencilled, appeared in view at the end of an

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avenue of palms with frail stalks which balanced their dark plume-like tops in the sky a very particular and striking silhouette : the great temple ! I had but scarcely set my foot on Indian soil, and yet I recognised it in a trice, for the pictures and illustrations had in a manner made me vaguely familiar with its form ; but I had imagined it smaller and less tall, and I did not expect to see it reach so high in the nocturnal sky. It is like a monstrous porch of an ancient Egyptian temple, which must have been fashioned out of a Pleiade of heaped-up gods, and whose summit, bristling with giants, profiles in black on the back-ground of the sky, made luminous by the stars.

Our carriage very soon entered a granite arch between square columns of a clumsily primitive style. And after crossing this fore-court, when the sparkling star-bedecked vault of heaven reappeared over our heads, we found ourselves presently in front of an immense enclosure, which I did not have the right to enter ; but the old-Egyptian-temple-like structure was now before us, quite close ; it overwhelms and crushes us by its very mass, it is beyond all the proportions of usual human creations ; an entrance, impenetrable to me, but wide open, faces me, and through it my eyes plunge into the recesses of the sanctuary, into the holy obscurity, infinitely punctuated by the mysterious lamps.

I am permitted to observe from here, but not for a very long time, or from a nearer point of view.

On each side of this profound entrance, under the colonnades of the peristyle, sit sellers of flowers, wreaths, garlands, and sacred cake for the gods, lighted by tiny shivering flames. They only illumine, do these little jack-o'-lantern or will-o'-the-wisp flames, the groups of men or the basement of worn-out granite, already contoured into monstrous shapes and fantastic clusters of beasts. The immovable merchants, comparable to the gods themselves, lean against the reddish granite their deer-complexioned nude anatomies ; their eyes shine magnificently, and their long feminine hair fall in black waves over their shoulders. Over above, at the head of the columns and in the indistinct ceiling of the vault, darkness reigns supreme.

Seen at a hurried glance, it looks as if it was far away in the heart of the sanctuary. Innumerable flights of columns are divided in the shadow, the rows of lamps lose themselves in it, powerless in the midst of such profound darkness, and at the further extremity, which vibrates with chants and prayers, pass in a confused manner white clad human forms.

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This confused gate through which I look dissolves itself into strange contours and lines of an unknown architecture. In spite of its cathedral-porch-like dimensions, one might call it quite low and clandestine-like, under the disproportionate pylone which surmounts it, and under the weight of the colossal pyramid of gods reared skywards ; it looks like a veritable entrance to subterranean vaults and mysteries.

For the first time in my life that I approach a Brahmanic temple, I receive an impression of it as of something dismally idolatrous, also something sealed and closed, hostile and terrible ; I did not at all expect this, neither the prohibition against access and observation—and at the moment it appears to me how vain and childish was the half-hope I had cherished that I would find in coming to India a little light at the bottom of the region of great ancestors !

Oh ! the sweet, deceitful peace of the Christian churches, open to all, and beneficent even to those who do not believe.

They tell me that in other parts of India there are less unsociable places of worship, into which I might perhaps gain admission. But now, it appears, I should retire in order not to be indiscreet. Only, if I desired it, our carriage would be walked round the immense temple.

The compound wall of the temple is square, and so vast that it could easily enclose a town. Isolated in the middle of each of the four fronts or sides, a prodigious pylone rises, beneath which a door is pierced ; moreover, these high thick walls, by the side of which we move slowly in the silence and gloom of the night, are as straight and severe as the ramparts of an impregnable citadel. For the rest, the solitary road we follow is part of a sacred zone, within which men of the low caste are never permitted,—and there in our drive we went past some great sombre masses, lying about hap-hazard without any order which likewise looked like pyramids of idols, placed on giant wheels : these were chariots or cars drawn by thousands of hands, for promenading the gods in procession on feast-days and of religious delirium.

When we pass by the avenue of palms, under their tall black heads leaning in all directions, it is an hour of most violent religious exaltation and of the celebration of particular rights, for we hear from behind us, in the ideal serene night, hollow beatings of tom-toms and trumpet-calls like some monster's roars. It is barbarous even to the point of giving one the cold-fits.

Still at the village of—Palamcota. In order to drive away the

mosquitoes and moths, bronze-complexioned servants agitated the air throughout the night with great fans. And the Indian cottage, very old and very white—in which I slept with doors and windows wide open—is lighted from the very commencement of the dawn, that is, it receives the gay light of day from the very first hour. One rises with sunrise in this tropical splendour.

The verandah, still fresh with the morning dew, appears to be an exquisite retreat, the verandah quite white with lime, with its great, square pillars, naively irregular, covered by entwining jasmine creepers.

Round about it is a rural country, with the pastoral calm and the Eden-like peace of the morning, over nature, a little ournt, a little enfeebled by the drought and the fall, it is, one might call, of the tranquil radiance of our most beautiful-September mornings in meridional France. No tall palms here, nor any wild excessive vegetation as in Ceylon; nothing but middle-sized trees with discreet foliage, closely following the trees in our woods in this respect. Mown or reaped fields, orchards, gentle foot-paths, attractive and proper, traced over low-cropped herbage, and further on, seen through the branches, little lime-painted walls of carefully white-washed cottages. I look, and I am nearly astonished to find surrounding me the same aspects which were familiar to me in my childhood.

There are even the sparrows, the very common sparrow, like those which make their nests under our roofs, only, with such confidence—as all animals in India feel in man and to which I am not at all used as yet—that they do not at once take to flight at my approach.

In short, this country, by all its sides, has reserved for me the surprise of resembling my own, and to give me, in full winter, the charm of our beautiful summer. . . . And, without entirely forgetting in the bottom of my heart the fact that I am in India, and in an out of the way part of it, I give myself up, with a sweet melancholy, to the illusions of my native land. The fields of Annis or Saintogne, the peaceful dwellings of the isle of the Oberon, in the bright and golden season of the vintages are nostalgically recalled to me by these flat horizons, the little white-washed walls, the jasmine creepers, this yellow grass, and lastly these autumn colours.

Nevertheless, a thousand details traverse my dream in order to disconcert and baffle it. A naked pedestrian who touches without noise, in passing, the grassy margin of the road, shows me a fine

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visage of sombre colour. A humming bird, well-nigh like the sparrows, pitches with a glitter of precious stones. And here is a little girl, a mere baby of six years, sent from the village with a communication for me, who has long black riddle-like eyes, and whose quivering nostrils are pierced by gold-pins set with rubies resembling tiny drops of blood.

Above all there is, away there, something strange coming out of the trees, which is disquieting to the home-like milieu of this country-side : the angle of a Bramhinal pylone, the corner of a pyramid of gods and monsters ; a temple of Vishnu hidden about there in the wood.

The hour of noon really brings an excess of heat and light over the little white house, the shade of the trees notwithstanding.

Round about, in the little kitchen gardens and orchards, and over the languishing grass, there is sunlight everywhere, too much of it ; at present it exceeds the brightest of September days in our brilliant south. Silence reigns supreme everywhere. The foot-paths are deserted by the passers-by. The great fans overhead are motionless, the Indian servants who pull them having dropped into sleep. Everything stands still and immovable. The crows alone, who do not at all take any siesta, enter my chamber to prowl about ; in the midst of this general torpor, one hears only their skips and hops and the silken noise of their flight.

Then, suddenly thinking that we were nearing Xmas, I feel the sadness of the unchangeable good time, descend on my imagination, the sadness and something akin to the anguish of the eternal summer.

Now arrive, one after other, the equipages for the journey, which must take me, within about two days, to that land of Travancore to which my spirit has already betaken itself. Indian carts, shaped like long coffins, into which one slips in from behind, and travels, necessarily in a recumbent position, to the dancing trot of the bullocks. For my personal chariot, a pair of white beasts with blue-painted horns are provided ; for my servants, brown beasts with horns adorned with brass rings.

And waiting for the Sun to go down, they stretch themselves on the grass, our four zebus—patient, indolent, and good.

II

Departure at three o'clock, under a sun which was still terrible. In my cart, furnished with carpets and mattresses, and too low from the ceiling for me to think of sitting, I stretched myself at full

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length like a wounded person being borne away, and my zebus presently fall into that hopping trot, which, during two nights without stoppage, would cradle my sleep. My teams, beasts and men, would change from hour to hour, for there are relays arranged all along the route, the sole means of communication by south into India, the continental country on whose soil I actually stand, Travancore being my immediate destination. This happy "Land of Charity" has not up to this time got any railway to bring parasites to it and to drain her riches towards the foreigner; on the North, it also communicates with the little State of Cochin, by means of barges following a series of canals and lagoons; but in all other directions thanks to her beneficent natural defences, it is preserved from all outside contact; to the West a sea without ports or safe havens, an inaccessible shore-line on which the sea waves perpetually dash and break; and to the East the chain of the Ghats, a kind of back-bone of India, which makes a good guard or sentinel with its rocky peaks, forests, and tigers.

They go, my good zebus, alternately at a trot and a gallop. And as soon as the village disappears, begins a long, monotonous, interminable course, over a sanguine red soil, between two rows of big trees which resemble our walnut and ash. The walnut-trees are the young banyans, which, with years, will assume gigantic proportions; the chevelure of radices, here and there, commences to strike out and descend from the branches to the earth, in order to grow into other stocks and stems, to extend, and to overrun.

Between these two lines of trees, we traverse a region of vast solitude in which the palms are very scarce.

In order to breathe and see, I have very small dormer-windows at the sides and behind, and through these minute port-holes, with head lowered, I peep while being borne along in my rolling sarcophagus.

Quite close, as though rivetted to me, the cart for my servants and baggage follows; the two long *debonair* figures of the bullocks who draw it are my nearest neighbours; naturally lying at full length as I am, I see them almost touching my feet, the inoffensive trotting beasts, whom one leads about by a simple line passed through the nose, and whose horns are turned back-wards resting on the spine, as if for fear of involuntarily hurting anyone. By a prodigy of equilibrium, the driver, almost naked and quite bronze in colour, sits crouching on the straight pole, the feet joined under the tait-board, and the hands resting on his knees; he whips them

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with a fine reed-cane, or simply urges them along by a noise from the mouth similar to what the apes make when angered.

And the solitude always unrolls before us, becoming almost anguishing as we plunge deeper into it. Here and there, at intervals, we meet some paddy or cotton fields ; otherwise all desert, especially the desert lighted by the dull evening sun.

On the horizon the chain of the Ghats becomes visible ; and it is like the wall of Travancore, which we would cross to-night by a single narrow pass.

After the copious rain and verdure of Ceylon, one wonders to see the dried-up plains on which even the grass does not grow. Nothing but the strange palms with greyish stalks which are planted singly at intervals, and which scarcely appear to belong to the vegetable kingdom : straight and smooth like giant posts, swelled at the base, but presently becoming thin like distaffs, they carry at the end of their immoderate staffs a little bouquet of rigid fans, too high in the fiery sky. And the steepness of these silhouettes of trees is repeated indefinitely on both sides of the road, even up to the sad horizon of the planes.

Not a single person on this route, so carefully traced the while between the two rows of green banyans, that one imagines it leads to nowhere in particular. And little by little the languishing heat, the little rhythmic shakes, the persistence of the same jerks and jolts and the same noises induce a vague drowsiness in which thought commences to go down and rest.

About five o' clock, four strange pedestrians crossed our path, which fact assumed the importance of an event in my almost sleepy eyes, already habituated as they were to the spectacle of not meeting anything or anybody in this monotonous journey ; four persons of tall stature who walked with great rapid strides, bodies naked, with white and red drawers covering the loins, and large red turbans covering their heads. Where did they go, those unknown persons, with such haste and in such striking costumes, in the midst of this profound solitude ?

Soon after, sleep gradually and sluggishly overcame me, in my suffocating coach, and I lost consciousness of everything.

I awoke an hour after in the dying twilight to observe this last picture of the day.

The chain of the Ghats, which had all of a sudden come close, as if it had taken a jump of three leagues, had shut out the West of the planes ; in sombre violet colour, it is cut up with improbable clearness over the red band which still trails to the Western horizon ;

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the granite rocks at its summit are of forms which are truly Indian and never seen elsewhere, resembling towers, pyramids, and domes of pagodas. And the thin palm-spindles, which are everywhere, with some aloes of cruel aspect, the only plants here, shoot up from the soil like hardy arrows, profiled against what remains of light, and wiping out by their dark batons the pale gold of the sky.

Then darkness comes, swift and a little saddening, for the night was without the moon.

And until morning, shaken in the straight coffin, I will only notice some confused things, and nothing else. The bells of the furious cries, when we cross teams of zebus which were too slow to keep out of the way of ours. Halts to change our drivers and beasts, in villages vaguely seen at the roadside: thatched cottages of sleeping Bramhas, in front of which little float-lamps of coconut oil burn in niches in the wall, in order to conjure away the bad spirits of darkness.

With grand salutes, they awaken me, and it is morning, the fresh hour of sun-rise; it is at the village of Nagercoil where I must pass the day, only resuming the journey when the sun goes down. The mountain chain, which I saw yesterday facing me in front of the road, profiled in the red West, is now behind me, in the pale rose of the illumined horizon; we have crossed it during the night, and we now stand in the Travancore country. The little house with a verandah, before which they halt my zebus, in the inn or hostelry, and this Indian with the white robes, who bows touching his forehead with both hands, is the host or landlord who expected me, having received orders to reserve the entire suite for me.

As in every village in India, this "traveller's house" is composed of a simple ground floor, in three or four rooms scrupulously white-washed, which are quite clean and empty, with cane-bottomed couches for sleeping. And, owing to the burning sun, the roof is made to jut out low all around abundantly, supported by substantial square pillars.

The bath, followed by break-fast under punkahs pulled by listless servants. Then the melancholy of the meridian semi-sunlight in the clear great silence, with the visit of crows, skipping over the wooden floor of my chamber.

At two o'clock, a despatch from the Dewan (Minister of the Maharaja) arrives to inform me that from 11 o'clock in the evening a horse-carriage would be at my disposal, ready at a village *en route* called Neyzetavaray. And I decide to start at once, so as to reach there during the coming night, instead of waiting to see the

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sun go down, as is the custom here, and sleeping in the cart till dawn.

The departure in the glare of the dazzling white light, and the salute with two hands of mine host, and the silent and importunate but clandestine begging of the bronze-coloured servants, standing in line in front of my cart, including the inevitable poor old woman, almost naked, who, in all the Indian inns, performs the function of filling the baths with water. Distribution amongst all those people of little silver pieces of Travancore money—which I handle to-day for the first time, very small thin pieces like some pretty shining grains or berries—and our zebus resume their trot in the overwhelming heat.

A region becoming more and more leafy at every step, and soon rivalling the magnificence of Ceylon. The jungle is full of flowering shrubs. The tall palm-stalks, which were yesterday so yellow and dried-up, have here luxuriant bouquets of fans ; the cocoa palms reappear in profusion, with their tall green plumes, and the roadside banyans throw out radices reaching to the earth and make domes everywhere above our heads. The country appears to be nothing more than an immense solitude of trees, an inextricable green medley. In the meantime we continue our drive all along the shady route ; plenty of people about, gentlemen in bullock-carts like ourselves, herdsmen driving their flocks, and above all procession of women, of innumerable strings of females carrying head-loads in flat wide baskets made of esparto.

Here and there a little granite temple of unknown antiquity and arched with flat stones, which reminds one in miniature of the monuments of ancient Egypt. Or, else, under some banyan tree of enormous extent, which has acquired sanctity by its old age, a tomb of a holy Fakir, garlanded with fresh flowers, and a statue of Ganesh, the god of elephantine head which a pious hand has decorated with a collar of Indian carnations stung together with roses.

The while it is surprising, a deception for the eyes in fact, to find that the women one meets in such numbers are not pretty, while most of the men are, at the same time, good to look upon ; the bronze colour does not go as well with them as with the male visages ; the thickness of the lips which is hidden under the manly moustaches, appears to be excessive in women, and, excluding some very young ones, who have as pure or correct contours as the women of Tanagra, nearly all females have their breasts deformed early, which besides are not covered with any drapery to

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mask the decline. They wear a golden ring passed through in each of their nostrils and ear-lobes ; the latter being by the very weight of the rings inordinately lengthened, so much so that in old women they are seen trailing on the shoulders. It is true that these are women of the pariah caste ; those of the high castes do not of course run in the streets weighted down by head-loads, and we have not yet seen them.

At regular intervals, charitable people have built resting places for all such female carriers of loads ; solid granite tables of ordinary human height, permitting them to ease themselves of the loads for a moment's rest, and again replacing it on the head, without having to undergo the fatigue of bending themselves down to the earth for the purpose.

In other respects, what charming tranquility everywhere ! What Eden-like peace in the villages nestling under the verdure !

Under the shade of a banyan, near an old image of Shiva, is seen a personage in a violet robe, with a long white beard and an Indian profile, peacefully sitting to read : a bishop ! At first sight what a strange surprise this meeting in this country of the mysteries of Brahma !

A little reflection will however show that it is not so very unnatural. The Maharaja of Travancore, I know, counts amongst his subjects nearly five hundred thousand Christians—Christians whose ancestors had churches here in times when Europe herself was pagan : they look upon themselves as the disciples of St. Thomas, who must have come to India about the middle of the first century ; more probably they are Nestorians, who arrived here long ago, and who still continue to send them priests ; at least it is incontestable that they are descended from an ancient and most venerable stock. One finds, besides, that in the north of the kingdom there live some Jews who emigrated to this part of the country after the second destruction of the temple at Jerusalem. And not a person has ever disturbed them, neither them nor the Christians,—for religious toleration has prevailed here at all times, and there is no example of human blood having ever soaked this “Land of Charity” on the pretext of religion.

And our good zebus trot continuously. Towards evening the sun goes behind clouds, and the air becomes full, as in Ceylon of equatorial humidity. The cocoa-palms, friends of warm rains, dominate the landscape more and more to the exclusion of other trees ; we have now entered an interminable vault of Palms, of tall magnificent palms, which maintain eternally in a green night all

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the Western Coast of India as well as the Malabar Coast over a length of several hundreds of leagues. And as we pass the foot of the buttresses of the chain of the Ghats, our sky becomes obstructed with rocky peaks, suspended forests, and heavy storm clouds.

After four hours of jerks and jolts, rhythmized by the trot of the bullocks, and when the lassitude of lying prostrate had become intolerable, I glide out of the coffin, by the little dormer window in front, to sit for a moment on the pole by the side of my coachman sitting ape-fashion. The light of the day has already considerably waned ; under the clouds and palms, it is like the commencement of twilight. Ahead stretches, always the same, the green tunnels of the roadside banyans ; but, in places, in the middle of the wood appear things which look fantastic in the penumbra of the evening. One might call them monstrous brown beasts, a little shapeless, sometimes isolated, at others united in flocks or herds and anon piled over each other. And in truth they are simply granite blocks, but how strange ! Blocks having the smooth rotundity of the pachyderms and the polish of their skins ; besides no band or strap unites them between themselves, and it looks as if they had come here separately, or that some one had rolled them over, thrown them about, or simply heaped them up like dead bodies after a massacre. At the same time the big branches, the great radices of the trees, affect the convolutions of trunks or probosces. . . . It appears as if nature herself had been confusedly pre-occupied, in this land, in all her child-births, with some particular animal form ; for instance, the conception of the elephant must have been in germ here from the remotest antiquity, even in the unconscious thought which fashioned the original granite formations.

Really, as one proceeds further, one might say that there were elephants everywhere hereabouts, or at least the embryos of elephants ; one is possessed by these likenesses, which naturally become magnified in proportion as everything around in the woods is plunged into deeper gloom.

Eight o'clock in the evening. The heavy clouds which menaced us a short time before have been dissipated, one knows not how. The sky overhead is pure and the night gloriously starred. Crickets and grasshopper chant in delirium. The medley of trees is quite athrob with the joy of insects.

In our front we see torches moving about. There is a crowd which advances in the darkness of the green bowers. We hear the sound of cymbals and drums, a chorus of human voices. It

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is a procession marching noisily under the banyans and the tall palms. Lighted by illumined torches pass a score of very young men, with naked bodies, bearing on their shoulders in a palanquin, profusely decked out with garlands and flowers, one of themselves who is dressed, like a Raja or a god, in a long robe laced all over, and wearing a crown of gold.

It was about a marriage fête, and the new bridegroom was carried in procession religiously by his friends.

Eleven o'clock. I slept lying at full length in my cart. They open one of my little dormer-windows to present to me, by the light of a lantern, a letter bearing the Travancore arms : two elephants and a marine-shell. We have arrived at the village of Neyzetavaray, and the letter is from the Dewan. It conveyed a welcome to me in the name of the sovereign, and made the announcement of the carriage being there.

Now, it is a pleasure to come out of the Indian cart and take my seat in this elegant carriage, well-balanced on springs, a real pleasure to travel in a carriage drawn by two excellent horses stepping at an elongated trot. On the box sat a coachman in the Maharaja's livery, long robe and laced turban which glittered faintly in the dark ; on the foot-boards, two active runners who appear to be endowed with wings when they dash in front with terrible cries, to scare aside the bullock carts, with which the road is crowded everywhere. After the innumerable jerks, endured in the narrow closed box of the cart, it is nearly intoxicating to go so smoothly and so fast, the sky open overhead under the shining stars, and past an interminable flight of tall palms. We cleave the delicious night air, in breathing all the time the scents of flowers, as if our course ran through some limitless fairy garden.

More music and red flames of lighted torches. It is another wedding procession which wends its way inspite of the more advanced and silent hour. The groom on this occasion is on horse-back, his laced robe trailing on the buttocks of his mount, and he is like a Magi king.

About one o'clock in the morning, the palms all of a sudden cease their by-play of tall dark plumes flying past, over our heads entangled in each other : a clearing appears in the forest of high, lofty trees, and we arrive in a street.

And this street appears to be sleeping profoundly in the fresh ashy light which, in tropical regions, drops from the stars in moonless nights. The houses, which in daylight must be dazzlingly white, appear to be bluish at this moment. They have all, above the

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verandahs, a story or floor, with complicated little columns and small windows carved out in ogives, trefoils, festoons, or denticles. Below, on each side of the closed doors, in niches made in the walls, shine, like glow-worms, tiny lamp-lights which are supposed to guard against the visit of evil spirits. There are multitudes of familiar animals lying about, asleep and motionless, on the walks and paths as close to the human dwellings as possible, as if seeking protection against one knows not what undefined black witchcraft, bullocks, goats, and sheep, which do not awaken in the least at our passage. One hears no other sound but that made by light wheels on the gravelled road. And all that, houses, sleeping herds, and ghost-like immobility of things, is steeped in an indistinct blue light like the reflex of a pyrotechnic match burning far off.

In front rises a vast enceinte with a monumental portico, surmounted by miradors with columns, and open in an avenue which stands revealed to our view as being long and descited by rows of far-reaching lanterns. Above the wall, one sees the palms, and palace roofs rising high and just near the centre, in the axis and in the rear quarters of this straight avenue, mount up the gigantic towers of Bramhanical temples. Evidently we are now entering—for this which lies before us must be the capital of Travancore—the Maharaja's city, the real Trivandrum, and the bluish street peopled by sleeping beasts, which we passed, was only a suburb of it.

I was not aware of the fact that only the Indians of the highest castes have the right to dwell in this privileged citadel of Brahma. Before the great gate which I thought we were going to enter, my carriage took a sharp turn to the right ; we again plunge into the obscurity of trees and go some length by the road. Presently we drive through the alleys of park, and we stop in the middle of a garden, before a fine dwelling which, alas ! has scarcely any Indian peculiarity in its outlines.

And it is here that an apartment has been got ready for me ; it is here that I should receive, on the part of the Maharaja, a very gracious hospitality, but of a European cadre or kind, which I would constantly feel as an anomaly, as an amiable fault in the heart of this old marvellous country of Hindustan.

K. K. Athavale

(To be continued)

NOTES OF A VISIT TO AGRA

The writer of these notes had the privilege of attending the last session of the Indian National Congress at Benares as a delegate from Bengal. It was at Benares, after the Congress had closed its deliberations, that I and three of my best friends decided upon paying a flying visit to Agra—'lovely Agra' whose historical associations and architectural beauty are sure to carry her dignified name down to remote posterity.

In the afternoon of the New-Year's Day, we bade adieu to the sacred city of the Hindus and reached Moghulserai by a passenger train which was literally packed up owing to the terrible rush of the returning Congress visitors. At Moghulserai, however, we got into a different and less crowded train and proceeded towards Agra.

We got down at Agra at about 11 A.M. on the 2nd January. From the railway station we went to the residence of Professor Manmathanath Ghose of the St. John's College, at Seetla Gulle. Our kind host spared no pains to secure our comfort and convenience and make us feel quite at home. As my readers are well aware, the city of Agra is about 4 miles in length by 3 in breadth and sweeps along the banks of the river Jumna in a semi-circle. The principal thoroughfares are a fine broad street intersecting the town from north to south and the Strand which runs along the banks of the river 'for a distance of two miles.' The principal educational establishment in Agra consists of a Government Arts College, a Medical College and three other Arts Colleges managed under private control. The crops of the district are divided into the *kharif* or autumn harvest and the *rabi* or spring harvest. Sugarcane, tobacco, indigo, poppy and vegetables are also grown. There are some indigo factories and two cotton screws in the rural parts of Agra besides the usual manufactures of pottery and coarse cloth. Trade is also transacted in horses, camels, cattle and stone. The general climate of Agra is intensely warm in summer and terribly cold in winter. The streets, excepting those that are paved with stone, are intolerably dusty and as such speak ill of the sanitary arrangements of the local Municipality. Agra is 84½ miles by rail from Calcutta.

The early history of Agra can be traced so far back as in the legends of the *Mahabharata*. The regions of Agra and its vicinity have been associated with the birth and early life of Vyasadeva. Further, there are reasons to believe that Agra was once dependent on the ancient Hindu monarchy which had Mathura for its

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capital. The modern and hence more authentic history begins from the time of Akbar the Great. According to the *Badshah Nama*, the name of Akbarabad was given to Agra by Shah Jahan. It has been claimed by more than one Mahomedan historian that the first mention of Agra is to be found in a Persian work by Abdulla known as *Tarikh-i-Daudi*. Thus, from both the Hindu and Moslem points of view, the history of Agra has been highly interesting.

Agra is said to have been so much devastated by the frantic raids of the furious iconoclast, Sultan Mahmud, during his famous invasion of India about the year 1022, that it was reduced to the status of an insignificant village. After Mahmud's departure, Agra seems to have become once more a Hindu principality. Then it passed successively into the hands of the Ghori, Khiliji, Toghluks and Syed chiefs, who held their sway till the beginning of the sixteenth century when Sultan Sikander Lodi ascended the throne of Delhi. This mighty ruler constructed a fort at Agra and made it the seat of his government. As is known to every reader of Indian history, Ibrahim Lodi, son and successor of Sikander Lodi, was defeated and slain by Babar on the famous field of Panipat in the year 1526. Shortly after this battle, Agra was annexed to the Moghul Empire, without any serious opposition, by Prince Humayun.

This conquest of Agra by Humayun has been closely associated with the famous diamond known as the *Kohinoor*, an entertaining account of which is to be found in Khan Bahadur S. M. Latiff's interesting work entitled *Historical and Descriptive Agra*. It is said that when Humayun captured Agra, there lived in that city the family of Bikramjit, Raja of Gwalior, whose country had previously been conquered by Ibrahim Lodi. Bikramjit was made to fight for Ibrahim at Panipat and was killed in that battle. His poor wives and children tried to escape but were seized and detained at Agra. Humayun treated this ancient Hindu family with consideration in the hour of their misfortune, and saved them from being plundered. In return for this generous conduct, they, of their own accord, made to Humayun a present of jewels among which was a famous diamond which, according to Babar, had been acquired by Sultan Alauddin of Malwa. This diamond was no other than the priceless *Kohinoor* which now adorns the imperial diadem of King Edward VII. of England. 'It is so valuable,' writes the Emperor Babar in his *Memoirs* that a connoisseur 'valued it at half of the daily expense of the whole world.' It was about 280 carats in weight.

Both Babar and Humayun were so much engaged with the in-

ternal troubles of the State that they could do nothing notable for the improvement of the city of Agra. Babar had determined to establish the seat of his government there, but the want of artificial watercourses in Hindustan greatly disappointed him. However, as no better site could be had Babar 'was finally compelled to make the best of this same spot.' Unlike his father, Humayun was not at all a capable ruler of men. Further, as he was driven from one place to another by Sher Shah, who defeated him completely at Kanauj in 1539, he could leave 'no memorial of himself at Agra.' Though the modern city on the west bank of the Jumna was founded by Akbar in 1558 A.D., it was his grandson Shah Jahan to whom belongs the real credit of making Agra what it is famous for all over the world. Mr. G. W. Steevens, in his book entitled *In India*, rightly speaks of Agra as 'the City of Shah Jahan, emperor and devotee, artist and lover.' According to him, Agra is nothing but 'the mirror of Shah Jahan.' To this city of 'the artist and lover' we paid a flying visit in order to see something of the life lived there by the Great Moghul and his harem three centuries ago.

As soon as we had finished our breakfast, we drove to Sikandra to visit Akbar's mausoleum there, Mr. Ghosh being good enough to accompany us. This quiet little village which is believed to have been named after Sikander Lodi is at a distance of five miles from Agra towards north-west. Akbar's tomb stands in the midst of the large garden of Bashitabad enclosed within brick walls on the right side of the old military road to Lahore which is sometimes called the "Appian Way" of Agra. There are several decaying monuments of great archæological interest on either side of this road. First of all we came across the Delhi gate of the old imperial walls. A few of the *cosse* pillars built by Jehangir can still be seen by the wayside, the distance between any two consecutive posts being one *cosse* or about two miles and a half. The present Jail and Lunatic Asylum occupy sites of ancient buildings. On the right-hand side of the road stands a large enclosed garden which formerly contained the tomb of Ladli Begum, the sister of Abul Fazl and Faizi. Not far from this garden is the *Kandahari Bagh* where the first wife of Shah Jahan lies buried. It is now used as the town residence of the Maharaja of Bharatpur. As we drove forward, Mr. Ghose pointed out to us the superb statue of a horse in red sand-stone. This 'inanimate animal,' with its ears somehow mutilated, stands on a solid plinth about six feet high, on the left-hand side of the road. About half way, we observed a hall of sixty-four pillars supposed to have been founded in commemoration of

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a nephew of Itimad-ud-dowla. The *Guru-ka-tal* is the name of a large dried-up tank close to which stands the tomb of Sikander Lodi in a dilapidated condition. 'This tomb,' wrote the late Mr. W. S. Caine in his *Picturesque India*, 'is generally known as that of Mariam Zamani,' Akbar's Portuguese wife, though it is doubtful whether Akbar had any Christian wife at all. The building is said to have been built originally as a summer-house by Sikander Lodi in 1495. The *Kanch Mahal* which stands outside the walls of Akbar's tomb was constructed by Jehangir as a country seat.* In front of the gateway of Akbar's tomb, there is a large *baoli*, or series of chambers around a well, which serves the purpose of a cool retreat in summer days.

The last October number of the *Indian World* contained a highly interesting and elaborate description of *Akbar's Tomb at Sikandra* from the facile pen of Mr. Monmohan Chakravarty, M.A., whose reputation as an antiquarian has long since been established in Bengal. After what has been dwelt upon by Mr. Chakravarty in course of his excellent article, I am afraid, it may be sheer waste of ink and paper on my part to attempt at any lengthy description of the great Emperor's noble mausoleum. I do not, therefore, intend to detain my readers long with this portion of my narrative.

The late Mr. W. S. Caine was of opinion that early morning is the best time to visit Sikandra.† Unfortunately for us, however, it was about 3 o'clock in the afternoon when we reached the great gateway. 'Inopportune' though the time of our visit was, it is difficult, aye impossible, for me to conceive that we could appreciate a greater beauty in the tomb and its environs had we been there in the morning as suggested by the late friend of India. The stupendous magnificence of the tomb, enhanced by the sombre view of the desolate garden around, will remain ever fresh in our memories.

Tourists are unanimously of opinion that the view of the tomb from the roof of the gateway is simply splendid. We climbed up one of the minarets of the gateway and became thoroughly convinced of the correctness of this opinion. The massive structure of the gateway, built of red sand-stone, is said to be 70 feet high. 'The stately height and magnificence of the gates are such that each in itself might be mistaken for a palace.' In the upper sarcophagus there are several Persian inscriptions, artistically engraved, which owing to our ignorance of the Persian language, none of us could read and understand. Some of these inscriptions and

* *Agra and the Taj* · Havell, p. 101.

† *Picturesque India*, p. 225.

inlaid ornamental works being well-nigh spoilt, an attempt at renovation has lately been made under orders of Lord Curzon—perhaps the only redeeming feature in his Lordship's peculiarly unfortunate administration of India. Passing through the gateway we came along a paved road, 150 yds. in length, to the tomb itself. It consists of five stories, the bottom of which is 320 feet square with towers at each angle. The topmost story is of snow-white marble, a 'cloistered quadrangle' within, surrounded by marble trellis-work of the highest design. In the centre is the cenotaph of Akbar, decorated with arabesque tracery. The mortuary hall is in the very heart of this noble fabric. It is a gloomy vaulted chamber, 38 feet square, just facing the main entrance. Only one doorway leads down to this dark chamber and here, under a plain tombstone, in peaceful silence, sleeps "His Majesty, King of Kings, Heaven of the Court, Shadow of God, Emperor Jalaluddin Muhammad Akbar." The hall has purposely been rendered dark, so that the eternal repose of the mighty Emperor might not be disturbed by the light of day. By the side of the tomb lay the books, raiments and armour of the Emperor which are said to have been carried away by the Jats of Bharatpur.

To the right and left of Akbar's sepulchre are the tombs in separate cloisters of his daughters, Aram Banu and Shakur-ul-nissa Begum. There are two other tombs, one of Mirza Suleman Shikoh, son of the Emperor Shah Alam. Most of the rooms in the lowest flat are empty.

There is a difference of opinion among scholars and historians with regard to the construction of Akbar's mausoleum at Sikandra. Fergusson's opinion is generally accepted in the matter. According to that great historian of architecture, the tomb was designed and begun by Akbar himself* and completed during the reign of his son and successor, Jehangir, who modified the buildings. Mr. Chakarbarty, however, concludes on the authority of *Waki-at-i-Jahangiri* that the tomb was begun not by Akbar but by Jehangir.† A sum of fifteen lakhs of rupees was totally spent on the construction of the building.‡ So great and noble is the Mausoleum of Akbar that

"The sun through all the world sees none more great."§

We spent about four hours at Sikandra and as the weather, with the

* *History of Indian Architecture*, p. 583.

† *Indian World*, Vol. II. p. 116.

‡ Keene's *Handbook to Agra &c.* p. 43 and S. M. Latiff's *Descriptive Agra*, p. 174.

§ Thomas Herbert's *Travels*.

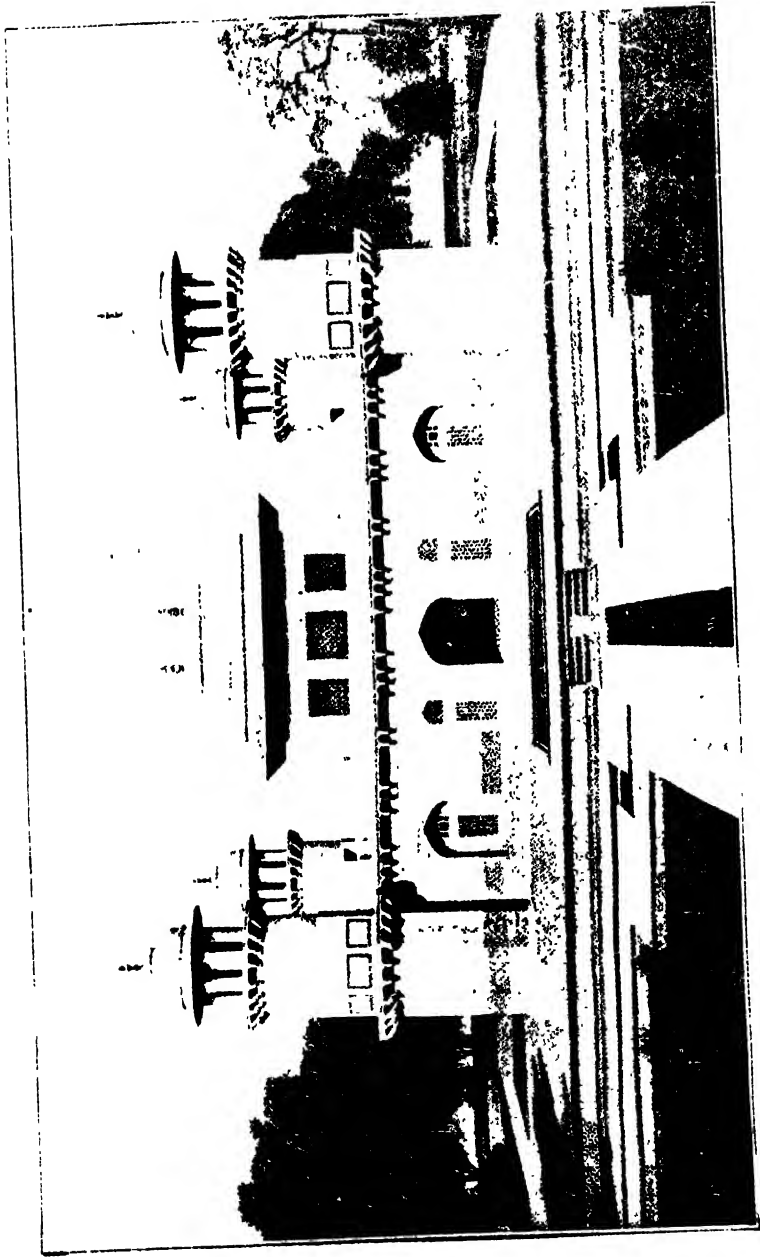
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advance of night, was growing awfully chill, we reluctantly left the precincts of the great mausoleum for our lodge which was reached at about 8 p.m.

Immediately after early tea, on the 3rd of January, we set out for a drive to the mausoleum of Itimad-ud-dowla. Our cab stopped at the commencement of a pontoon bridge on the left bank of the river and we walked across this old bridge-of-boats up to the other bank. Itimad-ud-dowla was the official title of Mirza Ghias Begg, father of the renowned Nur Jahan. The merits of this Persian adventurer had been fully appreciated by Akbar who honoured him with a high office in the State. He was eventually promoted to the prime-ministership during the reign of his son-in-law, Jehangir. The tomb of Itimad-ud-dowla stands in the midst of a lovely garden on the margin of the river. The main fabric which is built of pure marble is founded upon a sandstone terrace, about 150 feet square. The central hall which is superbly decorated with rich mosaic work contains the tombs of Ghias Begg and his wife. On the walls, there are several inscriptions from the *Koran*. There is an exquisite pavilion on the upper story surrounded by perforated marble screens and covered over by an oblong dome which is topped with a couple of gold pinnacles. The cenotaphs in this pavilion are of plain marble bearing no inscriptions. The whole structure is inlaid with precious stones artistically carved out in geometrical diagrams. The interior is brightly decorated with stones of various colours, representing flowers, leaves and trees in perfect symmetry. This neat and elegant tomb of Itimad-ud-dowla was constructed by his imperial daughter, Nur Jahan, in whose hands the Emperor was a mere playing puppet. It was completed in the year, 1628.

Further up the river, there are some more ancient monuments the most beautiful of which is the *Chini-ka-Rouza* or china tomb. This quadrangular building, 80 feet square, which contains the tomb of Afzal Khan, is so called from the exquisite porcelain tiles on its exterior. The *Ram Bagh* which is properly called *Aram Bagh* or garden of repose was used as an occasional abode by Nur Jahan. It was built by Babar as a pleasure ground. Here 'the jovial Emperor, with his gay courtiers and jolly companions of both sexes, spent his leisure hours in revels.*' The neat little mausoleum of Jodhabai stands close to a village called *Khawja-ki-Serai* near the artillery practice ground. The cenotaph is below the floor of the building in a large vaulted underground chamber. The *Kalan*

* S. M. Latiff's *Descriptive Agra*, p. 188.



The Tomb of Itimad-ud-dowla

Photo by Johnston & Hofman

Musjid or grand mosque is perhaps the oldest mosque in Agra. It was built by Muzaffar Hossain, father of Shah Jahan's first wife.

At about 9 A.M. we reached the principal gateway of the Fort whence we had a bird's eye view of the *Jumma Musjid* or Cathedral Mosque which was built in 1644 by Jahanara, the eldest daughter of Shah Jahan, at a cost of five lakhs of rupees. Admission to the fort is to be obtained by means of passports. We secured them, however, without much difficulty from a professional guide who exacted more than double the stipulated fee from us. Guided as we were by Prof. Ghosh, who had already visited the Fort nearly seven times, we dispensed with the services of the professional guide with a handsome tip. Crossing a huge drawbridge over the wide moat surrounding the ramparts, we entered the Fort by the Delhi Gate which is the principal passage of public entrance. The inner gateway which is known as the *Hathi Pol* or Elephant Gate is said by some historians to have been the *Dursan Durwaja*; but this statement is contradicted by Mr. E. B. Havell in his *Hand-Book to Agra and the Taj*. The gate, however, contains a *Naubat Khana* and a guard-house. The first thing in the Fort which most excites the admiration of the visitor, as he proceeds across the winding road, is the *Muti Musjid* or the pearl mosque, having three domes of white marble with gilded spires. This exquisite fabric stands on a lofty plateau, access to which is obtained by a long flight of steps. It was built by Shah Jahan in the year 1654 at a cost of three lakhs of rupees. According to Sir William Hunter, the 'mosque is 142 feet long by 56 feet high, and is much larger than the pearl mosque at Delhi.' 'The beauty of the mosque,' says Fergusson, 'resides in its courtyard which is wholly of white marble, from the pavement to the summit of the domes.' The courtyard contains a tank for ablutions and a sun-dial, and the mosque is joined to the private apartments by stair-cases on both sides. Its style is pure Saracenic, possessing the simplicity of Doric art. From the *Muti Musjid* we came to the *Dewan-i-am* or hall of public audience, the interior dimensions of which, according to Mr. Havell, are 192 feet by 64 feet. The hall consists of two parts one of which, called the *Jharaka*, is exquisitely inlaid with precious stones; the other situated below is a vast hall beside every pillar of which stood an *omrah* according to his rank in the realm. For transaction of royal business, the Emperor used to sit on a throne in the *Jharaka* which is connected with the royal apartments behind. The foot-stool of the Emperor is still preserved. The golden workmanship on the pillars has very recently been restored. A marble tablet in a wall contains

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an inscription in memory of Sir John Strachey who executed some useful repairs and restorations in the *Taj* and other ancient monuments. The courtyard in front of the *Dewan-i-am* contains a great cistern, cut out of a single block of stone, known as Jehangir's *bowl*. Also there is a neat, simple tombstone to the memory of Mr. John Russell Colvin, the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces, who died in the Fort during the Mutiny of 1857. Through the gateway on the left of the courtyard, we entered the Mina Bazar where the Emperor and his court used to amuse themselves by holding a mock fair. Here, the wives and daughters of noblemen acted as shop-keepers and the Emperor with his *begums* 'would bargain with them in the most approved *bazar* fashion.' A splendid marble balcony overlooking the courtyard contained a seat for the royal buyer who was the only male person having access to the *bazar*. Here it was that Jehangir conceived a violent passion for Meher-ul-nissa. The fair was also called the *Naoraja* as being held on the ninth day of every month. Some of the modern historians, however, do not entertain a very flattering opinion of this imperial 'Fancy Fair.' We then passed on to the *Machhi Bhawan* or 'Fish Square' through the celebrated Chittore Gate which is made out of guns captured by Akbar in 1567. The courtyard of the *Machhi Bhawan* was connected with the river by means of artificial channels so as to form a reservoir for fishes which the Great Moghul took much delight in angling. On the roof of this building there is a big tank the waters from which flowed out in minute drops through small perforations at the bottom, giving the appearance of rain. At the end of the corridor, adjacent to these apartments, there is a door leading to the *Nagina Musjid* which is 60 feet square and was built of white marble for the ladies of the harem. 'This exquisite miniature house of prayer is entirely of the finest and whitest marble, without gilding or inlaying of any sort.*' Next we visited a miserably small room, overlooking the courtyard of the *Dewan-i-am*, in which Shah Jahan was kept in captivity by his 'dutiful' (?) son, Aurangzebe. The *Dewan-i-khas* or hall of private audience, about 65 feet long, is a magnificent oblong room of white marble consisting of two corridors. The walls are splendidly inlaid with vases and flowers in charming relief. 'There is nothing in India excelling the exquisite, low relief-carving of this building'† which was constructed in 1637.

* *Imperial Gazetteer*, Vol. 1., p. 73.

† *Picturesque India* : Caine, p. 205.



U. R. K.

Shah Jahan dying with his eyes fixed upon the Taj

The open terrace in front of the *Dewan-i-Khas* consists of two thrones the black one of which, facing the river, was cut out of a single slab of stone in 1603. This black throne which is about 11 feet long and supported by octagonal pedestals was built by Akbar in recognition of his son's title to the Empire. Here Jehangir used to sit occasionally and see the fight of wild animals arranged for his amusement. The crack on the throne is believed to have been caused by Lord Lake's bullet falling upon it during the attack of 1803. According to tradition, however, it cracked, when the Jat King of Bharatpur sat on the throne, for it was meant to be used by none but the real descendents of the Great Moghul. Then again, when Lord Ellenborough sat on it during the Kabul War in 1842, blood is supposed to have come out of it. The white marble throne in front of it used to be occupied by the Vizier. Close to the *Dewan-i-khas* stands a two-storied marble pavilion, called the *Samman Burj* or Jasmine Tower, which is said to have been the boudoir of the chief Sultana. Attached to it is a beautiful reservoir of marble in the shape of a blooming rose. This hall was occupied by Nur Jahan and after her by Mumtaz Mahal. Here it was that Shah Jahan 'shuffled off his mortal coil' with his dim eyes turned towards the celestial monument reared by him over the earthly remains of his beloved Mumtaz, and attended only by his devoted daughter, Jahanara, weeping beside the death-bed ! The spacious marble board of *Pachisi* was used in playing games of backgammon. It is said that Akbar and his *begums* used to play on this board with beautiful girls as dice. Next to the *Dewan-i-khas*, overlooking the river, is a splendid pavilion of white marble called the *Khas Mahal* or private apartments of the royal zenana. The exquisite beauty of this massive mansion, which was built by Shah Jahan in 1636, with its terraces, corridors and balconies glittering all over with precious stones of brilliant lustre, is beyond all description. The *Khas Mahal* opens out into a splendid court, 235 feet long, called the *Anguri Bagh* which was built by Akbar for the use of his harem. It is only a lawn now laid out in quadrangular terraces, but the Government, we understand, intends to turn it into a garden of grapes again. Towards north, the court leads into the *Shish Mahal* or the palace of glass consisting of two rooms decorated with myriads of small convex mirrors. The dazzling beauty of the *Shish Mahal* is increased hundredfold when a lamp is lighted within it and thousands of little beams are reflected from all the mirrors. It was built by Shah Jahan as the bath of the Zenana. A doorway leads to the waters of the Jumna. The *Rang Mahal* consists

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of a series of rooms which were occupied by the newly-acquired wives of the Emperor or by *bandis* (maid-servants) who were eventually promoted to the rank of *begums*. To the south of the *Khas Mahal*, a broad stair-case leads to a series of under-ground chambers in which the Emperor, along with his more favourite *begums*, found shelter from the burning heat of summer days. A dark and dreary dungeon close to these chambers was meant for the incarceration of faithless *begums*. Here again, a flight of downward steps leads to the subterranean Jail where the hapless culprit was imprisoned before being taken to the gallows. The original apartments of Shah Jahan contain the huge gates of Mahmud's tomb, brought down in 1842 as a trophy of British success in Afghanistan. These gates of deodar have been erroneously identified with the celebrated sandal-wood gates of Somnath, taken away by Mahmud of Ghuzni in the course of his 12th expedition of India. The *Jodhabai Mahal* which was built of red sandstone by Akbar consists of the oldest suite of chambers in the Fort. The great beauty of these apartments is characteristic of the ancient Hindu style of architecture. The roofs of the *Jodhabai Mahal*, which consist of two exquisite pavilions and a number of cisterns, afford a splendid view of all the various buildings in the Fort.

We did all the sight-seeing in the Fort at about 1 P. M. when we drove back to our temporary residence. After a hurried bath and breakfast, we went out to visit the *Taj* and reached it after 3 P. M. The magnificent entrance of red free-stone, 140 feet high, is exquisitely inscribed with extracts from the *Koran* and yields a splendid view of the *Taj*, with its enclosing gardens and the lovely Jumna flowing picturesquely beyond.

The *Taj Mahal* was constructed by Shah Jahan as the mausoleum of Arjmand Banu Begum, generally known as Mumtaz Mahal, the second and decidedly the most favourite of his three consorts. The 'Lady of the *Taj*' died of the pain of child-birth at Burhanpur in 1630 and Shah Jahan, true to the promise he had made to his dying wife, built over her bones the unparalleled mausoleum which stands to this day as the noblest memorial structure and one of the seven wonders of the world. Begun immediately after the death of Mumtaz in 1630, the *Taj* was completed in 1648 at a cost of 9 crores and 17 lakhs of rupees.* As many as 20,000 workmen were employed, it is said, in building this superb 'Poem in Marble,' and among the principal architects, the following

* *Dewan-i-Afridi.*

names might be mentioned : Amanat Khan of Shiraz, *Ustad* Isa of Agra, Ismail Khan of Rum, Banuhar and Pira of Delhi, Ram Mal of Cashmere and Kyam Khan of Lahore. 'Cornelian, Lapis lazuli, Yemini, Sapphires, Mungah, Beryl, Jasper and Onyx' were the most precious stones used in the construction of the *Taj*.^{*} It was Shah Jahan's intention to build a mausoleum of black marble for himself on the opposite bank of the river and to connect it with the *Taj* by means of a bridge of stone. The idea, however, did not find favour with Aurangzebe and was never realised.

A good deal has been said by aesthetic observers with regard to the transcendent beauty of the *Taj* in a moonlit night when the superb structure sparkles like a brilliant diamond on a serene silver plate. Its striking elegance is also said to be manifested when viewed from the other bank of the river during the rains. But as it was our lot to be at Agra in winter, we could not realise that elegance.

Observant and keen critics like Tavernier, Fergusson, Bishop Heber, Bayard Taylor, Sir William Hunter, Sir Edwin Arnold and Mr. E. B. Havell have compiled such a ponderous volume of literature dilating upon the lavishing beauty of the *Taj* that it is useless, pure and simple, for me to add even a single sentence to the same. It is said that 'the man who should describe the *Taj* must own genius equal to his who built it.'[†] I do not lay claim to anything approaching it and would therefore conclude my narrative of Agra with the following description of the *Taj* extracted from the *Imperial Gazetteer* : 'The complexity of its design and the delicate intricacy of the workmanship baffle description. The mausoleum stands on a raised platform at each of whose corners rises a tall and slender minaret of graceful proportions and exquisite beauty. In the centre of the whole design, the mausoleum occupies a square of 186 feet, with the angles deeply truncated, so as to form an unequal octagon. The main feature of this central pile is the great dome, which swells upward to nearly two thirds of a sphere, and tapers at its extremity into a pointed spire, crowned by a crescent. Each corner of the mausoleum is covered by a similar, though much smaller, dome erected on a pediment pierced with graceful saracenic arches. In regard to colour and design, the interior of the *Taj* may rank first in the world for purely decorative workmanship, while the perfect symmetry of its exterior, once seen can never be forgotten, nor the aerial grace of its domes, rising like marble bubbles into the clear sky.'

Padmini Mohan Neogi

^{*} S. M. Latiff's *Historical and Descriptive Agra*.

[†] G. W. Steeven's *In India*, p. 140 (Blackwood's Colonial Edition).

REVIEWS & NOTICES



LAND PROBLEMS IN INDIA

[*Published by*—G. A. NATESAN & CO., MADRAS.]

Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak in his speech at the last Congress felicitously observed that, like so many of its betters, famine was claiming to be *Swadeshi* in this far-famed land of plenty. The grim truth of the remark is brought cruelly home to all Indians by the shadow of a famine which has already appeared in some parts of the country. Once again people who have the welfare of India at heart will have to turn their attention to the question of famines and all the many knotty problems that hang upon it. It is a study that does not promise much pleasure to the Indian but one which must be made over and over again till we cease to be what we are—a hopelessly poor agricultural people, burdened with an expensive administration which sucks its living out of our poor blood.

The question of land revenue is the problem that must bulk largely in every inquiry into the causes of Indian famines. The Government of Lord Curzon in one of the longest of its many long resolutions sought to prove that there was no connexion whatsoever between famines and land revenue. "The evidence that has been adduced in this Resolution," so runs the document, "testifies to a progressive reduction of assessments extending throughout the last century and becoming more instead of less active during its second half. If then the severity of famine be proportionate to the weight of assessments, the famines in the earlier part of the 19th century ought to have been incomparably more serious than towards its close; whereas the contention is familiar that the reverse is the case. Again the contention, that in recent famines the parts of India that suffered most severely were the parts that were most highly assessed, finds (with the exception of Gujarat which has not been seriously famine-stricken for a century and was soft and unprepared) no support in fact and was expressly disowned by the recent Famine Commission. It is conclusively disproved in the case of the Central Provinces by the evidence of the Chief Commissioner that in the famine of 1899-1900 the districts which felt the famine pressure most acutely were those which had been exempted from paying the revised assessment introduced at the previous revision; while the districts that suffered most from the

famine of 1896-97 were those in which there had been no assessment for 40 years."

The logical conclusion of the whole argument would no doubt be to raise the assessments all round and save the poor ryots from the woes of plenty and poverty alike. This sort of argument would do credit to the logical jugglers who flourished before Socrates. One recollects that it was on the basis of arguments not dissimilar that a famous English jurist used to establish the Jacobitism of people with three names. It is a pity that the very learned framer of this Resolution had not at his elbow a school-boy to remind him that he was dealing with a case of plurality of causes. No one in his senses ever denied that high prices were caused by forces over which no Government ever had much control. What Indian publicists contend is only that the Government aggravates the situation. Natural causes are no doubt the first determinants, but then if the Government were to stop its benevolent work of squeezing all possible savings out of the ryot—lest he should go wrong—well, the ryot might not feel the pricks of scarcity as badly as now. If the rack-rented ryot in some years has been better off than one more leniently treated, he had certainly not the high assessment to thank for it ;—nature had been less rough with him than with the other. That solves the whole puzzle.

Now put the thing just the other way. Suppose, the famished ryot had a less amount to pay for land-revenue the year before the famine, would it not seem to be reasonable that he would live somewhat better in famine times than he did? Granting that the land revenue is a quite insignificant item compared with "the enormous losses resulting from a widespread failure of crops," yet, if the whole of a man's savings were not taken away from year to year by the Government as rent, would not the ryot be able to fight the famine better with his surpluses of previous years than if he had nothing to fall back upon? If this be so one cannot but confess to a sense of amazement at the credulity of the Government when it says that "it is clear that no reduction of land revenue demand, short of its total abolition and not even its abolition itself, could enable any community to hold up its head against a calamity so vast and so appalling."

The persons on whom the Government would like to visit the evils of famine are the money-lenders and the prodigal ryots. No one can question that money-lenders have in the past come in for a large share of the responsibility for the perpetual impoverishment of the ryot. But, at the same time, impartial history must record

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that people have had to go to the money-lender on more occasions to meet the Government demand on land than on any other account. In any case, to save the ryot from the grips of the money-lender, draining him of all resources is anything but the best means. The remedy lies in the establishment of co-operative credit societies, which, if encouraged in the liberal spirit in which they have been conceived, will be a lasting boon to the people.

The money-lender has his faults, but that does not take the evil out of the Government policy. But the charge of improvidence laid at the door of the Indian ryot is a most 'unkind cut.' The humble, unambitious, toiling peasant of the Indian soil is noted more for denying himself the commonest pleasures than for his spendthrift habits; yet he has oftenest been made responsible for his unhappy lot. We wonder what one of this class would feel to be told that the Government refuses to remit his tax because forsooth it is convinced that he would waste his savings on luxuries or go over to the money-lender.

But assuming that the money left in the hands of the ryot would do him no good and that he would waste it, what right has the Government to extract it out of him and waste it on building or demolishing barracks and permitting huge armies to fatten on the life-blood of the people or for that matter in leading them across the frontier in wasteful and fruitless expeditions? If the labourer has no right to waste the money he earns on luxuries, much less has the Government any right to take the money out of his hands to waste it in powder and shot when none is needed. Nay more, the Government, for the past few years has been guilty, not only of lavishness in spending the people's hard-earned money, but also of taking much more out of the ryot than it could by any means waste. Government takes taxes not for the pleasure of the thing but that it might carry on the administration of the country. No doubt, for good administration a small working surplus is necessary, but to keep the level of taxation as far above the necessities of the administration as has been the rule of late years—and some of them famine years—is against all rules of civilised Government. The labourer in the soil does not starve himself that the Finance Member of the Viceroyal Council might take his savings and win plaudits for his huge surpluses and it is absolutely immoral to deprive the suffering peasant of his legitimate share of the surplus, no matter how he manages to spend it.

The Government of India is apt to affect that it has inherited the right to a share of the produce of the soil from the time honour-

ed practice of native rulers. But it forgets to take account of the fact that the ideals of Government has changed much since those days. The Government is not now the heaven-appointed arbiter of the fates of millions but an organised unity of the life of the nation itself. As such, the State has no rights over private individuals more than what is necessary in the interests of the individuals themselves. It cannot claim the land revenue as of right but only as a matter of expediency ; and if it wants an enhancement it must be for some benefit to the individuals themselves. In this scheme of things the right of the State to a share of the unearned increment, the corner-stone of all theories of enhancement of rent, has no place. If this principle is accepted, the State would have no right to keep up the level of taxation as far beyond its needs as it has been wont to do. And, if the Government of India is to be carried on a broad and liberal basis it must make away with exploded ideas and take its stand upon the sole consideration of expediency and justice.

But apart from the question of surpluses, the Government has no right to keep up even the present high rate of expenditure. Our system of administration is far more expensive than it need be and possibly far less efficient than it should be. This is not a matter which you can wink at or temporise over in a country like India, where famines and poverty have become the order of the day. Much of this mischief is due to the services being over-manned by Englishmen. These not only draw much higher salaries than equally qualified Indians, but, on retiring, draw upon the resources of the poor country huge sums of money for which India gets nothing in return, but affords them a good opportunity to nurse some English constituencies instead. It has been pointed out by Indian publicists that the sums so taken out from India might make up altogether such a fund as would keep India for ever from famines.

These and many other questions hang upon the question of famines in India and they all require the careful consideration of Indian publicists. They represent phases of Indian politics and economics which are all their own and which call upon the entire resources of specialists for their proper appreciation and discussion. They have all been discussed from time to time in the press and on the platform and there has been produced a vast literature on the subject. The knotty questions of land revenue have come in for special attention of late years, thanks to the vigorous attack made by Mr. R. C. Dutt against the Government policy on the subject. The presentation of the whole subject in a handy manual was a

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desideratum and Messrs. Natesan & Co., are to be congratulated upon their enterprise in publishing a work which puts the entire thing in a nutshell.

The work is in the form of a collection of papers by some of the most distinguished publicists of the different provinces together with a few Government papers and some other published matters. The place of honour is most fitly given to Mr. R. C. Dutt's article which serves as an introduction to the whole subject. The article is written in one of Mr. Dutt's happiest veins and the whole problem is clearly, definitely and lucidly set forth in the course of about 30 pages of printed matter. No better introduction to the subject can be recommended to any one who commences the study of the subject. This is followed by Mr. Dutt's reply to the Resolution of the Government of India, after which come a series of very able articles on the land revenue policy in Madras, Bombay and the Central Provinces by Dewan Bahadur Raghunath Rao, Mr. Venkataratnam, Mr. Gokuldas Parekh and Mr. B. K. Bose. To ensure the absolute impartiality of the presentation, the publishers have incorporated the Government Resolution *in extenso* and a summary of the contentions of the various provincial Governments. A few other documents are added, every one of which possesses lasting interest for the student of Indian land revenue policy.

It is such a volume as this that one would like to present to a beginner in the study of the subject and it is such a book that any Indian would like to have in his bookshelf as a compendium of all that has been said on subject, in either case with perfect assurance that a complete and impartial knowledge of the subject is ensured. The scientific student of Indian economics would perhaps prefer to go down to original facts and figures, but, for the average reader the present hand-book is invaluable. We heartily congratulate the publishers on the success of their venture.

X. Y. Z.

SELECTIONS



THE CITY OF CALCUTTA

[MR. C. E. BUCKLAND'S PAPER READ BEFORE THE SOCIETY OF ARTS]

When I had accepted the honour of an invitation to address the Society of Arts on the subject of Calcutta, I soon found that it would be difficult to treat it adequately within the time usually allowed for the reading of a paper. The official and non-official literature regarding Calcutta is voluminous ; and the subject admits of being regarded from several points of view. At a meeting of this Society on the 1st June, 1899, Sir Charles Stevens read a paper on the "Port of Calcutta," in which he sketched the earlier history of the East India Company in Bengal, before the foundation of Calcutta by Job Charnock, and entered very fully into the work of the Port Commissioners of Calcutta, the projects carried out by them, the volume of trade passing through the Port, and their various schemes for keeping open and ameliorating the navigation of the river Hughli. And later, on January 23rd, 1902, Mr. F. H. Skrine addressed the Society on "Bengal, the Land and its People," when, in summarising the history of the Province, he was obliged to refer constantly to its Capital. I must, therefore, refrain as much as possible from travelling over the ground occupied by previous addresses to the Society, but will use the time available to give some account of the history, development, and progress of Calcutta, to mention some of the principal events there during the last 200 years and to give some idea of it at the present day. I shall still be unable to read the whole of the paper which will be recorded in the "Journal" of the Society. I may claim some local knowledge, having spent the greater part of 23½ years' service in the city, and having been constantly concerned in some capacity or other with its administration and politics. I have also had access to various publications which, though open to anyone, few people would have time to consult. It would be irksome to quote the authorities for each statement made, but it may be mentioned that I have generally relied on the late Dr. C. R. Wilson's "Early Annals of the English in Bengal," the Rev. H. B. Hyde's "Parochial Annals of Bengal," several Census Reports of Calcutta, Mr. A. K. Ray's "Short History of Calcutta," Miss Blechynden's "Calcutta :

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Past and Present," a number of old articles in the "Calcutta Review," my "Bengal under the Lieutenant-Governors," the "Selections from the Calcutta Gazettes," Dr. Busteed's "Echoes from Old Calcutta," and on other miscellaneous official and non-official sources of information. Without further preface, I now proceed to my subject, which I propose to divide into several sections.

DESCRIPTION

To understand Calcutta it is necessary to have at least some general knowledge of its geographical features, its appearance, its climate, and its physical conditions. Calcutta is situated in latitude 22 degrees 23' N., and longitude 88 degrees 23' E., on the left or east bank of a branch from the main stream of the river Ganges, the branch known in its upper course as the Bhagirathi, and called the Hugli, before it reaches Calcutta and discharges itself into the sea beyond Saugar, after a further course of 80 to 100 miles below Calcutta. Some parts of the town lie beneath high water-mark on the Hugli; its low level has rendered drainage a most difficult problem. The river as it passes Calcutta runs nearly north and south until at Shalimar Point it takes a decided bend to the westward. The town proper is in shape an irregular parallelogram, bounded on the west by the river, on the north by the Chitpur Canal, on the east by the Circular Canal and the Circular Road, by the latter on the south as far as Alipur Bridge, and from that bridge to the river by Tolly's "Nullah" it is about $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles long by 2 to $2\frac{1}{2}$ broad. The northern portion of the town is occupied entirely by the natives, the middle contains the business quarters which concentrate, speaking generally, on Dalhousie Square and the public offices. The southern portion is cut by Chowringhi Road, which runs nearly north to south, into two divisions, first the maidan on the west, and, second, the residential European quarter on the east. The Fort, the Second Fort William, is on the north-west portion of the maidan. Of this maidan, or open plain, dotted with trees and intersected by roads and avenues, Calcutta residents are justly proud and jealous. It has been called the lung of Calcutta. Its area, about four square miles, affords space for the parades and sham-fights of the regular troops, of the garrison of the fort, and the volunteers, for the race-course, for games, for walking and driving at all seasons of the year. The larger town of Calcutta, as defined for municipal purposes, includes the wards of Entally, Baniapukur, Ballyganj, Tollyganj, Bhowanipur, Alipur and Ekbalpur. The adjacent suburbs of Cossipur, Chitpur, Manicktollah, and Gar-

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den Reach are structurally an integral part of Calcutta, connected by a continuous stretch of buildings, though forming separate municipalities. On the west side of the river is the Howrah municipality, including the ancient villages of Ghoseri, Salkia, Howrah, Betor, and Sibpur, and bearing the same close relation to Calcutta as Southwark bears to London. Calcutta has long been called the City of Palaces. The original authority for the expression is unknown. Lord Macaulay repeated it, apparently with approval, but the city is not generally considered to deserve the appellation, which has also been bestowed on Oxford, Bath, and Genoa. Lord Lytton, with more truth, called Calcutta the City of Statues, of which there are a goodly number, chiefly of Governors-General and military heroes. If the appearance of Calcutta is compared with that of other cities, it must be remembered that the grey stone, which has admitted of Bombay being made so beautiful, is not available in or near Calcutta, and that the latter has to depend on burnt bricks and plaster as the material for its larger buildings. But Dalhousie Square would be a conspicuous feature in any town, with its fine public edifices and sheet of water. The Esplanade, running west to east, from Chandpal Ghat, contains the High Court, the Town Hall, the Treasury Buildings, the Government House, and the new Military and Foreign Offices, a range of buildings of imposing appearance. On Chowringhi Road, which is at right angles to the Esplanade, buildings of various sizes and uses are located, such as hotels, clubs, residences, and the museum, presenting a broken line of stately mansions. After the Fort, which cannot be called ornamental, the most conspicuous object on the maidan is the Ochterlony Column, 165 feet high, in honour of Sir David Ochterlony, the General who successfully concluded the Nepal War of 1815, a monument which has been disparaged for its resemblance to a lighthouse, but from its summit an extensive view can be obtained and at the south-east corner of the maidan, St. Paul's Cathedral, with its spire rising out of a group of trees, forms a pretty picture, but it is a modern structure, dating only from 1847. The disfigurement of the maidan, the old jail at its south end, will fortunately be removed when the Victoria Memorial Hall is erected to the north of the site of the jail. The native part of the town contains a number of buildings connected with Education, such as the Senate House and the Medical College, concentrated on College Square and also many of the ancestral mansions of wealthy native gentlemen such as the Tagores, the Mullicks, the Sobhabazar family, the Marwari houses, and many others; but they are too closely surrounded by the lowly dwellings of the poor

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to admit of their showings to advantage. It is a common remark of visitors to Calcutta. I have generally found them best pleased with the Botanic and the Zoological Gardens for the beauties of their tropical foliage and effective landscapes.

The climatic conditions of Calcutta are the most important consideration for its residents and visitors. The normal annual rainfall is about 66 inches, ranging from 39 to 97 inches. The greater part of the fall occurs between June and the middle of October, during the prevalence of the south-west monsoon ; but the violent thunderstorms of February, March, and April, may give heavy rain, and it is an old tradition that there is always rain about Christmas in Calcutta. The year may be roughly divided into three seasons, the hot weather from the middle of March to the end of June, the rains from the end of June to the middle or end of October, and the cold weather. The changes in the seasons occur gradually, and the years vary in respect of the amount and distribution of the rainfall. For instance, the normal rainfall between May and October is about 55 inches, but in 1900 it reached nearly 86 inches. It is on record that, in a thunderstorm at Calcutta, over an inch of rain fell in ten minutes, that is at the rate of nearly seven inches per hour. The temperature throughout the year is seldom unbearably high but in some years the month of June has been so hot that applications have been made to close the law courts, business has been conducted in great discomfort, and animals as well as human beings have suffered severely from the heat. Since the introduction within the last few years of pankahs worked by electricity, the effects of the temperature within doors have been greatly mitigated by night and by day. The average mean temperature of Calcutta is 78·5 degree, ranging from 66·2 or 3 degree in December and January to 86 degree in May and nearly 83 degree in September. During the rains it is 83·3 degree.

The death-rate in 1904-5 was 30 per mille of the municipal population, plague being responsible for 5·5 of the mortality ; in 1904 there were 4,995 cases of plague. After all is said, Calcutta is, in point of climate, a good place to get away from but from the manner in which Europeans and natives alike rally on visiting the cooler climates of the hills or England it is evident that the Calcutta climate is only unpleasant and temporarily weakening, rather than intolerable or actually deadly. In spite of climate, however, few cities have so quickly attained such a position as it now holds. It is British enterprise and British energy, as a native writer has recently acknowledged, that have changed three villages, situated on a malarious soil and yielding a revenue of 900 rupees a year, into the

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Capital of India, with an enormous population and a vast trade, and a revenue of nearly 60 lakhs of rupees. British Trade is, and has ever been, the dominant element in Calcutta. Native Trade has, of course, contributed its share but the native element has not been so prominent in Calcutta trade as it has been in Bombay. Calcutta is to all intents a European city in an Indian environment and it bears testimony to the capacity of the Anglo-Saxon race for colonisation and empire.

THE EARLIER HISTORY

The history of Calcutta, chiefly the earlier history, was written at some length three or four years ago by an able and industrious Indian gentleman, Mr. A. K. Ray, a member of the Cirencester Agricultural College, who has devoted several chapters to describing it, "Beneath the Surface," "In Legend and Poetry," "In Tradition and Story." These aspects need not detain us long. The Hindu legend regarding the formation of land and water in the neighbourhood of Calcutta, as traditionally known to the locality, was narrated by a writer of the sixteenth century, who stated that a tortoise, too heavily pressed by a mountain on his back and by the Infinite, gasped a deep breath, and the country of Kilkila, 160 square miles, containing the site of the present Calcutta, was formed. Mr. Ray, after recounting the traditions and the geological theories advanced, concludes that there are good reasons for thinking that in remote antiquity gneissic hills stood out from the sea where Calcutta now is, that at a later date these hills were depressed and a tidal swamp covered the area, that the lower Gangetic plains began to be elevated by fluvial deposits about 4,000 to 5,000 years ago, that near Calcutta an elevation of the area has alternately been followed by a subsidence and that in historical times the area including Calcutta was not finally in the seventh century of the Christian Era. It may have been forgotten that between 1835 and 1840 boring operations were conducted in Fort William under a Committee of Naturalists: they sank a bore hole 460 feet below mean sea-level, found no marine deposits but peat-beds at 30 to 35 feet and again at 385 to 392 feet below the surface, fine sand and sea shore pebbles, mostly derived from gneissic rocks, at three different depths down to 480 feet below the surface. In continuation of its underground history, adds Mr. Ray, Hindu legend furnishes us with a story of Calcutta. According to it, the site of the town must have been sufficiently raised for human habitation before the twelfth century A.D., and its name Kalikshetra, or field of Kali, an area of about two square miles, was derived from

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an aboriginal goddess, Kali, who was absorbed into the Hindu pantheon. Her original temple is said to have sunk into ground during an earthquake in the fifteenth century, after which her shrine was re-established at Bhowanipur, and later again at the present site at Kalighat on the Adiganga, the old channel of the river Ganges, now known in its diminished and artificial state as Tolly's Nullah. An immemorial pilgrim road led to Kalighat, generally following the line of the present Chitpur Road, Chowringhi, and the Bhowanipur Road. There is some evidence, based on a Bengali poem, that there was in 1495 A.D., a village called Kalikata, south of Chitpur, as well as the temple of Kali. Thus Calcutta and Kalighat were, and are, in fact, different places. The name Calcutta of the village was probably, it is suggested, derived from some aboriginal language. The first historical notice of Calcutta is to be found in the well-known *Ain-i-Akbari*, written in 1596 A.D., by Abul Fazl, the Prime Minister of the Emperor Akbar. It is there mentioned as one of three towns in the district of Hugli—then called the Sirkar of Satgaon—jointly paying a certain sum of revenue into the Imperial exchequer. In the *Ain*, the name is given as Kalkatta, as now pronounced by the natives, but in old books the name appears variously as Calicotto, Collekkotta, Collecotte, Kolekota, and even Golgota, or, as mariners called it, Golgotha. Modern Calcutta covers the site of the three old villages,—Sutanati, Calcutta, and Govindpur. It was Sutanati that Job Charnock, on the order of Aurangzebe for the admission of the English, and not without hesitation trusting to the promise of Ibrahim Khan, then “the famously just and good,” Nawab of Bengal, occupied for the third time, on Sunday, August 24th, 1690, being received with respect by the Mogul commander of the Thana fort and the native Governor of Hughli. This then is the date of the foundation of Calcutta. At first it was one of the three riparian villages, consisting of mud and stone hovels, with a few masonry buildings, which soon increased in number. Capt. Alexander Hamilton, an independent merchant, who traded in the Eastern seas from 1688 to 1723, wrote as a contemporary that Charnock “could not have chosen a more unhealthy place on all the river,” and 45 years ago a Calcutta reviewer wrote: “Calcutta is the child of trade. Charnock founded it with mercantile views on the eastern bank of the Hugli, though the western was the more healthy.” Job Charnock might well have said in the prophetic vein of the Latin poet:—

“Hic locus urbis erit, requies ea certa laborum.”

(Æn. 3.393 and 8.46.)

For more than 50 years the East India Company's agents, trying

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to find settlements for their trade in India, extended their factories from the Spice Islands of the Archipelago to the Coromandel coast, from that coast up to the Bay of Bengal, from Balasore to Hugli, from Hugli, after further wanderings, to Sutanati. "*Errabant acti fatis maria omnia circum.*" Their policy had varied with their movements. At first it was one of entirely peaceful commerce. This gave place to a policy of force and retaliation ; a third stage was the policy of peaceful commerce, with force and aggressive measures in reserve. Job Charnock, a shrewd man of experience, who had then been in India, 33 to 34 years, chose, at Sutanati, the present site of Calcutta with deliberation. It was indeed the only possible Port on the East of India. He chose it, though unhealthy, as a strategically safe spot and an excellent commercial centre : safe, because it was on the east bank of the river, protected on its east and south sides by morasses, on its west side by the river in the possession of the English naval power, admitting an attack from the north side only : an excellent commercial centre, as the place where the stream became much shallower, where the inland navigation was possible by river and channels, where country produce could be brought down in boats and carried away by sea-going vessels : where the pilgrim road afforded communication with the interior : where native families had already established a market to do business with our predecessors, the Portuguese. The evidence all tends to show that after much labour and wandering, the site of Calcutta was deliberately selected by the highest local authority. "*Tantæ molis erat Romanam condere gentem.*" But little rest from their labours awaited the early settlers. On the 10th of February, 1691, an order was issued by the Mogul Emperor, allowing the English to continue their trade in Bengal on payment of 3,000 rupees annually in lieu of all dues. But Aurangzebe had allowed the French to settle at Chandernagore, twenty miles up the river, in 1688, and there was war between France and England in which the young settlement had no strength to take part. It is sad to relate that Charnock succumbed to the hard work of his life. He had "reigned more absolute than a Raja," and with some violence. His health gave way, says the chronicler, habits of indolence crept over him, his spirit failed him, his temper grew moody and savage, the reins of government slipped from his relaxing fingers. On the other hand, though imperfectly educated, he had, it is said, the rare virtue of disinterested honesty ; though he became indolent and indecisive, he had in his prime resolute determination, clear-sighted wisdom, and had exhibited honest self-devotion. His domestic arrangements may be

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overlooked ; his public acts, as the founder of a great city, entitle him to the favourable recollection of posterity. On the 10th January, 1692, he died. The inscription on the slab in his mausoleum in the oldest cemetery of Calcutta, now St. John's Church compound, bears the date, 1692, which means 1693, New Style. The Indian Census Report of 1901 must surely have erred in stating that Job Charnock occupied Calcutta in 1696.

The history of Calcutta subsequent to its foundation may be divided into three periods : the first, from Charnock's death to the assumption by Warren Hastings of the office of Governor-General in Bengal in 1774 ; the second from 1774 to 1854, when the first Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal was appointed ; the third from 1854 to the present time ; periods of 82, 80, and 52 years respectively.

1692—1774

From 1692 to 1774, Calcutta, as part of Bengal, was under rulers variously designated as Agents, Presidents and Governors. But few of them will it be necessary even to name. Sir John Goldsborough arrived in August, 1693, as Chief Commissary and Chief Governor of the Company's Settlements, which he was instructed to reform. By the end of the year he was dead. The times were troublesome. Aurangzebe, in anger and revenge, suspended the trade privileges of the English, but the local native authorities connived at the evasion of the imperial order, so that trade continued. In 1696 local rebellions, including that of Subha Singh, broke out against the authority of the Nawab, Ibrahim Khan, who allowed the Calcutta Government to construct fortifications. In 1698 the Calcutta Agent bribed the Nawab Azim-us-Shan, the Emperor's grandson and successor to Ibrahim Khan, to allow the English to purchase from the existing holders the right of renting from the Nawab the three villages of Sutanati, Calcutta, and Govindpur, extending about three miles along the river and one mile inland. This purchase made the Company the collector, or zamindar, and gave them certain rights of levying duties, imposing taxes, and exercising jurisdiction. They paid the Mogul 1,195 rupees a year, and were freed from interference. Thus the town was called Calcutta, and not Sutanati, clearly because the first fort occupied a part of the ground of the village of Calcutta. The fort, which dates from 1696, was pushed on, and was called Fort William, after the reigning sovereign, King William III. The British flag was hoisted in Calcutta on the 6th October, 1703. The size of the fort may be gathered from the length of its sides, viz, 710 feet on the east and

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west, 485 feet on the south, 340 feet on the north. In the year 1698 a rival to the old East India Company was set up in London by the interlopers or independent traders; both Companies were represented by Presidents in Bengal. By 1702 the two Companies were amalgamated, and then were three Councils sitting in Calcutta, that of the old Company, that of the new, and that of the United Trade, as the Head Council. The Government in 1704 bore the curious name of the Rotation Government, which excited some ridicule in India. Under it, the two senior members of the United Trade Council were to be Chairman of the Council, in turn week by week. This arrangement lasted until Antony Weltden was sent out as President in 1710. The disputes in the Council were unceasing; perpetual troubles occurred with the native authorities of all grades and it was necessary to bribe to secure the freedom and smooth course of trade and the passage of goods and boats. Ralph Sheldon was the first collector (zamindar) of Calcutta from 1700 to 1709. The area under him was 1,861 acres, or less than three square miles, in which he had to collect the revenues: for administrative purposes the Company's land was divided into four quarters. The collector was also magistrate with a police force under him. There was also a native Dewan of the Zemindar; the famous Govindaram Mitter held the appointment from 1720 to 1751. The regular garrison varied from 129 in 1706, to 200-300 men subsequently, who had also to protect the Company's saltpetre boats and merchandise, piece-goods, raw silk and opium, up and down the river as far as Patna. Under the Rotation Government, 1704-10, the settlement grew, but without any fixed plan. The fort was not completed, even after 15 to 20 years, but was supposed at the time to be strong enough to ward off any attack by the country powers. A Governor's house and other buildings were erected in the fort, a hospital and barracks outside it. A small tank to north-east of the fort, where Dalhousie Square now is, was enlarged, a path was made later round the tank. In 1707, the year of Aurangzeb's death, Calcutta was declared by the East India Company to be a separate Presidency. The Church of St. Anne, thirty yards from the east curtain of the fort, was finished and dedicated in 1709; it stood until 1756. For 20 years after its foundation by Charnock, Calcutta advanced by leaps and bounds; the English were enabled by the strength of their position to treat more advantageously with the Nawab: in dealing with an Indian Government, "force and a strong fortification were better than an ambassador." As their numbers increased, the English improved in their conduct and morals, and maintained a higher standard of

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national behaviour amid Indian surroundings. From contemporary accounts, the social life of Calcutta of 200 years ago can to some extent be realised. A majority of the residents were steady and well-ordered, discipline requiring residence inside the factory walls, daily attendance in Church and at the Company's dinner-table. There were, from earliest days, some English ladies at the Settlement; amusements were few and simple; the place reeked with malaria. In one year, soon after 1706, 460 out of 1,200 English were said to have died between August and January. There are indications that sanitations received some attention from the first, but the funds available were very limited, knowledge and experience had not been gained; people had not learnt how to live and keep their health, and the surroundings were very unfavourable. Though the above figures have not been confirmed, it is certain that the rate of mortality was dreadful; Calcutta was regarded as a place of exile and death. Even up to the end of the 18th century, the European inhabitants used to meet on the 15th November annually to congratulate each other on their escape from the rainy season and the effluvia of the salt lakes.

During the next seven years, 1710-17, there were three Governors: the second of them disregarded the suggestions of the Court of Directors for the improvement of Calcutta, which was left for the next 40 years with a fort which was no fort, as it had "no real strength or power of defence." Murshid Kuli Khan, or Jafar Khan, who gave his name, in 1704, to the city now called Murshidabad, became Nawab of Bengal in 1713 and died in 1725. With him the Calcutta authorities had long and constant negotiations in the interests of the Company's trade. In consequence of this Nawab's oppression and exactions, an embassy, under John Sarman, with William Hamilton as doctor, was sent up to Delhi in 1715 to obtain the *firman* of the Emperor Farrukhsiyar, whom Hamilton cured. The embassy was most successful. In 1717, privileges of trade were secured, permission was granted to the English to purchase 38 villages adjacent to the Calcutta Settlement, on both banks of the Hugli, to a distance of ten miles down the river, subject to an annual payment of revenue to the Mogul Emperor. The English were to have the use of the mint. The Nawab declined to carry out these orders fully. He prevented the English from formally acquiring the villages, but, it is said, they acquired possession of them indirectly through their servants and adherents. The Nawab's refusal furnished them with a standing and legitimate grievance, which in Clive's time they were able to urge with effect. Governor

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Robert Hodges constructed a dock large enough to hold two ships of 400 tons, though it afterwards proved useless. As Calcutta developed, the cost of the Company's establishment rose, so that in 1710-11 it reached nearly 2 lakhs, an increase which annoyed the Court of Directors. Again and again they declared that righteousness is at the root of prosperity. Their letters abounded with directions as to the maintenance of discipline, the study of the languages, the reduction of expenditure, and enquiries into the behaviour of their employes.

From 1717 the records of the next 40 years are lamentably deficient, though certain facts are forthcoming. It may be read that a forest existed in 1717 to the southward of Chandpal Ghat. As early as 1727 a Corporation, consisting of a Mayor and nine Aldermen and a Mayor Court, was constituted. Holwell was for some time its president: it was considered to be too much under the influence of Government, and was superseded by the Supreme Court in 1774; the old Court House was pulled down in 1792, being ruinous; it was for many years the Charity School House, the seat of justice, the scene of many public entertainments, assembly balls, and social gatherings. Between 1727 and 1737, Chowringhi (so called from Cherangi, the name of one of the 38 villages before mentioned), though still comprising bamboo groves and paddy fields, and separated from the riparian Govindpur by a tiger-haunted jungle, now replaced by the maidan, was being included in the English Settlement. On the 30th September, 1737, a severe cyclone, described in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1788, passed over Calcutta, inflicting immense damage on its buildings and shipping; English and native houses and the church steeple were blown down, and twenty-eight vessels sank; the loss of life was enormous; the river rose forty feet higher than usual. By 1738, Burra Bazar and Lal Bazar were in existence. After the Mahratta invasion of Bengal in 1742, the Mahratta ditch, was dug, southwards from Chitpur on the north, not as a ring-fence to enclose the Company's lands, but to keep out the Mahratta horsemen; the safety thus provided led to a large influx of the native population into Calcutta. Of the ditch only three miles, out of the seven projected, were finished. During the Mahratta scare, the town proper was completely fenced with palisades. A map of 1742 is extant. Another map of 1753 shows how rapidly houses of all sorts in Calcutta had increased, occupying the ground about the old fort, viz., 600 yards towards the east, and half a mile to the north and south of it. Some of the houses of the Europeans had deep verandahs and large

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compounds attached. One account states that in 1756 there were but 70 houses in the town, the site of the present fort was a jungle, Chowringhi and other parts of the present town were still in the state of rural villages and some of the principal residents had garden houses out of town. Clive had one at Dumdum. A map, referred to 1760-4, shows only three houses in Chowringhi south of Park Street; in a map of 1792, Chowringhi is still shown as containing paddyfields. How useless the defences of Calcutta were appeared from the fighting of 1756-7. The events of that time need only be mentioned briefly. In 1756, Surajuddaula succeeded his old grandfather, Alivardi Khan, as Subadar or Nawab of Bengal. European and native historians agree as to his cruel and rapacious character. He was not more than 25, he may have been only 20. He had previously shown dislike to the English; he was offended with them for giving protection to Krishna, or Kishen Das, son of Raj Ballabh Das, Dewan of Surajuddaula's uncle. The Chota Nawab Krishna Das, with his father's valuable property, which it is said Surajuddaula had resolved to plunder, took refuge in Calcutta and the English refused to surrender him when demanded. On this and other pretexts, Nawab Surajuddaula approached Calcutta with his force from the north and north-east; attacked, and on the 20th June, 1756, captured the fort, which had fallen into disrepair and was not prepared for a siege; the defenders were few, the militia were inefficient; the garrison and militia together numbered only 514, of whom 274 only were Europeans. The tragedy of the Black Hole was enacted when only 23 out of 146 English prisoners escaped alive. The name of the town was changed from Calcutta to Ali-nagar for the few months until it was retaken on January 2nd, 1757, by Clive and Admiral Watson, with a force from Madras. The Nawab's army was defeated by Clive on the 4th February near Calcutta. The Nawab made overtures, and on the 9th February concluded a treaty with the English, agreeing to the freedom of their trade, to the restoration of their factories, to the fortification of Calcutta, to the establishment of a mint, and signed an offensive and defensive alliance. But nevertheless he assisted the French against the English. The latter joined a confederacy of Surajuddaula's chief officers to dethrone him, and made a treaty with Mir Jafar. Clive marched on Murshidabad and the battle of Plassey was fought on June 23rd, 1757. Surajuddaula fled and was killed by the order of Mir Jafar's son on July 4th.

From the date of Plassey, which established the English supremacy in Bengal, the growth and prosperity of Calcutta have been

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continuous. Mir Jafar became Nawab of Bengal, and paid a large sum as restitution money to the European residents and Company's servants for the sack of Calcutta by Surajuddaula. With this money commerce revived and houses were rebuilt. Mir Jafar also made grants to the Company, in fee simple, as it has been termed, of land both inside and 600 yards outside the Mahratta ditch, besides zamindari lands as far as Kalpi. Thus the area known as the 55 villages, or *Panchannogram* in the Suburbs, was incorporated in Calcutta. In 1759, by a *firman* from the Mogul Emperor, the revenue which the Company had agreed to pay for the 24 Parganas, amounting to nearly three lakhs a year, was conferred upon Lord Clive as a "jagir;" in 1765, the grant was renewed to him for ten years more, with reversion to the Company in perpetuity. In 1757, and again in 1767, Calcutta was so unhealthy that an order was issued that no troops were to be landed there. The English proceeded to found a new Fort, also called Fort William, on the site of the Govindpur village, and to erect a new residence for the Governor on the site where the present Government House stands. The deposition of Mir Jafar, the elevation of Mir Kasim, the restoration of the former, the government of Clive between 1758 and 1767, the misgovernment during his absence from 1760-5 in England, the fighting in Behar and the grant of the *Dewani* or the civil jurisdiction belong to the history of Benga' rather than to that of Calcutta. By this time, Calcutta had become virtually, though not in appearance, the Capital of Bengal, the sixth in succession during six centuries; it succeeded to Gaur, Nadia, Rajmahal, Dacca, Murshidabad. As late as 1760, the Government had a chain, or boom, thrown across the river, below Calcutta, to prevent the ships of the Mughls from Chittagong coming up to attack the town. In 1760, there were but few roads in Calcutta, or in the country and none had yet been made along the river side. The early settlers had for many years had no carriages, owing to the want of carriage roads. There were few carriages in Calcutta to the end of the eighteenth century. In spite of the unsavoury sights many resorted to the river for the cooling breeze, bands of music being in attendance. In 1770, the year in which the old Mission Church was built by the Swedish missionary Kiernander, at a cost of 70,000 rupees, the famine, which carried off a third of the population of Bengal, was severely felt in Calcutta. No less than 70,000 persons are said to have perished in Calcutta in the two months, July to September. The General Hospital was founded in 1769 on its present site. A contemporary writer mentions some of the social habits of Calcutta

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about 1770, the want of luxuries, the general use of *hookas*, the white jackets, the riding before daybreak, the office work till two or three o'clock, and then dinner ; the tea-drinking, the balls, and the masquerades.

We come now to the historic name of Warren Hastings, who was promoted in 1772 from the Madras Council to be Governor of Bengal and held that office till 1774. He removed the Exchequer and Treasury from Murshidabad to Calcutta in 1772. Fort William, which had been fifteen years under construction, was finished in 1774 at a cost of two millions. The Governor's official residence was located therein. It was there that Bishop Heber lived temporarily on reaching Calcutta in 1823 ; the building is now a Garrison Institute. The maidan had been cleared, and since 1757 the English residents had migrated more and more from the Settlement near the old fort to the Chowringhi quarter ; the old fort was still standing in 1781, when Hodges, the travelling R.A., saw it ; it was demolished soon after and public offices were built on its site.

1774—1854

We may now pass on to the second period—1774-1854. By the Regulating Act, Lord North's Act of 1773, which made Warren Hastings Governor-General of Fort William in Bengal and gave the Bengal Council control over the other Indian possessions of the East India Company, Calcutta became the Capital of India. From 1774 great progress might have been made in Calcutta if the authorities had only co-operated instead of quarreling. I do not propose to trouble my audience with a catalogue of the public measures of that time or even to sketch the arrangements for the administration of Bengal or the events in the Provinces and parts of India. It is essential to limit our attention to Calcutta and not to exceed the limit except in rare instances. Hastings, as Governor-General, was, as we know, constantly opposed by the three new Councillors from England,—Philip Francis, Clavering, and Monson,—and supported only by Richard Barwell, the Company's servant, so that, until Monson's death in September, 1776, Hastings was in a minority in Council. We need not linger over the establishment of the Supreme Court in 1774, with Sir Elijah Impey as Chief Justice, or over the trial of Nuncomar (or Nanda Kumar) for forgery, and his execution on August 5th, 1775. The disputes between the Executive Government and the Supreme Court are matters of history ; their effects may be traced as reaching to the present day in Calcutta. But it has been observed that owing to these disputes there was general

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lawlessness in the country, and that the state of Bengal was probably never more lamentable than in the early years after 1774.

In various ways Hastings was specially connected with Calcutta. It was there that, on August 8th, 1777, he married Miss Anna Maria Apollonia Chapusettin, the divorced Baroness Imhoff ; it was there, or rather, near Belvedere, in Alipur, that he fought on August 17th, 1780, his duel with Philip Francis whom he wounded ; there he founded in 1781, the Calcutta Madrasa, or College, for the Muhammadans, which still flourishes ; there he assisted Sir William Jones in founding the Asiatic Society of Bengal ; there the Writers' Buildings for the junior servants of the Company were completed by him between 1776 and 1780 ; and, if his amusements may be mentioned, there he shot tigers in the jungle where the Cathedral now stands. Hodges, the R.A. already mentioned, was in Calcutta in 1781, and wrote of it as a great and opulent city, adding that for its magnificence it was indebted solely to the liberal spirit and excellent taste of Warren Hastings, who raised the first house which deserved the name of a piece of architecture. It was in Hastings' time that Major William Tolly, in 1775-7, opened up communication with the Sundarbans by the channel of the river, the *Adiganga*, now known as Tolly's Nullah, receiving as his remuneration the grant of the tolls for 12 years. He died on his way home in 1784, and Government took over the Canal from his widow in 1804.

About 1777 the unhealthy condition of Calcutta became notorious. The judges suffered from fever to the detriment of the judicial work. Hastings showed his appreciation of its climate and pestilential air by maintaining, besides his house in Hastings Street garden houses at Alipore, Sooksagar, up the river, Birkul, down the river, and Rishra, near Serampore. He remodelled the police of Calcutta, divided the two into 35 wards, and did what he could to cleanse it. The many years that he lived after retirement to England—from February, 1785, to his death in 1818, at the age of 85—show how little permanent effect the Calcutta climate had on him. But Calcutta was still in 1780 little better than an undrained swamp in the immediate vicinity of malarious jungle. Dakaiti and highway robbery were very prevalent close to the seat of Government. At the same time we read of horse-racing on the maidan and below Garden Reach on the Akra. It was in January, 1780, that Hickey's *Bengal Gazette*, the first Calcutta newspaper, appeared. Slavery, at one time very common in Calcutta, is shown by the advertisements for runaway slaves to be still in force in 1780 ; it is said to have continued long into the nineteenth century. A writer by the name of

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Mackintosh, in his book of travels, dated 1782, condemns the native town in the strongest terms as being offensive in every respect. The English continued to leave the old town of Calcutta for Chowringhi and the Suburbs ; more houses were being built, as successive maps show, along "the avenue" to the east, and in the southern or European quarter. By 1823, when Heber saw it, Chowringhi was almost as closely built as Calcutta.

It would be wearisome to examine what each succeeding Governor-General did or did not do for Calcutta. Several of them were absent from it for months and even years, on tours of inspection or other purposes of Government or engaged in actual fighting. But the development of Calcutta did not stand still in their absence. A few landmarks are prominent in its story, which may be noted. The Church of St. John, the old Cathedral, was begun in 1784, and opened in 1787. Grandpre, who visited Bengal in 1789, praises Calcutta as one of the finest towns in the world. In 1794, when the boundary of the town was first fixed by the Government Proclamation of the 10th September to be the inner side of the Mahratta ditch, the management of Calcutta was made over to the Justices of the Peace, and a regular assessment was effected in 1795. They attended to the town ; its filthy condition was realised and the necessity of very radical measures of improvement was perceived. Education had not been entirely neglected. The old Charity School, founded in 1742, had been destroyed in 1756 and restored in 1757 ; the Free School was established in December, 1789, and united with the Charity School in April, 1800. Lord Valentia, who was in Calcutta in 1803, repeated Grandpre's encomium of the town, alluding to its size, and to the magnificent buildings in the European quarter. Chowringhi he regarded as an entire village of palaces, the finest he ever beheld in any city. The black town was a complete contrast. He found Calcutta less unhealthy than formerly, owing to better conservancy, greater temperance, and knowledge of disease. Tiffin was at 12, then sleep for two or three hours ; dinner between 7 and 8 p.m. Lord Wellesley, then Governor-General, had set his face against horse-racing. Few Governor-Generals have done so much for Calcutta, as Lord Wellesley effected between 1798 and 1805. He has been called the Augustus of Calcutta. On or near the site of the old Government House, he built the present Government House, which he commenced in February, 1799, completed and occupied in 1803, at a cost of £150,000, besides £5,000 for furnishing. Opening it with pomp and ceremony to celebrate the Peace of Amiens, Heber described it in

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1824 as having narrowly missed being a noble structure ; its architecture has been described in Fergusson's book ; the early pictures and maps show that there were, up to 1825 certainly, no gardens attached to Government House on the south side as now. Lord Wellesley established in 1800 the College of Fort William, which was reduced by the Court of Directors to a lower standard than he had himself planned for it. He made also the Circular Road, partly along the line of the Mahratta ditch, and many minor improvements. His famous Minute of 16th June, 1803, called attention to the requirements of Calcutta, especially in matters of drainage, watercourses, sanitation, building, the regulation of nuisances, its improvement in appearance, and he generally indicated the remedial measures to be adopted. A Town Improvement Committee of thirty members was selected to carry out his scheme, but the improvements advocated by them were not all effected. The practice of raising money for public improvements by means of lotteries came into fashion in 1793. Many important works were executed between 1805 and 1817 with the funds obtained from the lotteries, which were under the immediate patronage of the Governor-General. Large tanks were dug, the Town Hall was built, the Balliaghatta Canal constructed, and several long roads made. The work and funds of the Improvement Committee were transferred to the Lottery Committee, who, between 1817 and 1836, looked after the affairs of the town, except the conservancy, which remained in the hands of the Justices of the Peace. Their efforts were directed to making the Settlement "sweet and wholesome." They introduced street-watering in 1818: made between 1817-21 a number of metalled roadways through the town, and the roads, paths, tanks, and balustrades on the maidan. During that period, the Strand Road, the Custom House, the Secretaries' walk and the St. Andrew's Church were constructed ; an ice depot was contemplated. In June, 1818, the merchants and agents opened a Calcutta Exchange for the accommodation of the mercantile community. In 1818 was launched the *Hastings*, 82 guns, 1,705 tons, the only line-of-battle ship ever built in Calcutta. In 1819 the *Calcutta Journal* was the first daily paper issued in Calcutta, appearing on four of the week-days. In 1823, the *Diana*, 89 tons, was the first steamer to ply on the Hugli, and from that year public efforts were made to establish steam communication between Calcutta and Great Britain with two vessels of 400 tons each capable of accommodating 25 passengers, the number of persons leaving Calcutta for England annually being estimated at nearly 500. About 1820, a

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magistrate, Mr. H. J. Shakespear, pressed the Government to come forward and rescue the inhabitants of its capital from the baneful effects of living in swamps and breathing a polluted atmosphere. In 1833-4 Calcutta trade was seriously affected by the disasters which befell a large number of the agency houses through over-speculation. When the Lottery Committee came to an end in 1836, public opinion in England having condemned this method of raising funds for municipal purposes, Lord Auckland appointed a Fever Hospital Committee, which enquired thoroughly into and exposed the insanitary state of Calcutta, though again the results were incommensurate with the inquiry. Municipal administration of a kind in Calcutta dates from 1840. For many years, in fact before the time of Holwell in 1752, the collector had been the administrator of the town and suburbs, with very considerable powers, but he had too much on his hands, little experience had been gained, and he was badly served. The first scheme of self-government, proposed by the Chief Magistrate, Mr. D. McFarlan, 1833, was experimentally tried in one division of the town, but without success. The Fever Hospital Committee of 1836, in their report of 1840, made recommendations in favour of municipal self-government which bore little fruit. In 1840 the town was divided into four portions, and the Government was empowered by law to establish certain municipal administration on the application of two-thirds of the rate-payers, but no such application was ever made. A writer in 1846 could still say that Calcutta was then, as of old, the most unhealthy City of Palaces in the world. Then followed experiments, in 1847, with a Board of seven Commissioners for the improvement of the town, reduced to four in 1852. In 1854 conservancy functions were withdrawn from the Justices of the Peace and transferred to the Board of Commissioners. The police arrangements and division of the town, as made in 1785, endured under a Superintendent appointed in 1808, until 1845, when the Calcutta Police Force was thoroughly reorganised. These were the latest developments in Calcutta administration when, on Lord Dalhousie's initiative, a Lieutenant-Governor was appointed for Bengal from the 1st May, 1854, and the Governor-General (who had in Lord William Bentinck's time in 1834 become Governor-General of India, and Governor of Bengal instead of being Governor-General of Bengal), ceased to be Governor of Bengal, and ceased therefore to have the immediate and direct power over Calcutta. The Lieutenant-Governor thus became, as the head of the Local Government, responsible to the Governor-General in Council for the administra-

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tion of Calcutta. A suitable residence was purchased and furnished for him at Belvedere, in Alipur, just three miles from Government House.

1854—1906

The appointment of a Lieutenant-Governor is a suitable point from which to make another division of the history of Calcutta. In fact, modern Calcutta, though it has elsewhere been dated from 1757, may be said more correctly to commence from this year, 1854. I do not mean to assert that, before the creation of a Lieutenant-Governorship, there was no proper administration of Calcutta, or that everything was changed by it, or that it was the sole cause of the modernisation of Calcutta. Changes in so large an area occur gradually, and various causes combine in producing an effect. Among the contributory causes the first place must, I think, be assigned to the improvement of communications with England and the interior of India. The development of the steamer service with England, the opening of 120 miles of the E. I. Railway to Raniganj on the 3rd February, 1855, and its subsequent extension to the Upper Provinces necessarily increased the trade of Calcutta. Apart from the E. I. Railway, and the improvement of the Port and Canals to the Sundarbans, Lord Dalhousie appears (from his farewell Minute of 28th February, 1856) to have done very little for Calcutta. He established a Civil Engineering College, and had under consideration a scheme for bridging the Hugli, but no special acts on his part are recorded. More roads were made into the interior of the country, such as those to Darjeeling and Jessore. The Sepoy Mutiny of 1857-8 was felt in Calcutta, owing to the proximity of Barrackpore, where mutinous symptoms first occurred. The Legislature passed an Act which lasted for a year to control the Press in Calcutta. The Calcutta Volunteers were enrolled. The feeling of alarm in Calcutta culminated on the so-called Panic Sunday, the 14th June, which has been described by the historians of the Mutiny. The panic has been declared to have been groundless and unreasonable, but people of different classes are said to have sought refuge in Fort William and on board the ships in the Port. I had always understood that Panic Sunday was a historic fact, but in the discussion on Mr. Skrine's paper above mentioned, the Chairman, Sir Steuart Bayley, stated that, though he was in Calcutta at the time, he was absolutely ignorant of the whole affair until some-time afterwards. Apparently some of the poorer Europeans and Eurasians of the suburbs sought refuge in the fort and ships, but the Chairman denied the occurrence of the panic as narrated. I cannot

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pretend to decide between the writers of history and an officer who was present at the time. After the Mutiny of 1857-8 a change came over the whole of India, including Calcutta. The assumption in 1858 of the Government of India by the Crown brought closer the relations between England and its great Dependency. Greater security led to the introduction of more capital. The progress of the town may be regarded from a municipal and from a commercial point of view. In 1856 a Commissioner of Police had been appointed. In 1856 an elaborate Municipal Act had been passed for Calcutta, under which three Commissioners were appointed. Work was commenced in 1859 on Mr. Clark's scheme of 1855 for the drainage and sewerage of Calcutta by a system of underground sewers leading towards the salt-water lake on the east. It was extended in 1872 to the northern, i.e., the native, part of Calcutta and eventually completed. This scheme cost over 95 lakhs of rupees. The town was thus made drier and cleaner, an immense gain alike to comfort and health. A well-informed authority wrote in 1860 of Calcutta as being, with regard to internal and external improvements, half a century behind the spirit and requirements of the age; he added, "if we consider the political, financial, and commercial importance of this city, it must be obvious that it ought to be in the interest of all parties, the governing and the governed, to metamorphose Calcutta as rapidly as possible into a town which, through the amelioration of its sanitary condition, would render the health and life of European settlers more secure, and, by the introduction of measures for facilitating commerce, be the most infallible means of largely developing not only the trade of the city, but that of Bengal, the City of Palaces being the great export and import mart of this Province." The writer's idea was a high one—that Calcutta ought to be to the East what London is with regard to the commerce of the world; and he indicated the lines on which improvements should take to meet the sanitary, commercial, and political requirements of the city. By persistent pressure some of the structural improvements then foreshadowed have been attained. But complaints against municipal administration have always been rife in Calcutta. They led in 1861 to a Commission of Inquiry which resulted finally, in 1863, in a new municipal Act, the first of the kind passed by the Bengal Legislative Council, sitting in Calcutta; this Act vested the municipal government of the town in the Justices of the Peace. The insanitary state of Calcutta attracted the attention of the highest authorities. Sir John Lawrence went to Calcutta as Viceroy in January, 1864. To

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stimulate his recollection of the insanitary condition of Indian cities he would direct his morning rides (so wrote his quondam Secretary, who himself took similar rides 10 to 12 years later) to the unhealthiest parts of Calcutta, and one of his first measures was to appoint a Sanitary Commission. The climate of Calcutta agreed with him less than that of any other place in India ; he said explicitly that he found himself unable to work all the year round at Calcutta, and especially in the hot and unhealthy season there. It was he who first commenced the system of moving the whole of the Government of India annually from Calcutta to Simla. But he objected to all schemes involving the abandonment of Calcutta as the Capital of India, considering them to be crude. "In the first place such a move would be inordinately expensive ; in the second, Calcutta was, he thought, the best of all available positions. Though it is actually a seaport yet its position is by nature rendered unassailable by an attack from the sea ; its trade places it in the first rank of mercantile cities ; the districts around it are wealthy, fertile, populous, and peaceful. These advantages he duly appreciated." So he adhered to Calcutta as the site of the Capital of India, as the proper place for legislation on matters wherein contact with public opinion might be specially desirable. This principle is still observed. Sir John Strachey, as President of the Sanitary Commission just mentioned, wrote in March, 1864, of the state of the Capital of British India, one of the greatest and wealthiest cities in the world, as a scandal and a disgrace to a civilised Government. On his recommendation the offices of Chairman of the Justices and the Commissioner of Police were combined in the same officer. It is a question, to my mind, whether the separation of the two offices in later years was not a mistake. The municipal constitution was again changed by the Bengal Act of 1876, when the number of the Municipal Commissioners was fixed at 72, that is 48 to be elected by the ratepayers, and the remaining 24 nominated by the Lieutenant-Governor. This Act obviously gave the voting power to a majority who were, it may be said generally, adverse to improved municipal administration at the cost of the community. Complaints against that administration culminated again in 1884, leading up to another Commission of inquiry and the formation of a Health Society. After prolonged agitation, the Municipal Consolidation Act of 1888 was passed, which added a considerable part of the Suburbs to the town, thereby increasing the wards from 18 to 25, and substantially improved the law. The number of the Commissioners was raised to 75, that is, 50 elected by the ratepayers, 15 nominated by Government, and

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and 10 elected by non-official commercial bodies. The Act of 1888 did not attain all its objects. A Building Committee was appointed and reported. This led up to the Calcutta Municipal Act of 1899, which reduced the number of Municipal Commissioners from 75 to 50, 25 of the latter to be elected by the ratepayers, 15 nominated by Government, and 10 elected by the commercial bodies. Much power was vested in a General Committee of 12 members, partly elected, partly nominated, so that there are now three co-ordinate authorities—the Chairman, the General Committee, and the Corporation as a whole. To enumerate the improvements effected by the Calcutta municipal authorities under the various Acts during the fifty years from 1856 to 1906 would occupy too much time and space. The filtered water-supply scheme sanctioned in 1865 was contemplated in 1870 in the face of tremendous opposition on the part of the natives. They declared that it would be contrary to their religious principles to drink water conducted through metal pipes. When they discovered the excellence of the water and the convenience of having it available at a neighbouring standpost, or hydrant, they soon found other texts in their shastras which admitted of their drinking such water. No single improvement has done so much as this to place Calcutta on a level with the great cities of Europe and America. Isolated cases of cholera occur, but within 21 years from the introduction of the filtered water-supply the mortality from this dread disease fell to one-fourth of its former standard, and has since ceased to figure so prominently amongst the causes of mortality in Calcutta. The quantity of filtered water conveyed all the way by a covered aqueduct from the intake at Pulta above Barrackpore, 16 miles from Calcutta, has been more than once increased, and the supply is again being extended. The native cry is now for more of this water at greater pressure. The natives have, chiefly in consequence of this filtered water and the improved drainage, for some time past regarded Calcutta as a sanitarium. It is now acknowledged, says one writer, to be the healthiest place in Bengal ; perhaps that is not saying much.

On the 6th July, 1859, Chowringhi was for the first time illuminated with gas. About that time, and since, the Strand Bank has been made up and ground has been reclaimed from the river. The establishment of a first-rate European market was carried out in the early seventies. In 1874, Calcutta was at last, after the abandonment of various projects, connected with Howrah by Sir Bradford Leslie's floating bridge, 1, 530 feet in length, which was only expected to last 25 years, but is still in good working order. It was in 1876, when

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Dr. A. J. Payne became the Health Officer of Calcutta, that during his incumbency and at his instance, the first real steps were taken towards the improvement of the sanitary condition of the town. Attempts have been continuously made to remove the old reproach that native Calcutta was a city of filth, while European Calcutta was a City of Palaces. During the 50 years under review, large sums have necessarily been spent upon roads, drainage, conservancy, the demolition of *bastis*, or collections of huts. Markets, workshops, squares, gardens, electric lighting have been introduced. Numerous bathing places have been provided, and the bathing-ghats improved. The municipal revenue and expenditure are increasing every year. The revenue funds during the year ending March 31st. 1905, amounted to Rs. 67,29,859, and the expenditure to Rs. 65,23,951. The total receipts amounted to Rs. 102,71,847, and the total expenditure to Rs. 89,73,054. The gross assessed valuation of the town on that date was Rs. 2,68,02,321, an increase of 13½ lakhs during the year. In 20 years the valuation of the town was nearly doubled. On the same date the total debt of the Corporation amounted to Rs. 3,75,49,464. I mention these figures to give some idea of the magnitude of the town and its municipal work. Under a reorganisation scheme, the town has been divided into four districts, in the hope that decentralisation will produce better results.

A large scheme for the improvement of Calcutta has been under consideration since a sanitary survey of the town, conducted in 1896, called prominent attention to the over-crowding of the northern portion. The provisional scheme contemplates an expenditure of 8¼ crores of rupees for (1) making new broad roads ; (2) providing open spaces ; (3) acquiring land for expansion ; (4) improvements, to be carried out by a Trust, in 20 years, the cost to be met by recoupment and recoveries from frontage owners, by a Government grant, and by special taxation. After preliminary confidential discussion the scheme is now before the public for consideration, especially with regard to the form to be taken by the special taxation required. This is not the occasion for going into further details on the subject. It is satisfactory that at last, in consequence of pressure applied by Government, some effort is being made on a large scale to improve Calcutta, especially the native quarter.

Sir Charles Stevens's paper on the Port of Calcutta, already mentioned, relieves me of the task of dwelling at any length on the trade of Calcutta. So long ago as Lord Dalhousie's time, 1848-56, the tonnage of the ships which sought Calcutta in trade more than doubled during his eight years of office. The latest figures that I

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have been able to obtain, up to the 31st March, 1905, show the importance to which it has attained. The volume of the trade of the Port has reached a total of Rs. 133,75,54,397 ; divided into foreign trade, Rs. 94,58,44,385 ; coasting trade, Rs. 11,60,58,664 ; inland vessels, Rs. 27,56,51,348, of which total Rs. 59,84,71,102, were imports, and the exports were Rs. 73,90,83,295. From the docks, 3,326,370, tons of produce were exported in 1904-5. The ships (other than inland vessels) entering the Port numbered 1,367, divided into coasting vessels, 860 ; other sea-going vessels, 507. Their registered tonnage amounted to a total of 3,132,523, tons. Two hundred and fifty-nine vessels, with an average tonnage of nearly 3,500 tons, were accommodated at the import jetties.

The capital debt of the Port Trust amounted on the same date to Rs. 4,98,10,320 ; the Trust has spent a total of over six crores on works. Their receipts in 1904-5 were Rs. 89,73,628, their expenditure was Rs. 82,32,154. They have lately applied for a loan of over 83 lakhs to carry out further works for the development of the Port. During the last 50 years, Howrah and Calcutta have become the termini for six railways, namely the East Indian, the Bengal and Nagpur, the East Coast, the Eastern Bengal, the Central Bengal, and the Bengal and North-Western, besides a number of branches and feeder lines on special gauges. The Canals round Calcutta also bring in large quantities of local produce. The factories and mills in Calcutta and the suburbs have become so numerous that the abatement of smoke nuisance has become a serious question. It would not be easy to suggest any method by which the commercial interests of Calcutta could obtain further recognition than they receive at the present time. For their protection and development there are the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce, the Calcutta Trades Association, the Royal Exchange, and a Marwaris' Association. There are the Commissioners of the Port of Calcutta, ready and keen to afford every facility ; and last, but not least, there is the newly constituted Member of the Supreme Council in charge of Commerce. As Calcutta was founded more than 200 years ago for purposes of Trade, so is Trade still the main factor of its existence and increase. It has been said, that, in the absence of a convulsion of Nature, no limit can be seen to the destinies of the Trade of Calcutta. Were it not for this Trade, and all the consequences entailed thereby, it is quite conceivable that the question of the site of the Capital of India might at any time be reopened. But under the present circumstances of the Trade, and having regard to its probable growth in the future, the idea of trans-

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ferring the seat of the Capital does not come within the range of practical politics. Whether Trade follows the flag or precedes it, so long as the Calcutta Trade is there the flag must there be hoisted and there have its headquarters.

POPULATION

I have purposely postponed to this point all allusions to the numerical increase in the population of Calcutta, and have done so even at the risk of appearing to be obliged to go back to periods of its history from which we have passed onwards. But the bare figures of the population would have conveyed little meaning without some previous explanation of the circumstances under which they were attained. Without some knowledge of the history, the administration, the municipal and commercial development of the town, the figures would hardly have been intelligible. For earlier times, before the days of scientific enumeration, the available figures of the population cannot be regarded as certain, sometimes they are avowed estimates, the areas referred to constantly differing. I can only reproduce the calculations of the population of Calcutta at various times as given by the best authorities. The variations in the superficial area of the town must be borne in mind. Its urban area of 215 acres in 1706 (i.e., 16 years after its foundation) had increased to 704 acres in 1756 (the year of its siege and capture), and to 3,714 acres in 1794 (before Lord Wellesley arrived in India), and to 3,754 acres in 1876. The inclusion of the Suburbs, i.e., the "added area," into the town in 1888 led to the extension to 11,850 acres of the urban area which stood at the census of 1901 at 11,954 acres, or 18½ square miles. The total area of the town proper, including its rural tracts (but not the suburbs), has increased from 1,692 acres (i.e., 2½ square miles) in 1706 to treble that size in 1794, to 5,037 acres (i.e., a little under eight square miles) in 1876, and to 13,237 acres (i.e., 20⅔ square miles) in 1901.

The late Dr. C. R. Wilson, of the Bengal Education Department, whose death last year is greatly to be deplored, carefully examined the question of the early population of Calcutta. Captain Alexander Hamilton, the independent merchant previously mentioned, estimated the population in 1710 as between 10,000 and 12,000. Dr. Wilson calculated that, during the Rotation Government of 1704-10, the population of the Company's land rose from 15,000 to 41,000. In 1752 Holwell, then Collector of Calcutta, and afterwards the principal survivor and historian of the Black Hole tragedy, by including a larger area which did not then form part of Calcutta, estimated the total number of the population at over 409,000. This estimate

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has since been regarded as open to great doubt. Dr. Wilson reduced it to 105,000 for the English area, and to double that figure for the whole area. Having regard to the increases in the urban and total areas between 1706 and 1752, it is more than probable that Holwell made some mistake in his calculations. There were severe famines in Bengal in 1752, 1762, 1770, and a serious epidemic in 1757. Holwell, in 1752, writes of "walking skeletons" in the streets, and of parents selling their children for a rupee a piece. To the famine of 1770 I have already alluded. Thus the estimates, ranging from 500,000 to 700,000, formed by various persons, for the population of the total area between 1796 and 1814 seem to be mere guesses at the day population of the town. Later figures are more likely to have been approximately correct, as having been ascertained by official agency. The four assessors appointed in 1821 returned the population at nearly 180,000. Captain Steel in 1831 gave it as over 187,000; a census of 1866 showed a population of 359,000, a lower number than in 1850: the population of the same area had increased in number to about 409,000 in 1876. Other enumerations were made in 1850 and 1872, but their accuracy was subsequently impugned. More trustworthy figures have been obtained in the last three enumerations of 1881-1891, and 1901. It is easy to become confused among the varying areas which have come under the census operations from time to time. But some main points may be seized. The same area that contained about 180,000 inhabitants in 1821 contained about 409,000 in 1876 and 400,000 in 1881, and 544,000 in 1901. The total figures are the most important. Calcutta under the Corporation and including Fort William numbers nearly 848,000, but adding in the Port, the Canals, and the three suburban municipalities of Cossipur-Chitpur, Manicktolla, and Garden Reach, it increased from 648,000 inhabitants in 1881 to 765,000 in 1891, and 949,000 in 1901. If to these figures are added the inhabitants of Howrah on the west bank of the river, viz., 105,206 in 1881, and nearly 158,000 in 1901 the aggregate population of the Metropolis of India in its largest dimensions amounted in 1881 to 790,286, persons, when Calcutta was already the second largest city in the Empire, and in 1901 to 1,107,000 persons, thus being one of the twelve largest cities in the world. Its population is said to be exceeded only by London, Constantinople, Paris, and Berlin in Europe; by New York, Chicago, and Philadelphia in America; by Tokio in Japan, and certain cities in China. Of the 949,000 persons in Calcutta and the Suburbs the Hindus form nearly 65, per cent., the Muhammadans nearly 30 per

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cent., and the Christians rather over 4 per cent. Several other religions are represented. Of the 38,515 Christians, 8,490 are English. But many other nations have their representatives in Calcutta, as the Census reports show. The town has been described as a "colluvies gentium;" the policy of the open door has prevailed since the prohibitions against interlopers and missionaries were withdrawn. The rate of increase of the town of Calcutta is very high, viz., 34 per cent since (the untrustworthy figures of) 1872, and 24 per cent as compared with 1891. The increase of Howrah is even more remarkable. When I personally took the Census in that municipality in 1881, the number of the people was 105,206, the increase to 158,000 there has therefore been a little under 50 per cent in twenty years. I have troubled you, I fear with too many figures, but, after all, they form the basis on which statisticians calculate the growth of towns and by which the comparative greatness of the principal towns of the world is measured.

LATER EVENTS

It will interest the audience more, I think, to hear something of the events which have occurred at Calcutta during the modern period of its history. I have no intention of giving lists or lives of the many persons who have distinguished themselves in Calcutta; nor do I propose to give a *resume* of the chief official measures of the last 50 years, though they were, in one sense, important, and emanated from Calcutta. It is necessary to concentrate our attention strictly on the town of Calcutta. In doing so, I cannot omit to mention the foundation of the Calcutta University in 1857, an institution which has largely dominated the Education of the country on lines considered to be so erroneous as to require its reconstitution by a recent Act of the Legislature. The Proclamation of the assumption of the Government of India by the Crown was read by the Home Secretary, Cecil Beadon, from the steps on the north side of Government House, on the 1st November, 1858. It was in Calcutta that the excitement connected with the indigo disturbances of 1860-1 came to a head in the *Nil Darpan* case, the Bengali drama on the subject of indigo cultivation which led to a prosecution in the Supreme Court for libel, and to the punishment of certain persons connected with the translation. About that time the Calcutta Rifle Corps of some 160 strong men was formed. The Bengal Legislative Council, which site in Calcutta very near, if not on, the site of the old Church of St. Anne, destroyed in 1756, dates from 1862; the High Court which amalgamated the old Supreme and Sadar Courts, from the

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same year. Calcutta suffered severely from the hurricanes of October 6th, 1864, and the 1st and 2nd November, 1867. The liability of Calcutta to cyclonic storms is a chronic danger. It luckily escaped the cyclones of 15th and 16th October, 1874, and 31st October, 1876, which passed at no great distance. The effects of the Orissa famine of 1866 were felt in Calcutta, whither the starvelings crawled in numbers, and were picked up dead or dying by the police. Calcutta has had opportunities of demonstrating its loyalty to the British Crown on the occasions of the visits of H. R. H. the Duke of Edinburgh in December, 1869 to January, 1870, of His Majesty the present King-Emperor, as Prince of Wales, in December, 1875, and of H. R. H. the last Prince Albert Victor, in January, 1890. It has lately vied with the rest of India in according a most hearty welcome to Their Royal Highnesses, the Prince and Princess of Wales. On such occasions the native community have always co-operated cordially with the Europeans in their expressions of loyalty to the Royal Family of England. The Cesarevitch, now His Imperial Majesty, the Tsar of Russia, was received in Calcutta with fitting honours and ceremony in January, 1891. But Calcutta has been stirred by sad occurrences as well as by its occasions of rejoicing. The murder of the officiating Chief Justice, J. P. Norman, on the 20th September, 1871, as he was ascending the steps of the Town Hall on his way to his Court there, struck a thrill of horror through the whole community, which was intensified by the subsequent assassination of the Viceroy, Lord Mayo, at the Andamans, on the 8th February, 1872. The latter's funeral procession, and the funeral service on the north steps of Government House were the most melancholy sights ever witnessed there since the tragedy of the Black Hole. Excitement never reached a higher pitch in modern Calcutta than at the time of the Ilbert Bill in 1883-4, the project of law brought forward by the Government for the purpose of enabling certain native magistrates to be invested with powers over European British subjects. The public meeting of the European community of Calcutta at the Town hall on the 28th February, 1883, will never be forgotten. An International Exhibition was held in Calcutta in 1883-4. On the 16th February, 1887, the Jubilee of the late Queen-Empress Victoria was celebrated in Calcutta with the greatest enthusiasm. In 1892 the Bengal Legislative Council was enlarged and the members of the Council were given the right of interpellation and of criticising the annual financial statement of the Local Government. An inquiry into the working of the jury system in Bengal, ordered by the Government

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of India in May, 1890, produced considerable political excitement in Calcutta, in 1892-3, and practically resulted in the continuance of the system with slight modifications. On the occurrence of plague in Bombay towards the end of 1896 every precaution possible was taken to prevent its importation into Calcutta. No case occurred in 1896-7, but shortly after the year 1897-8 closed there was a sporadic outbreak in Calcutta ; panic and an exodus of the inhabitants ensued. The measures since adopted have failed to eradicate plague ; every year it has returned with remarkable periodicity in the hot weather months, but has never gained such a hold of the town as in other parts of India. The earthquake of 12th June, 1897, did much damage to the buildings in Calcutta, but as it occurred at 5 P.M. no lives were lost. Serious riots occurred at Chitpur and in the northern parts of Calcutta on 30th June and 1st July, 1897, in connection with a piece of land alleged to contain a mosque. The inflammable nature of the people was clearly manifested on this occasion. Their emotional nature was exhibited on receipt of the news of the death of Queen Victoria in January, 1901. The people of Calcutta desired to meet on the maidan to demonstrate their grief. It devolved on me personally to advise, notwithstanding some misgivings of the police authorities, that the meeting should be allowed. Dense crowds assembled near the Ochterlony Monument ; the people turned out in myriads from their ancestral mansions and their primitive hovels. The common sentiment of the vast concourse was unmistakably one of sincere sympathy and respectful loyalty to the Crown. Their conduct was unexceptionable—it was a great and moving sight, the simple expressions of the loyal grief of the masses in the Capital of India. The last excitement which I can remember personally in Calcutta was that which arose in the cold weather of 1902-3, in opposition to the proposal to place the Victoria Memorial Hall on an admirable site on the maidan between the Fort and the Red Road. The agitation was successful, as agitations constantly have been in Calcutta. Those concerned with the selection of a site decided to adopt another, to which no exception was taken. The partition of Bengal has evidently, according to the newspapers, aroused great feeling in Calcutta ; but this subject has recently been fully described to this Society. It may be thought that I have mentioned but few incidents, and those of little importance, of the last 50 years. The fact is that the life of a town in India is ordinarily monotonous, varied by climatic occurrences, ebullitions of feeling, and political disturbance. The people pursue their avocations, the clockwork of trade, business, official life ; military

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exercise goes on hardly noticed ; one high authority rules for his brief span, is succeeded by another, and retires into obscurity. Small matters must be chronicled, for there is little else to record.

OBSERVATIONS

But some characteristics of Calcutta remain the same, to which I may briefly allude. It is still the Capital of India. It has been described to me as a place marked out by nature for a Capital, emphasised by railways. It is still an excellent trade centre and trade continues to increase, though Chittagong may prove a rival port for the export of tea and jute. The insanitary condition of Calcutta has been a cry for 200 years, and under the circumstances of the locality and of the people, is likely to remain a cry for a long time to come. If it is as healthy as many a Continental Capital, that fact does not indicate a standard of sanitation with which English people should be content. The absence of the adjutant birds, which were greatly in evidence 35 to 30 years ago, indicates improved sanitation, but it does not prove that the administration of the town is perfect. Calcutta, again, is a centre of political organisations. There is no need to discuss the causes : whether this is the fault of the Government, or the outcome of the Bengali character, or of the teaching of the Education Department, the fact remains. It is openly said, nay, printed, that with all the good intentions of the English rulers the benefit that has actually arisen to the people of the country is not an unmixed one. Racial feeling is never absent from Calcutta. It is impossible to assert that friendly relations exist between the different races, as has been claimed to be characteristic of Madras. The struggle of the educated classes to obtain a larger share of the loaves and fishes, in the shape of official appointments, never ceases. Social intercourse between the Europeans and natives makes but little progress. There is greater toleration of differences of thought, customs, manners and religion, but mutual understanding has made little real advance. The ignorance of the native languages on the part of many Europeans is much to be regretted. The natives continue to regard all force with abhorrence ; they equally dislike the British soldier, the policeman, or any personal vigour and energy. They look to the High Court and the Law as their protector against the Executive Government. Thus the opposition of the Supreme Court to the Government in the time of Warren Hastings has never escaped their memory. The natives have seen European agitation successful, and have improved upon European methods. The whole population is easily stirred. It is easy to

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manufacture a kind of public opinion and to attach an importance to matters of little real moment. The meeting places of various sections of the community, the Clubs, the Bar library, the business quarters, the Associations, the bazars, the daily newspapers, admit of the rapid dissemination of views, correct or erroneous ; it is easy and cheap patriotism to criticise the Government and its officers, or to seek notoriety by abusing a municipal administration, dependent often on unsatisfactory subordinates.

The net result is that Calcutta is in many ways a difficult town for the Government to govern, and for the municipal authorities to administer. I have often thought that the separation, in the late eighties, of the offices of Chairman of the Corporation and Commissioner of Police, which had been combined for about 25 years, was a mistake. The separation may have been desirable at the time, but should not have been continued. If Calcutta is to be better administered, improvement can best be effected by increasing the power of the highest executive authority, not by extending it over a larger area, not by including Howrah, for instance. I do not suggest that discussion should be precluded, but I do maintain that the executive requires strengthening. The wonder is that the administration makes any progress at all, and, if the town is to develop further, as it shows every sign of doing, especially in the southern direction, or if the requirements of modern civilisation are to be met, as English opinion very properly demands, very properly, I say, having regard to the interests of trade and to the amount of English Capital invested and seeking investment in the country, then means should be found for making the administration of the town more rapidly effective. The proper course, in my opinion, formed of the observation of 35 years, is to make the Chairman of the Corporation a Chief Commissioner, with police powers, and to allow him as many Deputy Commissioners for municipal, police, secretariat work, as are required for efficiency. As he is held responsible he ought to have more power, and under him officers on whom he can rely.

As Calcutta progresses, I anticipate that some such development of the municipal administration will be found inevitable, and be demanded ; greater efficiency in the administration should accompany the extension of the town. I would go further, and should be glad to see a Commission sent out by the Secretary of State to enquire into the state of Calcutta, its administration, and the requirements for its improvement and extension. Calcutta, says the native writer from whom I have already quoted, is to-day as much a European as a Bengali and Marwari town. He is perfectly right. Calcutta is not

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really India. They know not India who only Calcutta know. Calcutta has been made by European, chiefly British Trade, by British Enterprise ; it would have made much greater advance had the British had their own way entirely. I should like to see an independent Commission from England, not to supersede, but to strengthen the hands of the local authorities, who are loath to incur the imputation of being hostile to Local Self-Government. I am not opposed to such Local Self-Government as facilitates work and progress. Calcutta has extended, and been improved to some degree, in spite of Local Self-Government, under immense friction. By far the best administration in Calcutta is that of the Port Trust, where the Commissioners have a common object, to provide facilities for the growing trade of the Port. If the Municipal Commissioners of Calcutta had had such a common desire to improve Calcutta, very different results would have been attained by this time. A Commission of persons eminent in Commerce and Administration is, in my opinion, wanted to indicate independently and honestly, without any question of fearing or favouring Local Self-Government, what is required under different heads to assist Calcutta in the improvement increase and expansion which are taking place and will continue, as facilities are afforded.

There are various portions of my subject on which, for want of time and space, I am prevented from touching. I should have liked to give some account of the education of the town, to mention some of the principal educational institutions such as the Hindu College, founded in 1817, Bishop's College in 1820, the Sanskrit College in 1824, St. Xavier's College 1834, La Martiniere in 1836, the Medical College, and the Missionary and Scotch Church Institutions, and to say something of the great controversy between the advocates of the Oriental and English languages, closed by Lord Macaulay's Minute of 1835. I should have liked to give some sketch of the Press in Calcutta, and to allude to the difficult question of the poorer Indo-Europeans in Calcutta (which was thoroughly investigated by the Pauperism Committee of 1892), to tell of the extensive charities of the town, and of various other matters. It would take a volume to deal adequately with all these points. I had hoped, too, to describe the social life of the English in Calcutta at the present day. But there is little to say about it that is not perfectly well known. Social habits naturally change from time to time. For instance, old Calcutta paid no visits between 11 a.m. and 2 p.m. as it was deemed unhealthy to do so and formal visits were paid in the evening. When the dinner hour was changed, about 1800, to sunset, visiting was changed to

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the forenoon ; now the tendency is to revert to the old custom of evening calling. A palanquin is hardly ever seen now : motor-cars are superseding carriages. Calcutta hospitality is proverbial ; this has often been remarked by English visitors. The amusements of society vary in Calcutta as elsewhere, according to the season of the year. In its social aspects, Calcutta in the cold-weather season is one place, and Calcutta from early April to November is quite another place, some preferring the comparative quiet of the longer period. The fall in the value of the rupee within the last 35 years has been severely felt by all classes in Calcutta. The increased demand for house accommodation, partly caused by the increased number of European residents partly by wealthy native gentlemen coming to reside in the European quarter and the consequent rise in house-rent, have led to many residents contenting themselves with inferior houses or living in flats. The increase in the rates of wages of servants may be seen by comparing with the old lists of 1759 and 1801, which are available. In every respect the cost of living has gone up in Calcutta. On the other hand, the necessities of existence in a tropical climate have greatly improved within living memory. The filtered water, unlimited ice, electric punkahs, the excellent markets, the good shops, make life much more bearable in Calcutta than in olden times, while relief from the climate is much more easily obtainable than formerly, through the improved communications with hill-stations.

Notwithstanding its growth in size, the improvements effected, and the prospects of further expansion, one sometimes sees the question discussed whether Calcutta will always maintain the position that it has gained. Sir W. Hunter said of it, "*sedet æternumque sedebit*," but it is rash to prophesy anywhere, especially in the East. The danger of attack by land or by water may be provided against by human foreth-ought ; Science may minimise the danger of a storm-wave coming up the river ; scientific engineering may go far to ensure the inflow of water from the Ganges down the Bhagirathi to the Hughli, the buildings may be constructed in the strongest style : but who shall contend against the forces of Nature ? In the East, rivers desert their channels, ruinous cyclones and earthquakes occur, pestilence devastates flourishing localities, the variation of trade routes affects the destinies of great cities—history shows that Bengal has had several capitals before Calcutta—who then shall say of Calcutta that it will abide for ever ? All that can be done is to continue the strenuous efforts adopted to keep open the course of the river both above and below Calcutta, to make the city as safe

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as human skill can devise, and to commend its safety to Providence, under whom it has risen from the condition of three small villages to the position of the Capital of the Indian Empire. In one respect, however, no change can, humanly speaking, be effected. The climate cannot be changed, though its effects may be mitigated. It is the climate, after all, that settles the question of life in Calcutta for each individual. If he, or she, can stand the climate, enjoy some of the amenities of life, and keep health, there are few places where people who have to work or are expatriated can have a better time. Many who have left Calcutta can look back to years spent there, in spite of the climate and of separation from home ties, in happiness and comparative comfort, to hard work performed in the service of the State or in the acquisition of an honourable livelihood, to having taken a share, however small, in the development of the Indian Empire.

A RUSSIAN VIEW OF INDIA

A Correspondent from St. Petersburg to the *Pioneer* writes :—

Neither its recent defeat by Japan nor its present internal troubles have made Russian quite forgetful of its "traditional movement" towards India, as a speech delivered on 25th January before a military society in St. Petersburg by Lieutenant-Colonel Snyesareff makes abundantly clear ; but what is more remarkable about this speech than its unfriendly tone is the fact that it was delivered by an officer of the liberal school, by one of those who will probably occupy a high position at the Russian War Office in case the liberalisation of Russian institutions becomes an accomplished fact.

The lecturer called his speech "India as a principal factor in the Central Asiatic Question," and he first sketched the British system of Government in India, a system which might, he said, be described as piracy tempered by trade. This system was carried out by foreigners who regarded the Indians as an inferior race. No wonder that such a Government as this evoked the hatred of the population, all the more as India had before her eyes the living example of her neighbours, the unconquered Afghans, proud of their independence.

But apart from the administrative-economical character of the English policy in India, there exists another reason for the hatred of the natives for the English, and that is the contemptuous bearing of the latter towards the natives.

The enlightened portion of Indian Society knows that English rule is bringing their country to poverty and ruin, but they constitute

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the minority of the population. The remaining ignorant and benighted mass simply hate the English because of the pride and the contempt with which the latter treat them.

India reminds one of a huge cemetery filled with exquisite temples built amid scenes of unparalleled natural beauty. You feel somehow as if at any moment and on any side death might suddenly come upon you. The natives compare the power of the Great Moguls with that of the English, and they find that, in the days of the former, India was better off than it is now.

At present all the wealth of the country is exported abroad and there is no inequality in the distribution of wealth simply because there is no distribution, all Indians being alike ruined and poor. Up to 1858 the Government of India was strictly a matter of trade, as it constituted the monopoly of the East India Company. Mercantile speculations and not the claims of enlightened statesmanship directed the rulers of the land. In the year 1858, after the famous mutiny of the sepoys, the Government of the country passed to the British Crown.

The English Government in India is a piratical concern, for its object is to get as much money as it can, and it does not trouble itself about future generations.

The Land Tax (in India all the land is the property of the Government) is the chief factor in the Indian revenue. The land rents constitute, officially, only from six to eight per cent, of the gross income of the ryot, but all the trouble lies in the fact that the taxation of the land is decided not by the natives but by the English, who, in their own interests, arrange the incidence of this taxation in a manner which is completely artificial and unjust. One English tax-inspector once admitted himself that half the rural population never had enough food all the year round. Another instance of robber-government is the tax on salt, and still another is the enormous expense of the administration, which consists of Englishmen. In India monstrously high taxes are paid by a half-starved population.

Besides this, individual Englishmen remain in India just as long as it pleases them. Meanwhile their hearts are always in England, and to the England they begin to send their savings from the first day their feet touch the Indian shore. When their term of military service or of mercantile engagement comes to an end, they carry out of the country with them all their capital. In this way the floating capital is always being carried systematically out of the country. Officially this is called excess of exports over imports. This policy has produced results from which India is suffering to day.

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First among these results are the periodical famines. The English explain that these famines are due to bad harvests, but famines are economical phenomena, bad harvests atmospheric phenomena. Before the period of British rule, each Indian peasant had a stock of bread from four or five harvest, and even in the most severe and long continued famine, the country could hold out for two or three months at any rate. In each village, under present conditions, from sixty to seventy per cent, of the inhabitants cannot quite tide over the interval from one harvest to another and must therefore satisfy their hunger, part of the time, with grass and roots. In India there is now no reserve supply of food in the villages; money is continually being sent out of the country; and all commercial and industrial undertakings are in the hands of Englishmen.

Coming to the relations of the English with the natives, we again find ourselves face to face with the hypocrisy of the former. The Indians are a talented people with a rich independent culture, yet the English look down on them with contempt and disdain, regarding them as an inferior race, although the whole mass of native pupils, pedagogues and administrators clearly prove the injustice of this view. In general the relations of the English—even the most humane of them—with the natives are those of cattle drivers with their cattle.

From the foregoing it may easily be understood how the Indian think of their masters; but of course these feelings must be concealed. In the hearts of these dark masses there lives, however, a legend that deliverance will come from the north, but whether their deliverer be Russia or some other nation, matters little to the native, although personally the writer received, during the course of his travels in India, the very kindest of treatment from the natives, once they had heard that he was a Russian.

England's policy in India must be condemned for its cruelty and injustice, for it will hurt not only India but England herself, and will, in the not distant future, provoke a storm which will deprive Great Britain of this prized possession.

In conclusion, the lecturer drew attention to the circumstance that the historical movement of Russia towards India had been arrested by England. Great Britain had dispersed all her forces for the defence of India for, the Central Asiatic Question was of vital importance to her, and it must not be forgotten that India is the key to world-wide dominion. Who rules India, rules the World.

ARTICLES ON INDIA IN OTHER REVIEWS

ENGLISH & INDIAN

1. CHAUTAUQUAN MAGAZINE—Up the Yangtse to Tibet : Mary Porter Gamewell.
2. NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER—A Visit to the Court of the Tashi Lama : C Vernon Magniac.
3. THE UNITED SERVICE MAGAZINE—The Present Regimental System of Military Education in India : An Adjutant.
Some Strategic Railways on the North-West Frontier of India : Col. H. C. Wylly.
4. THE CALCUTTA REVIEW—Agra and Fatehpur Sikri : E. Carus.
Muslim India, the Pre-Moghul Period : Aswini Kumar Mukhopadhyaya.
Secondary Education in Bengal : C. H. Browning.
Akbar : His Religious Policy : R. P. Karkaria.

CONTINENTAL

5. CORRESPONDANT—From London to Calcutta by Rail : A Cheradame.
 6. CIVILTA CATTOLICA—India and the Apostle Thomas.
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SUMMARIES OF ARTICLES

BRITISH RULE IN OUDH

Mr. Ganga Prasad Varma, Editor of the *Advocate*, opens the February number of the *Hindustan Review*, with an able discussion on the effects of *British Rule in Oudh* for the last half of a century, ending with the 12th February, 1906. The writer is of opinion that the change in the Government of Oudh is not to be regretted, as it produced no pang in the heart of the people who had been groaning under anarchy and misrule under the old system. According to the writer, they got the best administration at a time when they badly needed rest ; and it was therefore that they welcomed the change all the more cordially. Mr. Varma then proceeds to deal with the question as to whether the British Government has discharged its functions to the satisfaction of the people at large and to that of its own conscience. Those old men who have witnessed the change in the Government and those who are said to be the first products of English education are unanimously of opinion that the people are grateful for the peace, settled government, moral progress and educational advancement which they have achieved during fifty years of British rule ; but they regret that the rulers have failed to improve the material condition of the people, which instead of improving has deteriorated, and that politically they have made no progress whatsoever. It is true that the Taluqdars of Oudh have considerably improved their financial status, but the economic condition of the people in general has undergone absolutely no change for the better. These contented Taluqdars have no right to speak of the prosperity of the tenantry and the non-agricultural population of Oudh. As in every other part of India, so in Oudh, the poverty of the people is due to political and economic causes. There are generally three openings for the people : agriculture, trade and service. Agriculture remains untouched. Of the other two doors, the first has been barred by reason of competition with foreigners, more energetic and more resourceful than the sons of the soil and the second owing to political disabilities. The doors of the military service have entirely been closed against men of Oudh. The sons of old families and men of private means have no other opening but the learned professions or the Provincial Service which surely cannot make room for all the

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educated youngmen. The higher ranks in the civil administration are practically closed against them, and in the lower ranks, they have only now begun to compete with the domiciled people from the other provinces. A number of clerkships, continues the writer, cannot make a people prosperous and the lower middle classes constantly grumble that the British Government has taken away the blessings of prosperity from them. This belief has been settled by continued scarcity and repeated famines. The physical degeneration, the want of opening in the military services, and the rise in the prices of cereals are some of the disastrous features of the economic condition of the people. The oppression of the Police, the vagaries of boy Magistrates and the deplorable disregard of representative opinion have made matters reach such a critical stage as may prove disastrous both to the rulers and the ruled. According to the learned Editor of the *Advocate*, no greater political mistake was committed than the neglect first shown to Lucknow, the principal city of the Province. This neglect of Lucknow, since the time of the Mutiny, has had its depressing effect on the economic condition of the people. The writer is glad to say, however, that Lucknow after all is regaining the attention to which it is justly entitled by its position and associations. Everywhere he finds signs of a general awakening among the people and the education of the last fifty years has prepared it for a large measure of self-government.

DR. FITCHETT ON HINDUISM

Globe-trotting has been responsible for more slander of worthy people and institutions than perhaps anything else. To this we owe the recent fulminations of Dr. Fitchett in the *Melbourne Argus* against Hinduism. Hinduism has outlived immense cataclysms and is not likely to succumb under the hysterics of the author of *The Deeds that Won the Empire*, but it would do one's heart good to mark the way in which the writer ignores the philosophical and even the genuinely devotional aspect of the religion and how he expends much easy wit over the most superficial superstitions and vulgar customs of the people.

We shall not dignify the article by giving a detailed summary of the whimsical and offensive nature of Dr. Fitchett's criticism, but shall only give a few illustrations of the stupid brutality and insolent folly of the attack from parts of the article which appear to us to be the least offensive. The writer proposes to judge the religion "by its temples,

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its priests, its worship, its morality," but we wonder if he has any 'eyes' to see its 'worship.' He looks to the Hindu devotee by his fire with much the same eyes as a thoughtless barbarian who smiles at a kneeling congregation in a Church and concludes that to be the whole of Christianity. Worship, which the doctor has yet to learn, consists not of mere rituals but in the truly devotional frame of the mind ; and, as a great jurist observed, the devil himself—certainly also the globe-trotter—does not know what the thought of a man is unless he has some of it himself.

Perhaps we may afford to smile over all this when we read further on. The Thugs who made murder a trade worshipped the pick-axe with which they dug the graves of their victims. If this is the sort of thing the writer has been made to understand as Hinduism, he is welcome to fret and fume to his heart's content. At any rate, we Indian know how far is that sort of abuse removed from anything that can be called or described as Hinduism.

"Hinduism, in the concrete, is thus a bundle of the most incredible follies. . . . It is essentially non-moral or even immoral," says the great Australian literary luminary.

But then, though the Hindu must be absolutely immoral, the doctor can rack nothing better out of his poor brain by way of illustration than that 'there is no law for the strong is one of the ethical adages of Hinduism.' We profess to be Hindus and are yet cognisant of nothing but the opposite idea as one of the articles of our faith.

It is really sheer waste of energy to combat with such assertions of the Doctor as that "nothing in the religious architecture or sculpture of Hinduism is above the reach of the Maoris," or that "the Hindu's notion of deliverance from sin is fit only for a lunatic asylum and that shaving is a mode of salvation." One may fitly ask after this whether the lace and grill of my lady's Sunday dress is the religion she professes—though the hit would not be far wrong.

One can only pity the Doctor for the impressions that he has been at such pains to secure of the Hindu. 'It (Hinduism),' says he, 'does create in him (the Hindu) a certain cold-blooded patience. It teaches him the virtues that belong to abstemiousness, though his saints are filthy drunkards. Domestic affection suits under its shadow but it is of a curious sort. The Hindu notion of wedded love is of the animal kind ; and a Hindu mother will flee from her dying child if it has the plague. Under certain conditions, Hinduism undoubtedly evolves strange forms of stoicism. But it does not make the Hindu frank or truthful. It does not purify his imagination. It leaves him without the impulse to pity. It gives him no

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vision of the profound and eternal difference betwixt right and wrong.' For the sake of humanity we can only regret how the Southern Continent is shabbily served with news of its neighbours ; for the Doctor's own sake we are sorry that he should have simply wasted his time, money and energy in coming over to India, but for the Hindu we feel no anxiety. He has enough 'character' in him to outstand such uninformed criticism.

The writer does indeed give us some half-truths but they are half truths and, as Tennyson puts it,

"A lie which is all a lie may be met and fought with outright.

"But a lie which is half a truth is a harder matter to fight."

The writer of the article skips over the utmost surface of Hindu life, makes a bundle of all its superstitious evils and vices, seeming or real, that float on the surface and seeks to pass it off as a portrait of society. Unhappily it is too true that we have had a thick crop of superstitions and evils—the heritage of national degeneracy—but that is no reason why they should be loudly proclaimed to the world while the limpid stream of our inner life is permitted to flow unobserved. That there is such an under-current even the Doctor may not wholly deny ; at any rate he ought to know better and pause to think more of what he calls 'the conspiracy of silence as to the absurdity of Hindus.' Let us hope that the sentiment which makes a man cease 'to talk disrespectfully of the Equator' in the words of Sydney Smith, may at last put a gag to Dr. Fitchett's mouth and may yet win him to the cause of sweet reasonableness and tolerance.

DOMICILED EUROPEANS IN INDIA

The January number of the *East and West* has an interesting article under the above title. The writer chooses to remain incognito and introduces himself as a 'domiciled European'—a fact which renders the reader all the more curious to know what he thinks of the problems of his community. The writer deals only with the domiciled Europeans of unmixed parentage and tells us that people in Great Britain cannot realise the fact of colour-distinction. In bygone days, says the writer, permission was rarely granted to Englishmen to settle down in India but at present no restrictions of any kind are imposed upon them. For the two extremes of the social scale, to wit, the wealthy man and the ordinary labourer, India holds out no inducement to the European settler. But for the service of

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the state and for trade and commercial exploitations India still offers advantages obtained with difficulty in other lands. Posts in the various departments of the Public Service are now generally filled up, says the writer, either by men brought out from England or by natives, the claims of the domiciled class being totally ignored. Schools for the education of lads of domiciled Europeans have been opened in several hill stations in India but a fatal blow is dealt to them by the fiat of the Government which has decreed that appointments in the higher grades will in future be only thrown open to youths educated in England. The writer next deplores the fact that the Government admits to the Civil Service only those persons who go across the seas and pass an examination and that no consideration worth the name is shown to persons who have not the opportunity to proceed to England. This action of the Government is considered by the writer to be illogical and unjust. According to him, young Civilians are not of much use for the first few years of their Indian Service. They are ignorant of the natives, their language, customs and ways of thinking, and being out of touch with their surroundings, they are less cheerful and consequently less sympathetic. The domiciled European is free from these drawbacks and hence should prove a more valuable official asset than his compeer from the west. The Police, Railways and Public Works are being ably managed by domiciled officers under the existing system. The Engineering Colleges at Dehra, Rurki, and Sibpur require a little more encouragement from the Government. The writer regrets the fact that the domiciled boy brought up in this country is made unfit for service in the superior grades of any department because of his being reared amid "undesirable surroundings." This argument, if justifiable, should, according to the writer, apply with greater force in the case of natives. No body pretends that the best of our schools here can rank above the average Grammar School in England. As regards athletics, the better class of Indian schools can boast of cadet corps able to compete successfully with those of any British school. The domiciled writer boasts of the fact that the Indian Postal Department is creditably managed by domiciled Europeans, Eurasians and natives. The congresswallah, with his cry of "India for the Indians," never alludes laments the writer, to the domiciled community, though members of it are doing more to expand the resources of the country than journalists and lawyers put together. Throughout the article the writer complains against the ill-treatment accorded by the Government to the members of his community and

SUMMARY OF ARTICLES

concludes his paper with these observations :—" Do not give any preference to the candidates born and educated in India ; exact from him the same attainments as from lads reared at home ; but, on the other hand, allow him to compete for admission into purely Indian departments direct and do not disbar the qualified applicant solely on the ground that he has not crossed the *kala pani* and has acquired his learning in the Himalayan Hills instead of at an English public school."

REVIEW OF LEADING INDIAN REVIEWS

East and West

The six opening pages of the February number of this magazine are devoted to Dr. Cleland's article on *Textural Heredity*. Sirdar Jogendra Singh's 'fascinating' account of the romance of *Nur Jahan* is continued. *E Tenebris* is the title of an incomplete story by Sir Edmund Cox which we have read with great interest. The Rev. Father Noti contributes the first instalment of his biographical account of *Joseph Tieffentaller, S. J.*, a Jesuit Missionary of Austrian Tyrol, who compiled an historical and geographical description of India and a description of the Ganges during his 42 years' activity in this country, prior to the close of the eighteenth century. In course of his persuasive article entitled *Alas ! The Brahman*, Pandit S. Natesa Sastri gives expression to the opinion that 'the time has come when the Brahman can yield everything and make himself accessible to every caste rule.' We have no doubt, our social reformers would read this short article with great profit. Mr. H. Bruce's able review of *Indian Love* and two other books of verse by Mrs. Nicolson, a true Indian poet, who died at Madras in October, 1904, is concluded. With reference to the current *Swadeshi* agitation, Mr. D. Ramachandra Rao has an instructive article on *The Spirit of Passive Resistance*, in course of which he recommends that 'efforts must be made on a large scale by the press, the platform, the pulpit and the stage, to make the masses realise their abject condition and to instil into them true self-respect and genuine self-confidence.' Col. Dowden has a scholarly paper on *National Errors* and Mr. K. V. Rao contributes an interesting account of *the Ancient Kingdom of Kerala*, an integral part of which is identified with modern Travancore. Mr. Gribble has an *Evening Hymn for all Creeds*. The *Editorial Note* deals with 'Mr. Morley's Opportunity' in the British Cabinet.

The Indian Review

The February number of this Review deals rather exhaustively with matters of Indian interest. Speaking of the new British Cabinet in the *Editorial Notes*, Mr. Natesan advises our leaders 'to appeal to the conscience of the British people at large.' In the next place he puts in a kind and sympathetic word of farewell for Lord Ampthill, discusses the relation of the social reform movement with the

REVIEW OF LEADING INDIAN REVIEWS

Sanatan Dharma and gives a short but connected history of the Rungpur Special Constables' Case. Under the heading of the *Freedom of the Press in India*, the treatment accorded to the *Statesman*, the *Weekly Chronicle* and the *Mysore Standard* by the Governments of India, Assam and Mysore respectively is discussed and condemned. Syed Amir Ali, C.I.E., draws out an able comparison of the *Administration of Criminal Justice in England and India*. Mr. V. J. Kirtikar dilates upon the *Ethics of the Vedanta* in a lengthy article. Mr. H. Beveridge contributes three entertaining *Episodes in the Life of Akbar*. Mr. David Gostling proposes *Some New Industries for India*, e.g., brown sugar, power-looms and iron bolts and nuts. Next we come across an expression of the opinions of Messrs. Aswini Kumar Dutt, A. C. Bannerji and another gentleman introducing himself as *Arjun* with regard to the *Swadeshi Movement*. Mr. Girindranath Dutt's serial paper on *The Brahmins and Kayasthas of Bengal* is brought to a close in this number.

The Hindustan Review

The February issue of our Allahabad contemporary is appropriately called the Oudh Number containing, as it does, as many as four articles on Oudh. Mr. Ganga Prasad Varma's critical survey of *Fifty Years of British Rule in Oudh* is summarised elsewhere. Mr. Bishen Narayan Dar points out the important position occupied by *Lucknow in Hindustani Literature*. Mr. A. Yusuf Ali contributes a lengthy and interesting account of the *Town Life in India* with special reference to Lucknow, 'the largest city in the United Provinces' and 'par excellence the centre of the higher life of Oudh' in a social sense. Under the heading of *Oudh until the Annexation*, an 'Indian Nationalist' gives a chronological summary of 'the varying fortunes of Oudh' from the mythical times down to the year 1856, when it was annexed to the British territories. Mr. P. N. Bose has a very useful and pessimistic paper on the *Possibilities of Handloom Weaving in India*. In the course of the next short article, Mr. Greenwood states that for the year 1903, exports of India exceeded her imports by about £22,000,000, a deficit which represents a heavy 'drain upon her resources.' Pundit Balak Ram Pandya writes on *The Expansion of our Trade and Commerce*. The section on the *Kayastha World* which brings the number to a close is preceded by a few editorial notes dealing with the new British Ministry, the boycott of the *Statesman*, and the termination of the royal tour in India.

SOME NOTABLE VIEWS OF THE MONTH

MR. W. J. BRYAN ON OUR SPIRIT OF SACRIFICE

Mr. W. J. Bryan, the leader of the Democratic Party in the United States of America, who is now travelling in India, is reported by the *Lahore Tribune* to entertain the following opinion regarding the political situation of the Indian people :—

“India does not get the amount of sympathy she is entitled to, because her sons are doing very little to prove that they are prepared to make any sacrifices, or at any rate, to make any appreciable exertion for the sake of progress. Most of the ills of Indians which immediately affect them are removable with no very great effort. But they simply lie on their back, so to say, and bewail their fate. This is not the way to attract the sympathy of self-respecting and self-reliant nations of the West.”

MR. HYNDMAN ON THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT IN INDIA

The Socialist Annual for 1906 contains an article on British India by Mr. Hyndman in which he feelingly and eloquently says :—

“There is nothing more horrible or more infamous on the planet to-day than the British Government of India. . . . The natives of India are ground down beneath a mean, greedy, galling, and ruinous despotism, worse even, in many important respects, than that against which the Russians are so splendidly revolting. Not only are they deprived of their substance, but all prospect whatever of development in any direction is deliberately taken from them by men of our race who know perfectly well what they are doing, and refuse to give up the ‘bleeding’ of which the late Lord Salisbury spoke. Our permanent policy in India, also, like that of the Muscovite, is ‘Divide and Rule.’ The British Government never fails to set Mahomedan against Hindu, as the other day at Dacca, or to foment the feuds of centuries which had died down if by playing off one section of the population against another it can continue to maintain its own hateful and fatal predominance unshaken.”

AN IRISH VIEW OF MR. MORLEY

The United Irishman, a leading organ of Irish opinion, thus warns the Indian public against placing much reliance upon the sympathies of Mr. John Morley :

"The Indian National Congress is likely to mislead the Hindu people as the Irish Parliamentary Party has misled the Irish people to the effect of the accession of the British Liberals to power. The report of the proceedings of that body at Benares which has reached us justifies the suspicion we expressed that the appointment of Mr. John Morley for India would largely delude the Indians into laying down the arms they have found so effective. The Sawdeshi movement and the boycott of British goods in Bengal has been directed by men who have as little faith in the work of the Indian National Congress as Young Ireland has in the work of the Irish Parliamentary Party, and the forward policy has been so successful that Manchester, whose fate depends upon India, hastened, on election day, to throw out every member of the Government party which directed the dismemberment of Bengal; and the Liberal Prime Minister, at the instigation of the Lancashire manufacturers, whose Indian trade was being destroyed by the boycott, appointed a man with a reputation for honesty as Secretary for India. We assure our Indian friends that if they are induced by the Manchester apology and the appointment of Mr. Morley to hearken to the timid counsels of the Indian National Congress, they will lose all the advantages they have gained. Mr. Morley's personality is a valuable asset to the Liberal Party. He was used from 1886 to 1895 to keep the Irish people in subjection to the interests of British Liberalism, and he is now to be used to repress the budding feeling of national oneness amongst the Indian peoples and to keep their harried country in economic subjection to the Lancashire manufacturers. Mr. Morley's honesty of character is presumed, but Mr. Morley has found it consistent with that honesty to abandon the Gladstonian Home Rule policy which twelve years ago he publicly declared he would never abandon, in order to become again a Cabinet Minister, and Mr. Morley will find it consistent with that honesty to carry on the Government of India for the English as he has found it consistent with that virtue to acquiesce in the carrying on of the Government of Ireland in the interests of England. What the Indian people must realise is that whether the man named to rule over them from London is called Radical, Liberal or Conservative, he is first and always an Englishman."

MR. THEODORE MORRISON'S SCHEME OF REFORM

Mr. Theodore Morrison, late Principal of the Aligarh College, put forwards in *The Morning Post* the following observations on the various proposals recently made in India and in England for the reform of the Government of India :

"I would not weaken in the smallest degree the autocratic powers of the Government of India, but I would admit Indians more freely to the position of higher command. Experimentally I should like to see one small province or Chief Commissionership administered from top to bottom by Indians. This would incidentally solve one of the social difficulties which threatens soon to become acute. There are now a very considerable number of Indians who have entered the Covenanted Civil Service, and, as they rise in the service, they will expect, and be justified in expecting, to be entrusted with the powers of a magistrate or a Commissioner, or to have their share of secretariat appointments in the hills. There are social duties attached to these posts, and the English community, vely unreasonably, perhaps, but not the less certainly, would resent the appointment of an Indian. By concentrating the higher appointments for Indians in the proposed province, we should obviate this difficulty. But there is to my mind a much more powerful reason than social convenience, and that is that in this particular province we could keep the promise of the Queen's Proclamation to the spirit as well as to the ear. The first Empress of India told her people that no one of her subjects would be debarred on account of race or religion from service under the Crown, and, as Mr. Battersby has very well pointed out, the present ill-will in India is largely due to a sense of injustice, to a sense that the generous promises of the Queen's Proclamation have not been kept. By making it possible for Indians to rise, even if only in one province, to the highest positions in the service, we should at least remove that reproach from British rule, and at the same time we should make that the Indians so promoted would be loyal to the Government and upholders of the existing constitution. Loyalty to the hand that gives the salt is still a very powerful sentiment in India, and an Indian placed in high authority would certainly recognise his obligation to support the Government in its present form. We must do something to satisfy the reasonable ambitions of educated Indians or their trust in England will be permanently alienated, and our descendants will have in the government of India a problem similar in kind, but a hundred fold greater in degree than we have in Ireland.

NOTES & NEWS

GENERAL

Mr. George Huddleston, C. I. E., has written a history of the East Indian Railway, and the work will shortly be published.

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Karachi has distinguished itself by being the first city in India to found a branch of the British Empire League.

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The Pundits attached to the temple at Juggernath at Puri have issued a prescription interdicting the use of foreign goods.

* *

Mr. Winston Churchill has promised in the House of Commons to remove some of the disabilities and hardships from which the Indians suffer in South Africa. The Under-Secretary for Colonial Affairs will earn the undying gratitude of the whole Indian world if he can redeem his promise in this connection.

* *

Telegraphic communication between Calcutta and Simla by means of the Baudot type printing apparatus was established last Friday for the first time. The experimental working was completely successful, so that when the Government migrate to Simla, messages to and from Calcutta can be transmitted with absolute accuracy and at a much quicker speed than heretofore.

* *

Steps are being taken to arrange for a catalogue of the numerous Graeco-Buddhist sculpture in the Lahore museum. This collection, says the "Civil and Military Gazette," is the finest of its kind in India and one of the finest in the world. Dr. Voge will probably edit the proposed catalogue, which, when completed, should greatly increase the interest of visitors to the museum.

* *

The difficulty experienced in dealing with wandering criminal tribes forms the subject of a universal comment in the district reports of the Province, and the Lieutenant Governor says it is

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clear that, until these tribes can be brought under adequate supervision, the full value of the Crimial Tribes Act will never be attained. Proposals for obviating the present state of affairs have been submitted to the Government of India and the Lieutenant-Governor hopes that it will be possible before long to deal with these tribes in a more effective manner than has been practicable hitherto.

* * *

Professor Bendall, whose death at the comparatively early age of fifty is announced recently was a Cambridge Sanskrit scholar of rising repute, who had specialised in Nepalese research. At one time he held the appointment of Assistant Curator in the Oriental Department of the British Museum Library, from which he became Professor of Sanskrit at University College, London, and subsequently University lecturer in Sanskrit at Cambridge. His published work was chiefly in Sanskrit bibliography, and as such unknown to the public at large.

* * *

A severe shock of earthquake almost equal in force to that of the 4th April last is reported to have occurred in Bashahr, one of the Simla Hill States at 12-35 on the night of 28th February. So far as is known at present two persons were killed and 24 injured. In Rampur Town the State Courts and other buildings, were badly damaged and the Post Office and police chowki collapsed. In Kakota which is on the Hindustan-Tibet road about five miles on the Kotgarh side of Rampur some dwellings were destroyed. Six men were killed and two badly injured.

* * *

The swadeshi movement has some very interesting facts to be placed to its Credit and we have two items to take note of from Eastern Bengal. The people of Chittagong have refused to buy British salt in such a determined spirit that a steamer which had reached that port with a heavy cargo of Liverpool salt did not find a single buyer of that commodity, though it was offered at a considerably reduced price. The dealers of wine in the district of Backergunge have similarly refused to have anything to do with British liqueurs and have none of them renewed their license for the purpose. Are not these examples worthy of emulation in all other districts of Bengal?

* * *

Some interesting light is thrown by Sir William Lee-Warner in his recently published 'Life of the Marquis of Dalhousie' on the

tortuous course by which the 'Koh-i-Noor' or mountain of light jewel passed into the hands of the late Queen Empress. The diamond was coveted by the Court of Directors for themselves, but stoutly kept by the Governor-General as a present to the Queen. When it had nearly been lost by John Lawrence, Dalhousie himself took it to Bombay, enclosed by his wife in a leather bag, sewed into a Cashmere belt which he wore by day and night. When in camp two dogs were chained to his bed, and no one else knew of its concealment save Captain Ramsay who, with Colonel Mackeson, took it home to Her Majesty.

* * *

Since Mr. Surendra Narayan Singha Chowdhury, a very sincere and patriotic Zemindar of Assam, established in Calcutta 'The Bengal Soap Factory,' the attention of a large number of people has been directed towards this particular industry and we may expect to see as many as half-a-dozen soap factories established in Calcutta in a very short time. It seems encouraging that so many people in Bengal should turn their attention at one particular period to the manufacture of soap, but it is a pity that this should be done to the neglect of other necessities of life for the supply of which we have still to depend upon foreign countries. However, if the new Factories will turn out as good soaps as the Bengal Soap Factory, it may confidently be expected that the importation of foreign soaps into this country will soon be discontinued.

* * *

Mr. Baker presented his second Indian Budget before a meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council on March 21st with a famine in hand and large expenditure to meet for many civil and military requirements. Mr. Baker ought to be congratulated for still being able to show a surplus. The surplus Mr. Baker expects to have at the end of the next official year is £874,100,—very small indeed compared to that of £3,456,066 in 1904-5 or of £1,755,700 in 1905-6. The revenue estimated for the next year is £86,495,100 and the expenditure £85,621,000,—both higher figures than those of the last three years. The surplus is to be applied to various administrative reforms, to a reduction of local taxation on land and to the relief of the District and Local Boards. Under the administrative reforms 25 lakhs goes to the improvement of the Police, 4 lakhs to agricultural development and research and 5 lakhs for education, of which one-half is to be applied to technical education

in Bombay, Bengal, the United and the Central Provinces and the other half to the education of Eurasians and domiciled Europeans.

* * *

A Burma correspondent writes to the *Rangoon Gazette* :— Great hardship often results from the so-called marriages of Hindus with Burmese women. The women consider themselves wives and the children are treated during the lifetime of their parents as their legitimate offspring. The wife works with her Hindu husband and together they often succeed in building up estates of considerable value. If the husband dies and leaves a large estate, brothers, nephews, uncles and other relatives arrive from India, and as the estate devolves by Hindu law these comparatively distant relatives usually succeed in our Courts in ousting the Burmese wives and the offspring she may have had by her Hindu husband. Such a state of things was probably never contemplated by the deceased, but if he had not made a will his partner of a life time and his children are thrown aside and strangers from India come in for the property raised by the joint exertion of the deceased and his Burmese partner. There should be some law enacted to prevent this injustice and to give the Burmese wife and her offspring the status to which they are entitled. A system under which such union could be registered would probably answer the purpose. In Ceylon, I believe, which in several instances is in advance of Burma in its legislation, registration of marriages between Asiatics is in force. Very few Hindus in Burma who have the power to make wills do so. The Burmese, I think, should agitate for a system of registration of marriages of Burmese women with foreigners.

* * *

It will be remembered also that the greatest social contrasts exist even in that general mass of people called Hindus. Whereas polygamy prevails in the Kulin Brahmins even now, the Nagars of Gujerath are absolute monogamists and some Brahmins. And Rajput castes in the Punjab are quite polyandrous to say nothing of the Nayars. Notwithstanding these extremes, the Hindu is practically a monogamist. Take again, early marriage. Whereas there are in certain castes called the ZalabdKunbis marriages are celebrated in the cradles of the little ones, in the Kulins of Bengal, the other extreme, although vanishing, is reached of an old maid of 45 being married to a boy even under ten !! Again, whereas most Hindus set their daughters married before the age of puberty, the Sarsuds of

Sind and the Nambudries of Malabar have their daughters married, as a rule, after puberty. Again whereas most upper Dwij castes prohibit widow marriage, and the Sudra castes, as a rule, allow a widow to marry any number of times, a few minor Brahmim castes in Guzerat allow widow-marriage, and there is a Khatri caste in Bombay that allows its widows to marry only once afterwards. Still more curious is it to find that even in the same caste sometimes members resident in Bombay are prohibited from contracting a widow marriage, but out in Nadiad, members of the same caste there can freely get their widowed daughters remarried. Funnier and stranger still are the varieties of exogamous marriages in certain parts of India. Whereas in certain Rajput families daughters can be given into or accepted from Mahomedans aristocratic families, other Rajputs will give up all before they do this. In Durban and South African country, Hindus and Mahomedan freely intermarry. This Indian population is over one lac there now. The Hindu peshkar of Nizam, Hyderabad, has a custom in his family of having an additional Mahomedan wife !! One fortunate or unfortunate Prince in Kattyward, the offspring of a Hindu by a Mahomedan woman, religiously attends the temple in the morning and the mosque in the evening !!

* * *

Mr. Sidney Low is a different type of writer than Mr. Prevost Battersby and is the latest European critic of the Bengalee. Mr. Low has stepped into the shoes of the late Mr. G. W. Steevens and has recently come out in the *Standard* with a strong indictment of "the Babu" whom he describes as "the Indian gentleman from the Ganges delta." He expends much easy wit over 'Babu English' and 'the failed B.A.' and gives to his readers an example of what he calls a 'Babuism,' as if it was something very similar or akin to what goes in Grammar under the name of 'solecism.' However, he is not *very* hard upon either "Babu English" or "Babuism," for he says that "if English boys had to read the Chinese^o classics at school and learn Chinese from masters who had never been nearer China than Dover beach, I daresay their literary style would cause amusement in Peking." Perhaps Mr. Sidney Low is not aware of the fact that even a humble collection of *Sahebi Bangla* and *Sahebi Hindusthani* (Anglo-Indian Bengalee and Anglo-Indian Hindusthani) affords much greater cause of mirth and amusement to "the Indian gentlemen from the Ganges delta" than all the pages of Justice Anooool Chunder Mukerjee's life

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by his nephew or the ingenuous lucubrations of Mr. Anstey supply to the Anglo-Indian clubs.

* * *

Mr. Sidney Low says that "education of a sort has been spread widely in India and the Bengalee takes to it as a young duck takes to water" and that "the ladder from the back bazar to the University is easy to climb." Did not the late Mr. G. W. Steevens use the very same language and the very same metaphor seven years ago in writing of the Bengalee? However, we have no quarrel with him for appropriating a thought of another critic of the Bengalee, but we think it a duty to join issue with him regarding his statement about the wide spread of education in India. Does the fact that 95 per cent. of the men and 99 per cent. of the women of India grow in ignorance and darkness indicate the 'wide spread' nature of education in this country? It is surprising how "our special correspondents" dish up foreign news for the delectation of the English public and take so little trouble to get at the truth and speak it out.

* * *

It would, however, be prudish to deny that there is much truth in the following statement of Mr. Sidney Low :—

"A Bengali father expects to pay cash for the bridegroom before he can get his daughter off, and the value of a B.A., I am credibly informed, is assessed in some circles at 2,000 rupees, while an M.A. may be worth as much as four thousand. For a man of this higher academic standing may be expected not only to get a good situation himself, but to do something for his family, and, perhaps, even to put pickings in the way of a deserving father-in-law."

* * *

Mr. Sidney Low thus sums up his estimate of the Bengalee Babu :—

"The college man, failed or otherwise, who does not get a post in the Administration or in private employment sometimes fares badly. Bengal is full of educated or semi-educated hangers-on, waiting for something to turn up. It is this material of which, in every country, agitators are made; and in Bengal they are numerous and voluble. Some of them take to journalism, and write anti-administration articles in a swarm of vernacular newspapers. Many more gravitate to the law, and become pleaders, or attorneys, or barristers; for India is a litigious country, and there is some sort of a living to be made by a whole host of practitioners, from the Small Cause Court lawyer, who touts for clients at two rupees a case, to the leader in the Calcutta High Court, who earns an income which would be deemed handsome in Lincoln's Inn. The law is the one profession in which the Bengalis more than hold their own with Europeans. The "black Bar" in Calcutta is pushing out the white, which has a pretty hard struggle for existence, for the native barrister is sometimes a man of real capacity, an able lawyer, a clever cross-examiner, and a first-rate forensic orator. The calling suits the Bengali, with his subtlety, his ingenuity, and his readiness of speech. And when promoted from the bar to the bench he often does very well, too. The High Courts and Chief Courts of the various Provinces are seldom without native judges, who earn the respect of their European colleagues, and much of the minor judicial work throughout the country is performed by Hindus

and Mahometans. It is for executive business that the Bengali, with some rare exceptions, is supposed to be unfitted. For that needs character and courage and firmness ; and these are qualities in which he is commonly deficient, according to the received opinion of most Europeans and many natives of other parts of India."

INDUSTRIAL & COMMERCIAL

A cotton specialist, whose services will be entirely devoted to cotton questions, will be added to the staff of the Imperial Department of Agriculture.

* *

12000 new looms have been added in less than a year and a half to the number of looms already working in Ahmedabad Mills, with a view to meet the increasing demand for Swadeshi cloth from almost all provinces in India.

* *

The "Swadeshi" tea-box has come to stay. The Assam Forest Administration Report for last year records the sale to Indian tea planters of over half a million tea boxes made of timber grown in Assam. This is a hundred thousand more than in the previous twelve months. It looks, at last, as if the reproach that timber growing India has to send to Norway for wood in which to pack its commodities was being removed.

* *

If not actually the Millennium, at least a colourable imitation of it appears to have been reached in the Central Provinces, says the "Civil and Military Gazette." "It may fairly be said," writes Sir F. Lely in reviewing the affairs to the Province for the past year "that the period has been one of steadily returning prosperity. Cultivation and trade have expanded, the value of land and the wages of labour have risen, and agricultural credit stands higher now than has been the case for many years past."

* *

India is the largest producer of mica in the world, and the mines of Hazaribagh, Gaya and Monghyr share with those of Nellore in Madras over 99 per cent. of the Indian total. This amounted in 1904-05 to 19, 575 cwts., valued at £5 per cwt., a total much greater than that of the two chief competitors—the United States and Canada combined. Mica mining in Nellore continues to be the most flourishing mineral industry in Madras, but progress has been made in developing the magnesite vein traversing the

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peridotite masses near Salem. Active prospecting for graphite has been carried on in the Godavery District, and for gold in North Coimbatore.

* *

The total value of the trade of the Punjab last year was £24 119,000 an increase of $4\frac{1}{4}$ millions sterling over the previous year's figure. So far as the import trade is concerned the growing popularity of European cotton piece goods is the feature most worthy of remark. The report shows that the capital outlay on irrigation canals in the Punjab now amounts to £7, 252, 556, on which interest at the rate of $12\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. was earned as the net result of last year's working. In previous year the profit was 12 per cent. The best paying canals last year were the Sidhnai, with 25.88 per cent. and the Lower Chenab with 24.48 per cent. There was no canal which did not earn more than 7 per cent.

* *

A Match Company, has been started at Bombay with a capital of one lakh, divided into one thousand shares of Rupees 100 each. The Board of Directors includes most prominent men like Sir Bhalchandra Krishna, Knight, as well as captains of industry like Shet Virchand Deepchand, C.I.E.; and under its directions the match factory will be managed by Messrs. Vallabhdass and Chunilal. Mr. Vallabhdass is an experienced mechanical engineer with a first class certificate; he is, therefore, eminently fitted to undertake the working and management of the proposed industrial concern, especially as the Company intend to start small subsidiary industries in conjunction with the Match Factory. Altogether the prospect is most encouraging, and we heartily wish all the three above concerns a bright prosperous future.

* *

There seems to be a good opening for a sound and profitable investment in the turpentine industry of pine forests of the Kumaon Himalayas. During the year 1904-05 some 62,000 trees were tapped in the Naini Tal Forest Division, and they yielded 4,259 maunds of crude resin or 2,74 seers per tree. 6,128 gallons of turpentine and 3,318 maunds of colophony (a bye product) were manufactured at a cost of Rs. 14,300 and sold for Rs. 29,830. There was thus a large margin for profit. The buildings and plant required are not of an expensive kind, and the total capital expenditure on this account does not appear to have exceeded Rs. 5,500. Turpentine fetches Rs. 2-4 a gallon delivered at Kathgodam, and

colophony Rs. 5-1-7 a maund at Cawnpore, and the demand is said to be larger than the supply.

* * *

The Kashmir silk industry is reported to be going ahead with great strides this year, and being a State industry the Durbar ought to secure a considerable revenue from it. It is said to be noteworthy that Kashmir silk is now beginning to be preferred to Japanese on the Continent, and if its ascendancy continues as at present, the former product is bound before very long to take a very prominent place in European silk markets. The remarkable progress and success of Kashmir sericulture has been largely due to the fact that in Sir Thomas Wardle—the well-known silk expert at home—the Durbar secured the advice and co-operation of the proper man to push their industry. As an expert with a long and keen knowledge of sericulture in India he recognized at once the possibilities of Kashmir silk and in the present flourishing state of the industry there is ample proof of the foresight.

* * *

Tobacco, like sugarcane, is also a very paying crop in the Bombay Presidency. At present it is of special importance in the Kaira and Belgaum districts. The total tobacco area of the Presidency is under 100,000 acres, the crop requires high cultivation and when successful can, it is said, pay a profit of over Rs. 100 per acre. Some two decades ago experiments were made by Government to improve either the cultivation of the plant or the curing of the leaf by European methods, but with no favourable or tangible results and were in consequence abandoned. Interest in the matter has again recently been revived in the Bombay Presidency where the authorities are reviewing the experiments in cultivation at Nadiad and have ordered the construction of a curing house in connection with them. If these experiments lead to practical results and tobacco cultivation is taken up on the right lines another most remunerative investment will be thrown open to capital in Western India.

* * *

We have great pleasure in announcing the installation, in the immediate future of two more mills in the Western Presidency one of which is to be a purely weaving factory. One of these, the "Bhaskar Techno-Cotton Mill" is to be established at Cambay with a capital of ten lakhs divided into ten thousand

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shares of Rs. 100 each. The other is the "Poona Swadeshi Weaving Mill," with a capital of two-and-a-half lakhs divided into a thousand shares, each of Rs. 250. Like the Kolhapur Mill, the Cambay Mill has been most fortunate in securing the patronage and support of the ruler of the State, His Highness the Nawab Sahib of Cambay. The "Techno-Cotton Mill" will tap a rich cotton-growing district, and it has the further advantages of vicinity of the sea-board, an inexhaustible water-supply, cheap fuel and labour at its very threshold and a large weaving community to draw its skilled artisans from. The Mill will be fitted up with the latest and most up-to-date machinery, and will also be supplied with all the appliances for washing, bleaching and dyeing. Thus it is designed to turn out all kinds of cotton fabrics, coarse and fine, as well as washed and dyed.

* * *

With regard to the Tata iron and steel scheme, prospects are now declared to be satisfactory. We understand that the capital of the proposed Company will be about $1\frac{2}{3}$ millions sterling. A prospectus inviting subscription to this will be issued simultaneously in London, Bombay, and Calcutta. The works will be erected at Sini on the Bengal-Nagpur Railway and the plant in the first instance will be laid down to turn out 120,000 tons of pig-iron yearly, of which 70,000 tons will be made into steel. The main feature of the undertaking will be the manufacture of steel rails for Indian railways, the demand for which is large and continuous. Ore which is of the finest quality can be obtained from the range of Hills at Gurumaisnini, some fifty miles from Sini, and the Government of India will build a railway to the mines. Limestone may probably have to be brought from Katni, unless deposits are discovered nearer at hand. An abundant supply of coal will be available by rail from the Jherria field. It is expected that the plant will be in working order three years hence. Colonel Stoddart, who is Chairman of the syndicate connected with the scheme, returns to England shortly to arrange for the floating of the Company.

DIARY

FOR THE MONTH OF FEBRUARY

1906

Date

1. A telegram from Melbourne states that the Indian Government has agreed to the Commonwealth's proposal of interchanging military officers.
3. Messrs. Upcott, Wynne and Wood, members of the Railway Board, inspect the Insein workshops in Burmah.
4. It is announced that a committee will assemble to consider and report upon the supply of Government Stores in India.
5. The Madras Government has decided to negotiate with a wealthy syndicate to lease out the pearl banks for 20 years for scientific development.
6. Royal visit to Bangalore.
- 7. H. E. the Viceroy holds a Durbar at Bankipur.
8. Their Royal Highnesses arrived at Hyderabad.
9. According to the Census taken this day, the population of Bombay is found to have increased to nearly one million.
10. H. R. H. the Prince of Wales pays an informal visit of condolence to the Nizam on the death of the latter's eldest daughter.
12. Viceregal tour in Bankipur.
13. The fiftieth anniversary of the annexation of Oudh by the East India Company.
14. Lord Ampthill in his farewell speech makes sympathetic reference to India.
15. Mr. Gabriel Stokes takes his seat as Governor of Madras.
17. The Bombay Legislative Council meets under the presidency of H. E. Lord Lamington.
18. A heavy downpour of rain, prolonged for 72 hours, greatly improves the crop-prospects in the Punjab.
19. H. M. the King's speech from the throne, in opening the Parliament this day, refers to India only in connection with the Prince of Wales' visit.
21. Royal visit to Benares : Convocation of the Bombay University.
22. The Industrial Stores Committee meets in Calcutta.
25. Royal visit to Lucknow.
- A grand *Swadeshi* meeting at Barisal.
26. In the House of Commons Mr. Herbert Roberts' amendment regarding the Partition of Bengal was withdrawn after a prolonged debate.

Reflections on Men and Things

By the Editor

INDIA IN ENGLAND An Indian Parliamentary Committee has been constituted in the new House of Commons, with Mr. C. E. Schwann as President and Mr. Herbert Roberts as Secretary, for "the purpose of promoting combined and well directed action among those interested in Indian affairs." The membership of this Committee, it is to be understood, does not bind any one to the support of any particular measure and leaves every one free to vote and act as he pleases. "An willingness to co-operate in supporting," in the language of Sir William Wedderburn, "a just and sympathetic policy towards India" is the only condition of membership in the Committee. Already several members of the New Parliament have joined the Committee on that understanding. No one, however, would be justified in expecting much good out of this organisation in view of the fact that a similar Committee formed in 1893 did not obtain much sympathetic consideration at the hands either of Lord Kimberley or Sir Henry Fowler, the Liberal Secretaries of State for India in that year and the two years following.

The interest taken by the Liberal Party in Indian affairs was indicated by the fact that when Mr. Herbert Roberts rose to move his Amendment to the Address, on Feb. 26 last, he and his supporters had to address only 40 to 50 members in the Government benches, out of a total of nearly 400,—a record attendance of apathy and indifference. A great deal of ink and paper has recently been spent in discussing whether it would on the whole be good for India to be drawn into the vortex of English party politics. Our professed friends in England have time and again urged upon us to put faith in the Liberal Party and expect much good out of it. Mr. John Morley in his address on Mr. Herbert Robert's motion in Parliament has disposed of that question in a very happy and effective way, for he says that there is a higher liberalism which is above the party sense and from which standpoint Conservatives and Liberals alike "desire to see India governed." We have noticed with some curiosity how the spirit of such 'liberalism' has been observed in Parliament in the last 20 years—neither of the great parties having cared to take any interest in the Indian debates at all, because whether it

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be the Liberals or the Conservatives who are in power, they all like to see India 'well governed.' Of the seven members, excepting the Secretary of State for India, who followed Mr. Herbert Roberts, six were retired Anglo-Indians and the last was a Conservative who made a feeble defence of Lord Curzon's administration. Not a single man in the whole Liberal Party, excepting the Anglo-Indians, not even Sir Henry Fowler, the great self-elected "Member for India," took part in that important Indian debate. That shows *unmistakably* which way the wind blows.

The lack of interest of the new House of Commons in India was reflected in the columns of the British Press. Excepting the *Times*, no other London or Provincial journal in England thought it worth while to publish a full report of the Debate that followed Mr. Herbert Roberts' Amendment to the Address. There were some papers which dismissed the whole debate in a few lines ; but the bulk of the Press of England went one better,—they did not care to notice the Indian Debate at all. This is discharging Imperial obligations or the white man's burden with vengeance. As Lord Curzon says in his letter to *The Times* of March 1st, "it is very difficult to interest the British public in Indian government." And yet upon this 'interest,' what hopes are not built by Sir William Wedderburn and his friends and followers in India ? We only hope that when the disillusionment comes, it will not come with a crash.

The Prince and Princess of Wales have 'done' India and set sail for their dear native land. There can be no doubt of the fact that the Royal Party were shown all that there is worth seeing in India, architectural monuments, picturesque landscapes, feudal courts and modern cities and harbours. The Prince was allowed to see something of the life of the Parsi, of the Rajput, of the Sikh, of the Bengalee, of the Burmese, of the Madrassee and of the Hindusthani—so much or so little of that life as is officially recognised by the Indian bureaucracy ; and the Princess had the opportunity of peeping behind the purdah at Bombay, Calcutta, Rangoon and Madras. The official programme was so carefully made out that a Tibetan Ghost Dance was found neatly sandwiched between Anglo-Indian balls and claimed royal attention. Nor would the conscience of the *Sarkar* Bahadur have been satisfied if the inevitable elephant procession were crowded out of the royal programme : so H.R.H. was made to ride an elephant at the head of a long procession of majestic brutes at Benares and to enjoy for a while the barbaric splendour

**The Royal
Visit to India**

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of Indian life. Of illuminations and pyrotechnic displays there was no end from November last to the close of the Royal tour. And, above everything, a lavish hospitality, quite out of keeping with the miserable squalor and record poverty of the people at large, was extended to Their Royal Highnesses at Jaipur and Oodeypur, at Gwalior and Kashmir, at Mysore and Hyderabad, and last, though not the least, by the Bengal Zemindars and the Talukdars of Oudh. Of the other side of the lantern, the Prince was allowed to see precious little, though H. R. H. managed to pay a flying visit to a famine camp, to have a talk with men like Sir Pherozeshah Mehta and the Hon. Mr. G. K. Gokhale and to be entertained by the Editor of a Calcutta daily paper who, like the skeleton in the feast, went on his knees before the Prince to "undo the partition of Bengal." Amidst all these multitudinous engagements and sights, the Prince must have had a most trying time of it; but nobody knows what impressions His Royal Highness has carried with him about the people of this country and the problems of Anglo-Indian administration. The British and Anglo-Indian Press have gone into hysterics over the royal progress in India and have chronicled all small beer in its connection, but have studiously avoided to mention the opportunities which were given to the Prince to study the problems of India of to-day, to realise the responsibilities of his position and, above everything, to introduce into the administration of India the spirit of sympathy and rigeteousness which alone can make England's connection with India a blessing to both and not a bargain for 'the predominant partner,' in the memorable words of the late Lord Salisbury.

Mr. John Morley does not appear to have begun well as Secretary of State for India. The first question on which he was called upon to pronounce an opinion unfortunately happened to be one of the knottiest problems of Indian administration and one which caused a Viceroy like Lord Curzon to resign his office. People, however, were led to expect by his utterance at Arbroath in October last that the new Secretary for India would, be the circumstances what they might, stand by "the standard maxims of public administration which have practically been held sacred in this island ever since the days of the Civil War." Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's pronouncement, made in December last after he had accepted the responsibility of governing the Empire, to the effect that he would "not be a party to any step involving an invasion of the principle of the subordination of the military to the civil

**Mr. Morley on the
Indian Army Ad-
ministration**

power in India" also left no doubt in people's minds that, after all, Mr. St. John Brodrick's decision on the army controversy would be reversed by the new government. But instead of anything of the kind, we find Mr. Morley falling in, and seeing eye to eye, with his predecessor in office and arriving at a decision which is only a sorry compromise and does not show either the strong mind or the respect for the 'larger expediences' which might be expected from exponents of 'principles.' However, it surprises us to find that after condemning in very strong language the decision of the Conservative Ministry on the subject in October, Mr. Morley himself accepts in the first week of February following the main portions of the arrangement which he describes as having been "agreed to in principle, with whatever reluctance and qualification between the Secretary of State in Council and the Governor-General in Council, with the concurrence of the Commander-in-Chief in last July." Regarding the position of the Secretary in the Army Department and of the Member in the Council in charge of the Military Supply Department and the constitution of the Mobilisation Committee, the Defence Committee and the Advisory Council, Mr. Morley has made some important modifications and these modifications have been accepted both by Lord Minto and Lord Kitchener. Whether the effect of Mr. Morley's acceptance of the decision of the late Government on the main principles of the question would tend to the establishment of a military autocracy or something like it in India or to the introduction of a system of military administration which, as Lord Curzon informs the readers of the *London Times*, 'contain within itself the seeds of positive danger to the State,' it is too early to make any safe guess. But there can be no doubt of the fact that in not reopening the question, whether it was due to avoid the resignation of Lord Kitchener or to avoid a conflict with Lord Minto, as *The Times of India* seems to suggest, Mr. Morley has acquiesced in a radical change in the constitution of the Government of India by which the influence of the Commander-in-Chief is bound to be greatly extended. This may be for the good of India or may not, this may facilitate the army re-organisation scheme or may impede its progress : time alone can reveal the issue. In the meantime one is bound to regret with Lord Curzon that a great principle has been sacrificed or overlooked, and much of the civil authority of the Viceroy's Council has been curtailed in favour of the Army Headquarters. Truly, as it has been observed, Lord Kitchener has 'downed' everyone, including Mr. Morley.

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But much more unfortunate and unhappy is Mr. Morley's unwillingness to reconsider the decision of the late Government in regard to the partition of Bengal. **Mr. Morley on the Partition of Bengal** Mr. Morley admits that this administrative operation was carried out 'wholly and decisively against the wishes of most of the people of Bengal' and that this was not 'a wise step' either. He admits that nothing was 'ever worse done so far as the disregard which was shown to the feeling and opinion of the people was concerned.' He admits that 'the inconvenient storm of public opinion' raised against the measure was not 'manufactured' or artificial, and that these sentiments and views 'existed quite independently of any wire-pulling or agitation.' He admits that the final scheme given effect to was 'never submitted to the judgment of anybody in Bengal.' All this is going one better than the 'Calcutta agitators' who made out a strong case against the specific redistribution known this side of the country as 'the break-up of Bengal.' But beyond all these admissions, Mr. Morley is not prepared to go. He does not think it 'would be a desirable or even a defensible movement to attempt to reconstruct Bengal or to restore the old distribution of power in that area,' because he says that (a) the redistribution of Bengal is now a settled thing (b) that we should now move very slowly as India should now be allowed to take breath and (c) that any redistribution of areas would involve 'a new outlay of taxation.' It is necessary in the interests of the public that these grounds should be examined and the truth shifted in the matter.

At the first instance, we must say that the partition of Bengal is not "a settled thing." If the individual wishes or caprice of any single man placed in authority can give to any measure of Indian administration the character of 'finality' or of 'settlement,' then of course the partition of Bengal must be regarded as a 'settled thing.' If, however, the sanction of Parliament is required to give to any legislative or administrative measure in India such a character, in that case we deny that the partition of Bengal is 'a settled thing.' When the question was raised by Mr. Herbert Roberts in the last Parliament, Mr. St. John Brodrick, the then Secretary of State for India, did not allow the opinion of the House to be taken on that occasion and he promised further papers to Parliament on the subject. Since the question was brought to the attention of Parliament and no vote was taken upon it, no one had any right to settle the thing behind the back, and without the authority, of the House of Commons. In the language of Lord Curzon himself, though used with reference to a different subject,

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'it is not in such a way that the framers of the Indian Constitution desired that India should be administered nor thus that the duty of Englishmen to this great dependency can be honestly or justly discharged.' The *Pioneer* almost admits that the sanction for the partition of Bengal was obtained behind the back of Parliament and makes Lord Curzon and Mr. Brodrick jointly responsible for whatever 'finality' the measure has received.

Under the circumstances, either Mr. Brodrick has done a thing which ought not to be recognised by Parliament and, if recognised, ought to be taken as the most unwarranted invasion of the rights of Parliament to control Indian affairs and also of the greatest safeguards of the Indian Constitution. We beg to invite Mr. Morley's attention to this point very forcibly, because, however cautious he may be, we are quite sure he will be the last man on earth to allow such a thing to take place so long as he remains responsible for the administration of India.

Then again, there can be no such thing as a 'settled one' in the administrative, political, legislative, or the judicial world or for the matter of that in any sphere of human activity. Progress means modification in some shape or other, and a scholar like Mr. Morley must know that "a settled thing" stands opposed to all progress. Again, not to interfere with 'a settled thing,' knowing it to be an evil, is to ignore all operations of sentiment, and we have it on the authority of Mr. Morley himself that "a man is ill fitted for the governing of other men if he does not give a large place to the operation of sentiment." Nor does it appear that Mr. Morley is willing or anxious to stand by 'all settled things' or ignore all 'operations of sentiment' in Indian administration. He has himself signalled his own administration of India by undoing to some extent the settlement effected by Mr. Brodrick in connection with the Army controversy. His friend and leader, Mr. Gladstone, did not also consider this argument too strong when he introduced the Home Rule Bill for Ireland and repealed the Vernacular Press Act of India. Now, taken from whatever point of view, the 'settled thing' argument does not hold much water.

The second objection of Mr. Morley to re-open the question is that "we should move very slowly, as India wants time to breathe." This is a very pious wish and should be respected by all people, but we do not think that 'moving very slowly' means 'not moving at all.' If you want to allow India to take breath, the best way to do it is to heal her wounds and not to keep them open. A man suffering from agonising or acute pain finds great difficulty in taking

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breath or rest either. Remove the causes of his pain and he will himself breathe easily and go to rest quietly. The physician who ignores this first principle of treatment and asks a man to take his rest with all his pain does as much outrage to commonsense as the statesman who, without attempting to right a people's wrongs, would ask it not to mind them and go to work cheerfully. The best way to compose an angry and a bitter controversy, and no man will doubt that the partition of Bengal has been one such, is to allay public discontent and take practically into consideration "all the opinions and even the prejudices of those affected."

'A new outlay of taxation' is the third cause of Mr. Morley's inaction in the matter. Really we do not understand what Mr. Morley means by it. Does he intend to convey to us the idea that no territorial redistribution of a province is possible without a 'new outlay of taxation?' If so, will he be pleased to tell us if the specific redistribution already given effect to will involve us in 'a new outlay of taxation?' Or if the creation of two administrations in place of one, which Lord George Hamilton euphemistically described as a mere reduplication of administrative machinery, does not involve 'a new outlay of taxation,' why should a mere re-shuffling of the territorial jurisdictions of those administrations involve such an outlay? Redistribution of territories does not always stand for 'reduplication of administrative machinery,' and what the people of Bengal now urge is only a redistribution with a view to a satisfactory re-adjustment of the provincial boundaries. The question of 'a new outlay of taxation' does not, therefore, arise in this connection at all, and Mr. Morley only confounds the real issue by raising this point.

It appears that Mr. Morley has a keen eye on economy and economy he regards as one of the master-keys of loyalty. May we therefore be permitted to remind Mr. Morley that the partition of Bengal, as given effect to by Lord Curzon, would cost the country between 9 to 10 lakhs of Rupees, according to the information supplied by him to a member of Parliament quite recently,* and that from the standpoint of economy alone the measure ought to be condemned and revoked? That would be the right and the first step "in the direction of greater economy," to which Mr. Morley

* It is a matter of great satisfaction to us to note that Mr. Morley's figures of the cost of the new Administration in Eastern Bengal almost exactly coincide with the estimate we anticipated and published in details in the last July number of *The Indian World*. All other estimates supplied to the public have missed the mark by a long way.—*Ed. I. W.*

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looks forward to with such anxiety "in order to lighten taxation." Shall Mr. Morley allow this supreme consideration also to go unheeded and let slip a great opportunity to "add to 'the security and strength of India?'"

It is a great pity for English Liberalism that a staunch champion of it like Mr. Morley should admit a wrong and yet leave it unredressed. Much better than this was the attitude of the Balfour administration which, far from admitting the thing to be a wrong, gave us to understand that the bulk of the people wanted it and that it would ultimately conduce to the well-being and prosperity of the people concerned. That was a sort of 'superior' knowledge and prescience to which Mr. Brodrick and Lord Curzon might lay special claim, and under the cover of that knowledge they justified the partition of Bengal before the eyes of men. This does not appear to be half so bad as to admit an evil and then refuse to remove it. Mr. Morley's Liberalism appears to us to be only an intellectual emotion with him and not a strong motive power for action. Whatever it may be with our new Secretary of State, a disparity between practise and preaching is not one of the best ways to advance the cause of Liberalism. Nor does Mr. Morley's attitude fit in with the best traditions of that form of English liberalism which removed the disabilities of the Catholics at immense sacrifice, did away with the slave trade at immense expense to the State, and have promised to grant Home Rule to Ireland, responsible government to the Transvaal, autonomy to Orangia and have undertaken to recognise, in face of the most uncompromising hostility of the white colonists, the civilisation and status of the Indians in South Africa.

The *Times of India* has fished out a very telling passage from Mr. Morley's *Compromise* which we cannot resist the temptation of quoting in this connection. Mr. Morley says in that book that "a principle, if it be sound, represents one of the larger expediencies. To abandon that for the sake of some seeming expediency of the hour is to sacrifice the greater good for the less, on no more creditable ground than that the less is nearer." This was Mr. Morley's opinion when he had not yet abandoned literature for politics, and nearly twenty years of training in the political world has now made the author of *Compromise* a quite different man than he was when he turned a new chapter in his life. Now 'settled things' and 'seeming expediencies' seem to have much greater attraction for the man of politics than 'greater good' and 'larger expediencies' had for the man of letters twenty years ago. Oh, the pity of it!

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A great educational activity all around is one of the latest phases of national consciousness in India. An well-equipped College for the study of the Indian philosophies has very recently been started at Madras at the instance of Mr. Krishnaswamy Iyer.

**The Bengal
Council of Edu-
cation**

Handsone donations have been sent to the trustees of the Aligarh Mahomedan College by Mr. Adamjee Peerbhoy of Bombay and H. H. the Aga Khan to inaugurate 'a School of Science and institute Fellowships in its connection, so that it may soon be the centre of intellectual culture of Indian Islam. The Hon'ble Pandit Madanmohan Malaviya of Allahabad, with the handsome donation of 3 lakhs of Rupees promised by the Hon. Munshi Madholal of Benares to begin with, is enlisting the sympathies of his co-religionists to establish a Hindu University in the sacred stronghold of the old Faith. In Bengal, though there has been more talk than work in this line, a mixed Committee of Zemindars and journalists, lawyers and friends of the principal donors, with a sprinkling of educationists, has at last been appointed with the pretentious name of the "National Council of Education" to provide academic education to all and sundry on "national lines and under national control." The scheme set up by this Committee is, like everything else in Bengal, a very large order; and if the ambitious Council just established will accomplish only a quarter of what it promises to do, it will have met to a great extent the educational requirements of a certain section of the 'Bengalee nation.'

Some people, we have no doubt, will take exception to our reference to the Bengal 'National' Council of Education in terms of such restraint. We are very sorry that things, specially in Bengal, are not generally what they appear to be on the surface, and that behind an incomprehensible amount of cant and platitude it is difficult to find much substantial work done in any line in these provinces. To make a loud splash or an effervescence of a sort we are great adepts or past-masters; to prepare ideal schemes on paper no other people in India can beat us; in volubility and enthusiasm, Bengal might give points to all the other provinces of the Empire; but in active, presistent work of any kind Bengal and Bengalees are nowhere. We hope to be forgiven if we are exaggerating the situation, but we will mention some illustrations in support of our statement. In September and October last, when the agitation against the partition of Bengal and in favour of the swadeshi movement had reached its high-water mark, there were many people who looked

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forward to the establishment of at least half-a-dozen of cotton-mills on the banks of the Ganges within a six months' time. Six months have passed by and much water has flown below the Hooghly Bridge since then, and not a single mill has yet been established in Bengal. Of course, we know that the prospectus of a cotton-mill in Bengal is just now going the round of the Press but it will yet take time to complete the purchase. And even then it will be only a transfer of hands of a long-established mill and not the starting of a new one. While we in Bengal have been talking hoarse from thousand platforms and through thousand voices in favour of the establishment of cotton-mills and have not *yet* seen the *first* of it, the people of the Western Presidency have gone the right way to work and, without making much fuss, already installed six new mills at Ahmedabad, 4 at Bombay and one at Poona, besides adding several thousand new looms to the old ones, *to supply Bengal with Swadeshi cloths*. Is it not a great shame,—an unspeakable shame to think of it? Regarding the great wave of feeling about what is known as "The National Fund," who would not feel small to think that, though the inauguration of it was engineered by all the big guns in the Bengal aristocracy, and attended by, it is said, nearly a quarter of a million people, the amount actually collected does not yet exceed 75 thousand Rupees? What should you think of a people who number over 80,000,000 heads and the leading Zemindars of which pay nearly 10,000,000 of Rupees to the State every year as revenue contributing only 75,000 of Rupees to a 'national fund' at a time of great crisis and excitement? What an object-lesson in patriotism!

Speaking of this 'National' Council of Education, which seems, by the bye, to answer admirably Mr. Winston Churchill's definition of 'a terminological inexactitude' and in the Committee of which we find the names of more than a dozen big Zemindars and moneyed men of Bengal, we understand that only 6 lakhs of Rupees have been promised in its aid up to date. Across the boundary of Bengal on the west, Pandit Madanmohan has already got 10 lakhs to start his Hindu University. Who has forgotten that, about a year ago, the sum of 20 lakhs of Rupees was promised and paid down at a single Conference for the establishment of a Sikh College in the Panjaub?

Yet Mr. Surendranath Bannerjea and his friends seem to think that the salvation of Bengal must come from its territorial and titled magnates! What a vain delusion!

Regarding the other side of the question, blank despair stares us

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in the face. Not only can we not open our purse-strings for public and benevolent institutions, but we do not also know how to organise and manage them. The languishing condition of the Indian Science Association, founded under government patronage by the late Dr. Mahendralal Sircar, the all-but collapse of the Albert Temple of Science, for whose ample funds Babu Matilal Ghose, Editor of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, owes an account to the public, the lack of support to the Calcutta Medical School and the Albert Victor Hospital for whose improvement and proper maintenance the Hon'ble Mr. Bhupendranath Basu, Dr. Nilratan Sircar and Dr. R. G. Kar have moved heaven and earth for the last 5 years are all cases in point. We shall be glad to be contradicted, if our statement is not found to be correct. This is one side of the picture ; now look at the other,—the continued prosperity of the Aligarh College founded by the late Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, the thriving and flourishing condition of the Central Hindu College at Benares, the Dayananda Anglo-Vedic College at Lahore, the Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute at Bombay, the Kala Bhawan at Baroda and the Fergusson College at Poona. Do not this point out to a painful moral, and where is the educated Bengalee who would not feel humiliated at this contrast ?

All this, together with the nature of the constitution of the Committee from which some of the best scholars and educationists of Bengal have been carefully eliminated, does not encourage us to entertain much hope of the future of the Bengal organisation which calls itself by the magnificent name of "The National Council of Education."

In this connection, it is a pleasant surprise to find the Government of India taking the wind out of the sails of the swadeshi patriots and making arrangements to establish a weaving school at Serampore on a large scale and no one can sufficiently thank the Government for this kind encouragement of technical instruction in the land. The amount budgetted for this year may not be sufficient for the purpose but it may be taken as an earnest of greater and continued support in the future.

Bright's Disease & Dropsy.

Cured 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ Year

Miss A. M. Steadman, living at 130 Cambridge Road, Kilburn, London, England, says :—

“ I wish I could tell you how thankful I am for the good Doan's Backache Kidney Pills have done me. They have saved my life. Before I began using them, the doctor said I couldn't live another three months, but that was a year and a quarter ago, and *I'm as well to-day as ever I was in my life.*”

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THE WEAVING INDUSTRY IN BARODA

No question has aroused greater interest in India in recent times than the revival of its Weaving Industry ; and no object has been pursued with a greater determination or more sustained endeavour by my countrymen than the re-establishment of this Industry, which was India's own in the past, and which *shall* be India's own again in the future.

The melancholy story of the manner in which we were, for a time, robbed of the fruits of this national industry,—partly by a system of unjust and unequal tariffs imposed by England, and partly by the discovery and use of the power loom in that country,—has been narrated by me in a work published in England some four years ago,* and continued in a subsequent work which was issued only two years back.† But the check which we sustained was only temporary ; it was not likely that India with her hereditary skill and genius for this manual industry, and with her vast resources and cheap labour, would be beaten for long by England, or by any country on the face of the earth.

How we are recovering lost ground,—how we are adopting western inventions, establishing English mills, and improving Indian hand looms,—and how we shall beat Englishmen yet, and clothe the population of India once more with clothing made in India,—is a brighter story which some future historian of India will some day narrate with pride. We but see the beginning of a happier era which is dawning on India. Few nations on earth could have recovered their industrial independence under adverse circumstances, as we are doing. All honour to those Captains of Industry in Western India who have led the van of this progress, and whose great spinning and weaving mills in Bombay, Ahmedabad, and Nagpur, are the hopes of India.

* *Economic History of India, 1757 to 1837.*

† *India in the Victorian Age, 1837 to 1900.*

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Our gratitude is also due to those enterprising Englishmen who have established flourishing woollen mills in Northern India, and have set us an example which the quick-witted people of India will not be slow to follow. Honour also to those English inventors,—Chatterton, Churchhill, Havell, and a host of others,—who, living in India among Indians, seek to work for their good, and help them in their onward march. A word of recognition is also due to Lord Minto's Government for their endeavour to foster technical education and encourage Indian industries. We have at last a Viceroy among us who *works* and does not *talk* ; and we have also a Finance Minister who has passed his life-time in India, knows the aspirations of the people, and recognizes their claims towards industrial progress. We have not yet sufficiently recognized the courage of the silent worker who has repealed many cesses on land, paid by voiceless peasants, before he repealed the Income Tax paid by English merchants and moneyed Indians. Nor have we sufficiently acknowledged the calm determination of the administrator who, against much possible opposition from British manufacturers, sets aside a large sum for the promotion of technical education in India, and openly lays down the policy, once before laid down by Lord Ripon, that Indian articles shall have the patronage and the preference of the Indian Government, when they are equal to imported articles in quality and value.

But after all, our future is in our own hands and our countrymen are not unmindful of this fact. Figures speak more eloquently than mere assertions, and from the mass of statistics officially presented to the Houses of Parliament annually, we find that we produced 83 millions of cotton goods in our mills in 1896-97, and the figure rose to 159 millions in 1904-05. This is an increase of *nearly a hundred per cent* in eight years, and we are still at the very beginning of our progress. The *Swadeshi* movement of Bengal has given an impetus to the mill and hand loom industry throughout India. I hear of new mills being started at Bombay, Ahmedabad and elsewhere in Western India, and hand looms have multiplied ten-fold in Bengal since the memorable Black Day,—the Sixteenth of October, 1905.

The state of Baroda has not been backward in sharing the general progress of the times ; and a few words on the endeavours made in this little State will probably interest workers in other parts of India. Several important towns in this State, like Baroda, Dabhoi, Naosari, Visnagar, Pattan, and Amreli, have had a considerable weaving and dying industry since centuries ; and some account of these towns will be interesting.

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THE INDUSTRIAL HISTORY OF THE BARODA TOWNS

The silk industry of the town of the Pattan has flourished from the olden times when the town was the Capital of Gujrat. Readers on the eastern side of India,—whose knowledge of the Geography of Gujrat may be hazy,—must not confound Anhilwara-Pattan, the ancient Capital of Gujrat, with Somnath Pattan, a seaport which Mahmud of Ghazni sacked in the eleventh century. The Prince of Anhilwara-Pattan faced the terrible invader from Ghazni in the eleventh century, and after the retreat of Mahmud, Bhema-deva of Anhilwara-Pattan reigned in great glory till 1063. One of his successors, Kumara Pala, ruled in Gujrat from 1143 to 1173, and greatly favoured the Jains; and Jain merchants in Ahmedabad, Pattan, and other towns in Gujrat still revere the memory of Kumara Pala, and assign many of their religious edifices and other public works and gifts to this munificent Prince. A new dynasty succeeded in Gujrat in 1244, but was short-lived. Alla-ud-din conquered Gujrat from this dynasty in 1298, and Anhilwara-Pattan became the Mahomedan Capital of Gujrat, until the seat of Government was subsequently removed to Ahmedabad.

Such is the political history of Anhilwara-Pattan, and its industrial history is no less interesting. The famous silk Saree known by the name of *Potala*, which every Gujrati bride insists on wearing on the occasion of her marriage and treasures up for ever after, is woven in Pattan alone. The tradition is, that some ancient Prince of this Capital of Gujrat insisted on the use of the *Potala* at every wedding. But the tradition, as usual, gives to Royalty the credit which is really due to Art. It is the exquisite and lasting designs on the *Potala* Sarees wrought by Indian artists, and not any royal mandate, which have made this Saree an indispensable bridal trousseau in Gujrat. The designs are made in the thread, and when the threads are woven, the pattern comes out in the cloth.

Pattan flourished, both in her silk and in her cotton industry, for many centuries, until the seat of Government was removed to Ahmedabad by the Mahomedan rulers of Gujrat. A large portion of the weaving industry of Pattan was transferred to the new Capital, and the manufacture of Ahmedabad rose as Pattan declined. But in the eighteenth century, Ahmedabad fell under the grip of the Peshawa and the Gaekwar of the time, and those short-sighted rulers imposed heavy duties on manufactures to replenish their treasuries. The weavers of Ahmedabad accordingly left the city in large numbers, and went to their old home at Pattan once more. In 1818, Ahmedabad became British, cesses on manufactures were

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abolished, and the export duty of 15 per cent was reduced to $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The weavers of Pattan therefore once more migrated to Ahmedabad, and Pattan has never flourished since. The history of the weaving industry of Pattan and Ahmedabad is a lesson which all Finance Ministers should remember. Why should the British rulers of India, who have, by a wise policy, revived manufacture in Ahmedabad,—now the most important weaving centre in India next to Bombay,—seek to repress manufacture in India by an unwise $3\frac{1}{2}$ percent excise duty on mills,—under the mandate of Manchester ?

We will now travel from Pattan to another town in Baroda State,—the interesting town of Naosari, the original home of the Parsee settlers in India.

They must have been wise in their generation,—the Parsee Pilgrim Fathers,—who fled from Moslem persecution in Persia in the seventh century after Christ and chose Naosari as their place of refuge. A pleasanter place they could hardly have chosen in India. Close to Surat, which was then, as it is now, a place of considerable trade, situated on the winding Purna river, sheltered by a finely-wooded country from the heat of Northern Gujrat, and cooled by breezes from the sea which is only ten miles off,—Naosari is an ideal place for rest and repose. And even now, when the throb of modern trade and business pulsates through every large town in India, the tired merchant from Bombay, and the worried official from Baroda, often seek rest and shelter in the cooler precincts of this town, forget their troubles over copious drafts of the Naosari date juice, and breathe the pure air of the sea, wafted along the Purna river. The High Priest of the Parsees lives here ; the sacred fire is kept alive here ; and a large Parsee population in all conditions of life, high and low, rich and poor, still live in this town. You see Parsee women here,—not bedecked and bejewelled and driving in their landaus as you see in Bombay,—but bare-footed, carrying water on their heads like their Hindu sisters, and gathering by the side of the village well, morning and evening, for the customary gossip so dear to women ! But alas ! this vision is about to be dispelled ; the unpoetic District Officer of Naosari is about to introduce waterworks in this town, and hydrants in the streets will soon take the place of the time-honoured wells !

For the rest, they are a worthy community, these descendants of the refugees from Persia. They are sober, industrious and enterprising. They appreciate education, and every Parsee boy and girl attend school. They are cleanly in their habits, quiet and

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orderly in their lives, and singularly free from crimes. They stand by each other like Scotchmen, and are as keen in business as Scotchmen. Need I add that they are the pioneers of modern industries in India and have given us the greatest of our political leaders ? The Hindus in the eighth century did a noble act in giving shelter to this community of strangers with a strange religion. No other nation on earth probably had sufficient religious toleration in the eighth century to harbour a nation of refugees, professing a different religion. But verily a good act brings its own reward ; and today, after so many centuries, the Parsees are repaying their debt to India by helping her onwards in her industrial, commercial and political progress. Louis XIV of France ruined the industries of that country by his persecution against the Huguenots. The Hindu rulers of the eighth century were wiser in extending their protection to the Parsees, and have thereby helped the industries of India for all time.

Through long centuries, the weaving industry of Naosari have been in high repute. Fine *Dhoti*, *Sari*, *Basta* and *Bafta*, made at Naosari and neighbouring towns, were in great demand at the Portuguese, Dutch, and English factories at Surat in the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries for export to Europe. In 1788, Dr. Hove, a European traveller, visited Naosari District to learn the art from Parsee weavers. But the nineteenth century was as fatal to the weaving industry of Gujrat as of Bengal, and the industry had virtually died out before the East India Company's administration came to an end in 1858. But Parsee women are still skilful in making ornamental borders of *Saris* ; and Parsee merchants and manufacturers have been the foremost in introducing the new mill-industry in India.

Other towns in the Baroda State have industrial histories as interesting as those of Pattan and Naosari. Dabhoi, which boasts of some of the noblest and finest specimens of the Hindu architecture of the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries, has still a considerable weaving population who use the hand loom with their ancestral skill. Petlad and Vaso turn out fine cloths, and have recently doubled their hand-looms with the present *Swadeshi* movement and the demand for swadeshi cloths. Amreli, the industrial centre of the Kathiawar Peninsula, is still known for its weaving and dyeing industries. Visnagar and Vadnagar, the original home of the Nagar Brahmans, the most intellectual race in Gujrat, has still a flourishing weaving trade. For ornamental metal work also, our Baroda towns are famous. The polished silver work of Amreli will compete with

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the best polished work of European goldsmiths ; and Raghunath Tribhubandas of Visnagar turns out ornamental stools of silver, copper, and brass, which was much admired at the Delhi Durbar, and specimens of which, I am told, have found a place in the ancestral halls of the Baron of Kedleston.

But I shall never finish if I go on with the old histories of the Baroda towns. I must turn now to the events of recent years, and to the share which Baroda has taken in recent industrial movements.

THE FISCAL REFORM IN BARODA

First and foremost among the wise measures which the Gaekwar of Baroda has recently adopted to encourage manufactures and trade in his State is the great Tariff Reform he introduced in November 1904 and August 1905. It would be out of place to describe that reform in detail in this article, but the nature of the reform can be indicated in a few words. Import Duties on no less than 36 different articles used to be levied on the frontiers of Baroda and Kadi Districts, and additional Octroi Duties on these 36 articles were levied on their entry into towns. The Gaekwar made a clean sweep of these Duties in November 1904, retaining moderate frontier duties on 8 articles only, and equally moderate Octroi duties on 8 other articles. The measure was introduced at the risk of some loss of revenue ; but the result was an agreeable surprise for His Highness. Trade and business expanded with the withdrawal of the restrictions, and instead of a loss, the State of Baroda obtained an increase of about *one lac of rupees* in its Customs Duties within six months after the introduction of the great Fiscal Reform. A second Reform accordingly followed in August 1905 ; the Octroi Duties of many small towns were entirely abolished ; those of larger towns were reduced in number and limited to a few paying articles ; and the baneful system of farming Customs Duties to private individuals was done away with. A further expansion of trade is expected from these measures, and a third Fiscal Reform in the same direction is now engaging the attention of the Gaekwar, now in Europe.

THE MILL INDUSTRY IN BARODA

Next to these Fiscal Reforms, the measure which has most contributed to the development of industries in Baroda is the sale of the State-mill in February, 1905. At a time when the value of mills was little understood by the people of Baroda, the Gaekwar established a spinning and weaving mill at State expense, to serve as an object lesson to his people. For twenty years and more, the mill worked with varying results ; the profit to the State was never very

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considerable, but the people learnt the lesson which they needed. The time came when the people were ready to undertake such enterprises themselves, and indeed, the State-mill then stood in their way. Baroda is in the centre of a cotton producing country, and the people were prepared to start cotton mills in Baroda, but hesitated to compete with the Gaekwar himself in the Gaekwar's territory. Private mills in Baroda might be considered rivals of the State-mill ; and no capitalists wished to beard the lion in his den ! The lion of Baroda saw this, and graciously withdrew.

His Highness the Gaekwar announced that the State-mill would be sold to private purchasers. There was some competition between Ahmedabad and Baroda for the purchase. Ahmedabad had a longer purse, and a longer experience of mill-business, and made acceptable bids. Baroda grumbled, and wished to keep the mill in her own hands, but formulated no reasonable offer. The Gaekwar matched this competition with some amusement. With a sincere desire to give some preference to the people of his own State, he waited for a practical offer but none came from Baroda. The Ahmedabad offer was accepted. The mill was sold for five lacs to Ahmedabad mill-owners, who have since worked it in Baroda with profit to themselves, and with benefit to the people of the State.

The happiest results have ensued from this sale. The Baroda Government had withdrawn from competition, and the field was clear for private enterprise. Baroda was resolved not to be beaten by Ahmedabad. Local patriotism surged high. The firm of samal Bechar took the lead, and started a new Spinning Company. The entire capital of over five lacs was subscribed and paid. A suitable site near the Railway station was obtained. The construction of a mill-house was promptly commenced, and is approaching completion. Machinery has been ordered from Europe. Business will commence after the next *Diwali*.

This second cotton mill paved the way for a third. Rao Bahadur Har Govind Das is a retired servant of the Baroda State. He was the head of the educational department, and also served the State in other capacities. He formed the patriotic desire of spending his money, and that of his friends and relations, in promoting the weaving industry of the State he had served so long. He soon succeeded in forming a company and obtained a suitable site, near the Railway station. The Gaekwar's eldest son, now in Baroda,—kindly laid the foundation stone. The building is making fair progress, and machinery has, I believe, been ordered from Europe.

There are projects of a fourth mill and a fifth mill being started,

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but I do not wish to mention details till the projects have taken a practical shape, and companies have been formed. Enough has been said to indicate that mill industry has taken a root in Baroda, within these last two years. We shall never rival Bombay ; we may never rival Ahmedabad or Nagpur ;—but nevertheless Baroda is destined to be *one of the centres* of mill industry in Western India. A beginning has been made, and for this successful commencement we are indebted, firstly to the *Swadeshi* movement which has created an increased demand for the produce of Indian mills, and secondly to the enlightened patriotism of the Gaekwar himself, who lets no opportunity pass for promoting the industries of his State. Those who heard his patriotic speech delivered at Ahmedabad three years ago, in opening the Industrial Exhibition there, will learn with pleasure that the speaker has had the courage and the determination to follow, in his own State, the principles he laid down for all earnest workers in India.

THE HAND LOOM INDUSTRY IN BARODA

The last act of the Gaekwar of Baroda to which I will make reference in this article is the encouragement he has given to the hand loom industry in his State. He has a great faith in the future of the hand loom, he firmly believes it will never be entirely supplanted by the power loom, and he even thinks that the future development and use of the hand loom will be more rapid than that of the power loom. In a State where the weaving industry is so ancient and so wide spread, the Gaekwar considered it to be his duty to foster it by every possible means. Accordingly, in the closing months of 1904, he established a Weaving School at Baroda, where the different kinds of improved hand looms could be brought together, and their use made familiar to a number of weaver-boys from different parts of the State. The idea was, firstly to select the loom most useful to our weavers here, and secondly to introduce the use of that loom in the towns and villages of Baroda in place of the old-fashioned looms with their poor outturns.

We accordingly collected all the different kinds of improved hand looms now available. With the kindly help of Mr. Havell, we got a Serampore loom and a Serampore weaver to work it. The poor man had a bad time of it, as he did not speak Gujrati, and nobody in the school understood Bengali ; and he often came to me to give vent to his sorrows to the only man in Baroda who talked to him in his mother tongue ! A Bengali is a home-loving creature, and the Serampore weaver pined for his home and his relations, and fell ill ; and we had to send him away at last. But

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he was long enough here to teach the boys the use of his loom, and we purchased that and all the apparatus he had brought.

We also purchased some Ahmednagar and Japanese looms, and for many months we used them all to find out which was the most suitable. Baroda is a land of inventions, and the inventive genius of a local weaver soon prepared a loom which seemed to meet all our requirements. It was cheap and it was simple in its construction and operation; and with the permission of the Gaekwar we called it by his name, and it is known as the *Sayaji Loom*. I am no expert; but many of the judges who saw this loom at the Benares Industrial Exhibition pronounced it to be the best and most suited for the weavers of India. Whether this verdict is correct or not, time will show.

Having made our discovery, we wanted, like Archimedes, the proper leverage to move the world by means of this new instrument. The State of Baroda cannot undertake the manufacture and sale of looms for the requirements of all India, and a private firm was accordingly started under the name of "*The Sayaji Loom Works*" for the construction of the loom to order. When I visited these works early this month, I was glad to find that over a hundred orders had been received from all parts of India for the *Sayaji Loom*, and over a hundred looms were under construction. We honestly believe that, in these days when the demand for improved hand-looms is increasing, our little State of Baroda has done something to help the movement through India. And within the State of Baroda it will be our endeavour to introduce the *Sayaji Loom* largely among the weaving communities in towns and villages.

Connected with the construction of the *Sayaji Loom*, it is intended to introduce weaving on an extensive scale in the "*Sayaji Loom Works*," and thus make Baroda one of the great centres of weaving industry under improved methods. The District Officer of Kadi is also endeavouring to start a Hand Loom Factory on an extensive scale in the head quarters of his District.

BARODA TECHNICAL SCHOOL

I cannot conclude this article without saying a word about the Technical School of Baroda which is one of the three institutions of the kind in all India, the other two being at Bombay and at Poona. As there is a movement at Calcutta and elsewhere to found technical schools now, some account of our school, which has worked successfully for sixteen years, may be found useful.

The *Kala Bhavan*, literally Temple of Arts, was founded in Baroda in June 1890 with classes for drawing, carpentry, and

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dyeing and calico-printing, and a class in mechanical-engineering was added in the same year. The Training College for men and agricultural classes, which were already in existence, were amalgamated with the Institute. Thus, in the first year of its existence, the Institute was provided with six different courses of instruction, each to extend over a period of three years, and was furnished with a library, a chemical laboratory, a physical laboratory and other appliances. Workshops for the practical instruction of the students of the carpentry and mechanical-engineering classes were also fitted up, along with a dye-house for dyeing and calico-printing. The subjects and methods of study have undergone revision in subsequent years according to new needs and requirements.

In 1897 an important addition was made to the Central Institute. A weaving class was opened with the object of introducing the fly-shuttle arrangement in the ordinary hand-loom in use in this country.

More ambitious work was undertaken after a visit of the then Principal to the Paris Exhibition of 1900 ; but much of this work, like nib and button-making, brush manufacture and pyrography, had to be abandoned subsequently. A class in watch-making was started in 1902, and has been continued.

The value of the education given in this institution to the people of Baroda cannot be over-estimated. Between two and three hundred students attend the classes, and many have to be refused admission for want of accommodation. Students from British India and from many Native States come to Baroda to learn different industries in this Institute, and the Government of the Central Provinces of India grants certain scholarships to boys from those Provinces to enable them to stay at Baroda and learn useful industries at the *Kalu Bhavan*.

Branches of the Institute are established in different towns in the State, and many of the boys who have received their training here have since started business in their own account, and have been successful in life. Foremost among them stands the name of Parekh Narayanlal Keshavlal who received an industrial education at the Baroda Institute, and has since started a dying factory at Peplad. He suffered losses for a year or two, but nobly persevered, and made the concern profitable in the end. The factory turns out 15,000 lbs. of dyed yarn every day, and the yarn is in demand in many parts of India and outside India.

Ginning factories are increasing in number in this State year after year, and the cotton extensively grown in the country is collected

to show that either it was unsuited to the country, or that there were grave defects in the mode of working it. Badayuni, himself a soldier, speaks of it as the ruin of the soldier. At all events it was probably unsuited to Bengal and also to parts of Behar, for much of these countries must have unfitted for cavalry during great parts of the year, and horses were scarce and liable to disease. However, Mozaffar and his underlings pressed on the system all the more strenuously that they were far from headquarters, and redress for complainants was difficult. As an instance of their alleged rapacity, Abul Fazl mentions that a leader among the Qaqshals declared that he had paid Rs. 70,000 in bribes, and that yet he had not had one hundred horsemen passed. As he held his lands on a military tenure, and his allowances in land or money depended upon the amount of his contingent, his grievance was a heavy one. And if much extortion was practised on a powerful leader, it is not likely that smaller men would be treated more gently. Abul Fazl enumerates nine causes of the revolt but in only one of them, and that the last of all, does he attach any personal responsibility to Akbar. This is where he says that one cause was Akbar's principle of universal toleration or "peace with all." This was misinterpreted by designing men, who made out that Akbar was not a good Muhammadan and so tried to set up as a rival to him his half-brother, Muhammad Hakim, who was ruler of Kabul. It is true that Abul Fazl instances the execution of Roshan Beg as one of the causes of the revolt, and that he admits this execution to have been ordered by Akbar. But then he implies that Mozaffar Khan was to blame for putting the men to death publicly and at the commencement of the disturbances. Apparently what Mazaffar Khan should have done in Abul Fazl's opinion was to have had the man put out of the way quietly in the manner that Akbar afterwards got rid of Masum Khan Farankhudi. I do not think I am doing any injustice to Abul Fazl in saying this, for there is good reason to believe* that he himself secretly put his rival Abdu-n-Nabi to death, and he must have known that Masum Khan Farankhudi was assassinated by Akbar's orders, though he does not admit it, any more than he admits that Akbar had the two recalcitrant Mullas drowned.+ Abul Fazl's notions of morality are shown by his censuring as cowardly the refusal of some officers to attack the

* See *Iqbalnama*.

† Compare *Akbarnama* III., 309, with Badayuni, Lowe's Translation, p. 285. For account of Masum Farankhudi's death see *Akbarnama* III., 390, and the *Iqbalnama*.

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leaders of the revolt when they had come in obedience to a summons to a conference for the purpose of coming to a mutual understanding. Roshen Beg had been one of the collectors of revenue for the crown-lands. He had embezzled, or been accused of embezzling, and had fled to Kabul. From there he had come, evidently as an emissary from Muhammad Hakim, and had joined the Qaqshals and was stirring them up to revolt. Probably he was worthy of death, but Mozaffar carried out his orders with unnecessary harshness, and it would seem that his execution was the immediate cause of the outbreak, for after it occurred, the soldiers shaved their heads, presumably in mourning, crossed the river and broke out into open rebellion. This was in January, 1580. Mozaffar tried to suppress the rebels, but his men behaved badly, and he had to take refuge in Tanda. There he was besieged, and having been credulous enough to surrender on the faith of promises he was put to death in April of the same year. The rebels thereafter proclaimed Muhammad Hakim as king and distributed titles and appointments among themselves. As has been pointed out by Blochmann (*Ayin, translation*, 621) Masum Khan Kabuli, one of the leading rebels, assumed the title of King, or at least was so styled by one of his adherents. Masum, perhaps the most daring and capable of all the rebels, never submitted to Akbar, but continued to assist Isa Khan against the imperialists and was a thorn in their side till he died in the 44th year, 1599. When invited to surrender, he pointed, as Abul Fazl himself admits, to the fate of his namesake, Masum Khan Farankhudi, who had surrendered, and then had been murdered by Akbar's orders, and wisely maintained his independence. After a long delay, and much expenditure of blood and treasure, the rebellion was at last put down by the exertions of Todar Mal and Aziz Koka, Akbar's foster-brother. But Bhati, as south-eastern Bengal was then called, was never fully subdued by Akbar.

In 1581 there occurred the rebellion of Muhammad Hakim. He had been in secret communication with the Bengal rebels and probably it was the knowledge of this fact which prevented Akbar from leaving Upper India and personally taking part in the suppression of the Bengal revolt. Muhammad Hakim was willing enough to give Akbar trouble and would have liked to get possession of Lahore and the Punjab, but he was too much of a drunkard to be a serious foe. He plotted with the Bengal rebels, but he had not sufficient energy and enterprise to rebel at the same time as they did, and so he lost his opportunity. When he did take active steps,



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he did not march in person, but sent a general who was defeated by the imperial officers. Afterwards he invaded the Punjab in person, and arrived as far as Lahore, but he did not succeed in taking it, and he retired as soon as he heard that Akbar was marching against him. Akbar began his march early in February 1581, and by the end of the month he was beyond Thanesar and near Shahabad. It was on this march at a place called Kot Kachwaha and in the beginning of March that the shameful deed of the hanging of Shah Mansur took place. This innocent and zealous servant was hanged upon a babul tree one morning, and a few days later Akbar learned to his sorrow that Mansur was guiltless and that he had sacrificed one of his most able financiers. Akbar continued his march as far as Kabul, but he never met his brother face to face, and in order not to drive him to extremities and force him to take refuge with the Uzbeks he wisely consented to pardon him and to allow him to retain his kingdom. On the whole, the expedition was rather an unnecessary one and probably Akbar's officers were right in trying to dissuade him from it.

The next task which engaged Akbar's attention was the subjugation of Gujrat. This had been conquered so long ago as 1572 when the boy-king, Mazaffar Shah III., was caught in a cornfield, and magnanimously spared by Akbar. But just as Gujrat rose again after it had been conquered by Akbar's father, Humayun, so did it rise again now as soon as it had a leader. The youthful Mazaffar was brought to Agra and received some small appointment. According to Ferishta, he received valuable fiefs, but perhaps this rests on a confusion between him and Mozaffar Tarbati. Elliot* has made a mistake of this kind, and Ferishta who, like Elliot, copies Nizam-ud-din, probably supposed that the Mozaffar who received grants of land in Malwa must be Mozaffar of Gujrat. According to Badayuni,† what Mozaffar got was an allowance of Rs. 30 or 40 a month. It is not likely that Mozaffar got any estate for he was kept under surveillance, if not in actual confinement, and under the charge of Karm Ali, the superintendent of the perfumery department.‡ From Upper India he was sent to Munim Khan in Bengal, either in order that he might be out of the way, or in the hope that the pestilential air of the Piyasbari near Gaur might rid the world of him. For a time however he was in Chunar under the charge of Bayazid Biyat, who

* V., 253.

† Lowc, 365.

‡ *Akbarnama*, III., 410.

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was Munim Khan's *bakhshi*. From Chunar, Bayazid sent him to Munim at Gaur and it appears that he arrived on the very night that Munim died. He did not however escape in the confusion that followed this event, nor was he apparently connected in any way with the Bengal rebels. According to Abul Fazl, he was transferred to the charge of Shah Mansur and escaped from his custody in the 23rd year of the reign, i.e. in 1578. In Danvers' *History of the Portuguese in India*,* it is said that he owed his escape to some women. He went in the first instance to Rajpipla, south of the Nerbada, and was protected by the landholders there. The Gujrat officers attempted to seize him, but they were not very energetic in the matter, and Mozaffar managed to escape to the wilds of Kathiwar—to which apparently his mother belonged, and there he lived for a time in obscurity. In 1583 however he became formidable; he defeated and killed Qutb-ud-din, the governor of Baroda, and also got possession of Ahmadabad. For many years he made head against the imperialists, but at last he was betrayed into the hands of Abdullah, the son of Aziz Koka, by a landholder in Cutch. After making him prisoner, his captors travelled with him all night on the way to Junagarh. In the morning he was allowed to retire in order to ease himself, and sitting down under a tree he took out a razor which he carried in his drawers and cut his throat. This was near the end of December, 1592. A son of his named Bahadur tried to carry on the struggle, but was defeated in the 42nd year, 1527. He however was neither captured nor killed, but lived into the ninth year of Jahangir's reign, 1614, when he died a natural death. His death is the second of the three happy pieces of news chronicled by Jahangir in his *Memoirs*.† The first was the submission of the Rana of Udaipur and the third the defeat of the Portuguese by the English. Jahangir's words are: "The second happy tidings was the death of Bahadur, son of the chief of Gujrat, and the leader of insubordination and turbulence. God of His mercy destroyed him, but he died a natural death."‡

Doubts have been thrown upon Mozaffar's origin, but the probability is that he really was the son of Mahmud III., the King of Gujrat. Itimad, the king's minister, swore on the Koran that he was his master's son, and no credit can be given to his subsequent retraction, made when Mozaffar had left him. At all events Mozaffar showed kingly qualities, for he fought long and bravely

* II. 53.

† Tuzuk, 134.

‡ Elliot, VI., 340

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and at last he died like a Roman. Abul Fazl thinks his suicide was a good thing, as Aziz Koka would not have put him to death without orders, and Akbar would probably have been too soft-hearted to kill him. A similar view is taken in Akbar's letter to Abdullah Khan Uzbek which, of course, was written by Abul Fazl.

The thirtieth year of Akbar's reign—993-94, March 1585 to March 1586—was one of great military activity. Bengal and Gujrat had been in a manner subdued and now Akbar's restless spirit and his theory of "peace with all," which meant with him the incorporation of every Indian State within his empire, made him solicitous of invading the Deccan. With this view his foster-brother, Aziz Koka, was given fiefs in Central India, and he was directed to undertake a southern campaign. Burhan-ul-Mulk, the brother of the King of Ahmadnagar and now an exile at Akbar's court, was to accompany him, and Fateh Ullah of Shiraz, the philosopher and man of science, was to aid in the enterprise by going as an ambassador to the ruler of Candesh.

But in July 1585 an event occurred which drew Akbar's attention to the north of his dominions. This was the death of his half-brother, Muhammad Hakim, the ruler of Kabul. Like so many of the princes of the day he had fallen a victim to intemperance, and had died at the age of thirty-one. It was reported that the Afghan officers were afraid of Akbar and were thinking of applying for help to the King of Turan and of taking to him the two sons of the late King who were only boys. In order to prevent this Akbar hurriedly sent messages of comfort and conciliation to Kabul and also directed Rajah Man Singh to proceed there with a body of troops as soon as possible. Akbar was at Fatehpur Sikri when the news of his brother's death reached him and he set out for the Panjab in August. He went by Delhi and did not proceed with great rapidity for he did not reach Hasan Abdal till December. There he halted for some days and was waited upon by the ambassadors he had sent to Cashmere and who reported to him that Yusuf, the King of that country, had refused to come and do homage or to send back his son Yaqub who had been for a time at Akbar's Court and had fled from there. Upon receiving this report, "the royal wrath," says Abul Fazl, "boiled over, and an order was given that an army should march in order to rouse Yusuf from his slumbers." As Count Noer says in his *Life of Akbar*, the latter now spread out his armies fan-fashion, for he sent one under Mirza Shahrukh—the exiled prince of Badakhshan—and Raja Bhagwan Das to Cashmere, another under Zain Koka against the Yusufzais, a third under Man

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Singh to Kabul, and a fourth under Ismail Quli Khan—a younger brother of the Khan Jahan who conquered Bengal and consequently a sister's son of Bairam Khan—against the Biluchis. Of the four, only the one under Man Singh was successful and it was so without fighting except with the tribes in the Khaibar. That under Zain Khan was at first successful but afterwards was the subject of the heaviest loss that Akbar's arms ever sustained. Apparently this disaster was due in part to the extraordinary way in which Akbar conducted the campaign. Zain Khan after conquering a part of the country asked for reinforcements, and Akbar had meditated sending them under the charge of Abul Fazl who, however, was to be supported by experienced soldiers. But at the last moment, namely, on the evening before the troops were to march, Akbar determined to cast lots as to whether Abul Fazl or Rajah Birbal was to go in command. It had flashed upon his mind, he said, that he should do this in order that the divine decree might be made known without regard to the wishes of either of them. The lot fell upon the Rajah who did not want to go, and Abul Fazl, who according to his own account was eager for the expedition, had to sit in the house of resignation with the broken thorn of sorrow in his heart. Evidently Akbar despised his enemy and thought that Babar's inexperience did not matter so long as an experienced soldier like Zain Khan was associated with him. The result however was most disastrous. Birbal, who was chiefly known as a buffoon, was head-strong as well as ignorant, and insisted on marching through a defile at night. The Afghan attacked them from the heights and the Moghul army was practically annihilated, several thousand men being slain. This great defeat occurred in the middle of February 1586 in the Swat country and in a pass called Balandari. It lies north of Peshawar. Akbar was much grieved, especially at the loss of Birbal. He must have felt that he had lost him as well as his enemy owing to his own folly in deciding a question of generalship by casting lots. Akbar was at Attock when the news reached him. Shortly afterwards Mir Qorash, the ambassador of Abdullah, the King of Turan, arrived. He brought a letter and presents among which were some choice pigeons, for Akbar had been a pigeon-fancier from his boyhood, but owing to Akbar's distress at the defeat and death of Birbal it was some days before he granted the ambassador an audience. The letter which he brought was not altogether a pleasant one, for it taxed Akbar with infidelity and probably if Akbar had not already too many irons in the fire and if he had not been defeated by the

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Yusufzais he would have replied by sending an army to Balkh.* As it was, he returned a soft answer and tried to vindicate his orthodoxy. Akbar stayed at Attock for three and a half months and then returned to Lahore. He spent his time on the Indus, "partly in hunting, partly in the blacksmith shop watching gun-making, partly in practising shooting in his *daulat-khana* or hall of audience, but night and day was occupied with political and financial affairs." His intention had been to wait at Attock till the Yusufzais had been punished and then to go on to Cabul, but on account of the dismay of the Turanians, the entreaties of their ambassador, and the dearth of provisions he desisted from the project. According to Abul Fazl, Man Singh did succeed in chastising the Yusufzais, and it seems that they also suffered terribly from famine, but neither of these things could restore the 7 or 8000 soldiers that Akbar had lost. His defeat in Swat may be compared to the loss of Varus' legions and probably had the same effect, viz. the preservation of the freedom of the barbarians. Here it may be remarked that Akbar's grandfather Babar went to work in a wiser way with the Yusufzais than Akbar did. Instead of going to war with them he married the daughter of one of their chiefs—the charming Bibi Mubarika the Afghani Agacha of Gulbadan Begam's Memoirs. Before Akbar left Attock he received the submission of Yusuf, the pusillanimous king of Cashmere.† The expedition to Cashmere in the previous year had not been successful. The army never reached the valley and the leaders were glad to make a compromise with the foe and to retire. Now in the 31st year Akbar wished to send forth a second expedition. But first he desired to consult the astrologers. They exercised their art and reported that if some energy were used, the conquest would be quickly accomplished. Accordingly Qasim Khan, Mir Bahr (Lord High Admiral), the builder of the fort of Agra, was appointed commander and he set off in June. He encountered some opposition from Yaqub, the son of Yusuf, but eventually entered Srinagar in November. Akbar himself did not visit Cashmere till the 34th year of his reign. His officers opposed his going, but he determined on making the expedition and gave as one of his reasons that he was fulfilling a pious duty, for a visit to Cashmere had been one of his father Humayun's aspirations. Akbar left in the end of April 1589 and entered

* He took some time in replying to the message, for the ambassador did not set out on his return journey till August 1586.

† This was not Akbar's first attempt to conquer Cashmere. He made an unsuccessful attempt as far back as 1561. See the article on "The Muhammadan Conquest of Cashmere" in *East and West* (Bombay) for June, 1904.

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Srinagar on 5th June following. The *Akbarnama* gives a minute account of his marches, even stating the number of *kos* and poles that he traversed each day. At the entrance to Cashmere he had sent off Burhan-ul-Mulk to try and get possession of Ahmadnagar, as his mad brother was now dead and his own son had been placed on the throne. It is significant that Burhan declined to have a Moghul army to assist him as he said that would prejudice the Deccanis against him. Akbar stayed about two months in the valley and left it by the western and Pakli route, having entered it from the south. Abul Fazl was with him and has given an account of Cashmere, and of the settlement, in which his brother Faizi took part which should be compared with the details in the *Ain*. Akbar paid two more visits to Cashmere. The second was paid in the 37th year, 1592, and Akbar followed the same route in coming and going as on the first occasion. The third and last was in the 42nd year, 1597, and on this occasion he stayed three months in Srinagar. He both came and went by the Pir Pantsal route. On this occasion the Jesuit Missionary Jerome Xavier was with him and he has left a description of the famine in the valley. When Akbar left the valley in 1589 he went to Attock and from there to Kabul without returning to Lahore. He reached Kabul about the 21st September. He stayed there for about two months and took the opportunity of visiting the tombs of his grandfather, Babar, of his uncle, Hindal, and of his half-brother, M. Hakim. On his way back and about the 24th November, Abdu-r-Rahim, the Khan-Khanan, made him the appropriate present of his Persian translation of the Emperor Babar's *Memoirs*, in which there is much written about Afghanistan.

The next prominent event in Akbar's career is the conquest of Scinde. This was effected in the 37th year of the reign, 1591-92, and was chiefly due to the abilities of the Khan-Khanan, Abdu-r-Rahim. This event is chronicled in a second letter of Akbar to Abdullah Khan.* For some years after this Akbar had an almost uninterrupted series of successes, and consolidated his power in all directions. Orissa was annexed to the empire by Rajah Man Singh, Gujrat was finally conquered, and Qandahar which had so long been a bone of contention between India and Persia was surrendered and made one of Akbar's mint-towns (early in 1596). In the beginning of 1598 also Abdullah Khan Uzbek, Akbar's great rival, died, and he was freed from apprehensions in that quarter. The only failure during these years was when Prince Murad, Akbar's second son, was compelled to raise the

* *Akbarnama*, III. 704.

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siege of Ahmednagar. This was in March 1596. Ahmadnagar was then defended by the heroic Chand Bibi, the sister of Murtaza Nizam, the mad man, and of Burhan Nizam and widow of Adil Shah of Bijapur. She was acting as regent for her infant grand-nephew Bahadur Shah. Though successful on this occasion she was put to death on the 3rd July 1600 by some of the Ahmadnagar people on their learning that she was in treaty with the Moghuls for the surrender of the fortress. The report they heard was true for Chand Bibi, probably on good grounds, thought that the struggle was hopeless and endeavoured to make the best terms she could with the besiegers. For this purpose she had previously been in secret communication with Abul Fazl who at this time was employed in the Deccan, though Prince Daniel would not allow him to share in the glory of taking Ahmadnagar. Possibly it was this correspondence with Abul Fazl* which led to Abhang Khan's deserting his post. The date of Chand Sultana's death is not given in the Lucknow lithograph of *Ferishta*, and Abul Fazl's narrative would lead one to suppose that she was killed early in the siege. But in a manuscript of *Ferishta* in my possession it is stated that she was killed in the beginning of Moharram, 1009, which corresponds to the 3rd July, 1600. The statement however in Elphinstone that the fortress was taken a few days after her death is not quite correct for it was not stormed till 16th August, 1600.† Previously to that, the garrison had done their best to defend the place and met the mining by countermining. But a mine into which 180 maunds of gunpowder were placed blew up a bastion and part of the wall and enabled the besiegers to enter. The whole period of the siege was four months and four days, Prince Daniel was the nominal Victor, but according to *Ferishta* the principal merit was due to his diwan Khwajah Abul Husain. Chand Sultana's fate was deplorable, and one would have preferred to know that she resisted to the last and perished in the breach. But probably she was doing what seemed best for her great nephew, Bahadur Shah. Her murderer was Jita Khan, a eunuch. She had consulted him about surrendering, and he pretended to agree with her and then went out and roused the garrison against her. He was put to death after the storm as well as most of the male inhabitants. In the storm, 1500 of the garrison were put to the sword. Bahadur Shah, who was but a child, was sent to Gwalior and immured there till his death.

* *Akbarnama*, III. 765.

† According to Faizi Sirhindi who gives the date as 18th *Safer*, 1009.

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The great fort of Asirghar fell at about the same time as Ahmadnagar, and another Bahadur was added to the list of the captive princes. It seemed as if Akbar was to be everywhere successful, and on his return to Fatehpur, he erected a magnificent gateway and placed upon it an inscription that he had conquered the Deccan and the kingdom of Candesh in the 46th year of the reign. In compliment to his son the name Candesh was now changed to Dandesh or the country of Daniel and under this name it appears in the *Ain*. But, as Mr. Keene remarks, there is in the inscription a sudden modulation into the minor key in the true spirit of the slave on the Roman car. Said Jesus, on whom be peace, "The world is a bridge, pass over it, but build no house there." . . . "Thy best possession is what thou hast given in alms ; thy best traffic is selling this world for the next." When we think of the fate of the dearly loved son, Prince Daniel, who died a victim to his own vice some three years after the erection of this gorgeous gateway, we are reminded of the course pronounced on the rebuilder of Jericho : "He shall lay the foundation thereof in his first-born, and in his youngest shall he set up the gates of it."

In point of fact Akbar's last years were years of failure and sorrow. In November 1597, as he was on his way back from his third and last visit to Cashmere, he lost a favourite grandson, Mirza Rustum, the son of Prince Murad. The boy, who was about nine years of age, had been brought up at the court by his great-grandmother, Jigi Anaga, who had been Akbar's favourite nurse, and was a child of great promise. Akbar was much attached to his grandchildren, and loved them, says Abul Fazl, more than his sons. He showed this afterwards by his preference of Khusru over Jahangir and still more by his affection for Prince Kharram, afterwards Shah Jahan, and whose early promise he discerned. About eighteen months later, Rustum's death was followed by that of his father Murud. He died at Jalnapur, partly of a broken heart, but chiefly of his drunken habits. From his behaviour in the Cabul campaign, and from what Abul Fazl and his half-brother Jahangir say of him, he appears to have been by nature the most sedate and princely of the three sons. His son's death preyed upon his mind, and to this was added the mortification of his failure at Ahmednagar. He was beaten there by a woman, but the defeat was not altogether his fault, for the Khan Khanan was not a trustworthy co-adjutor. The shame which he felt at his failure and at his own degrading vice shows that he was not hardened or callous. His one idea, says Abul Fazl, was to escape from going to court and meeting his

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father. With this view he went off again towards Ahmadnagar when he heard that Abul Fazl was approaching.

Akbar's eldest son, Prince Selim, afterwards Jahangir, was also a drunkard and he was worse for he was also a rebel and a murderer. From the time of early manhood he had ceased to be a comfort to his father, and it is noteworthy that he was not, like his brothers, placed at an early age in charge of a province. At one time his father had wanted him to undertake an expedition into Central Asia, but the attractions of India were too strong for him and he refused to go. On another occasion he was sent against the Rana of Udaipur, but he mismanaged the campaign. There is a dark story current in Lahore, and referred to by Terry, the English chaplain, that Selim had, like Jacob's eldest son, defiled his father's bed. He had fallen in love with Anarkali (the pomegranate-bud), one of Akbar's concubines, the father sitting in his hall of mirrors saw their eyes meet and he retaliated by burying the poor girl alive. Selim erected a beautiful tomb to her memory, and placed on it a remarkable inscription telling of his love and sorrow. This long stood in its place under a dome, but when the tomb or mosque was converted into an English church, Lahore Christianity could not endure the proximity of a dancing-girl's bones and so the tomb was shunted into a corner. It now lies there, I believe, and is littered with old envelopes and the stock-in-trade of a *duftari*.

Though Abul Fazl's brother Faizi was Selim's tutor he himself seems never to have got on with the heir-apparent. He paid all his court to Akbar, and he probably saw that any attempt to gain the prince's favour would be disliked by the King. There is a story* told that Selim once made a raid upon Abul Fazl's house and found forty writers busy copying a commentary on the Koran. He at once took them and their papers to his father to show him that though Abul Fazl might profess the Divine Faith at court yet in his heart he was a Muhammadan. Probably the commentary was the voluminous work of Abul Fazl's father Mubarak, as we know from another source that Akbar was displeased with Abul Fazl for having this commentary copied out and distributed to foreign princes without permission. It is probably to this raid of Selim's and to Akbar's displeasure with him for his apparent duplicity that Abul Fazl refers at p. 740 of the third volume of the *Akbarnama*. He there tells how he had been rudely awakened from a pleasant dream. He had thought that he was occupying a quiet home in the pleasant land of "peace with all" when he suddenly found that he had

* See the *Maisiru-l-Umara*, II. 610, and also the *Iqbalnama*.

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incurred the dislike of the Prince-royal. Being very busy, he had been remiss, he tells us, in paying his respects to the Prince, and this had angered the latter. Flatterers and those who envied or disliked Abul Fazl did not fail to fan the flame. To use Abul Fazl's words "many untrue remarks were solid as truths." Worst of all, Akbar became prejudiced against him, and withdrew his favour from him. It is true that Abul Fazl goes on to say that it all came right in the end, and that Akbar became more gracious to him than ever. But if so, this did not happen for some time for a few pages further on (pp. 748-49) he tells us that it was in consequence of court-intrigues that his removal from Agra was obtained in the beginning of 1599 on the pretext that he should go to the Deccan and bring or send back Prince Murad. Abul Fazl mentions several instances of Selim's misbehaviour and it is noticeable and a little humorous that he never expounds his horoscope. One of the most distressing rudenesses of Selim was his behaviour to his grand-mother, the venerable Hamida Banu or "Mary of the household." She heard that Jahangir was passing within 8 or 10 miles on his way to Allahabad and went off to meet him, and doubtless hoped to give him good advice and to promote his reconciliation with his father. But the graceless fellow urged on his boatmen and went rapidly down stream. "The noble lady returned with a sad heart" (p. 773). Selim pursued his journey to Allahabad and then set about dispossessing his father's officers of their fiefs and bestowing them on his own favourites. He also seized the collection of Behar which amounted to thirty lacs of rupees and assumed the title of King. This was in the 45th year of the reign, 1600. In the 47th year Selim left Allahabad with a large army with the object, apparently of giving battle to his father, but either his heart failed him, or some relic of goodness influenced him and he turned back at Etawah. When one thinks that in this same year he procured the murder of Abul Fazl it is difficult to suppose that his retreat was dictated by any good motive. In the same year, August 1602, Selim had Abul Fazl waylaid and murdered. He heard that he had been summoned by his father to court, and that he was proceeding rapidly and with a small retinue from the Deccan. He judged that this boded no good to his own schemes for he and his father's secretary and counsellor had long been on bad terms.* He there-

* Orcha or Oorcha is in Central India and on the Betwa river. There is a view of Bir Singh's palace at Dittah in Captain Bellew's *Views of India*, London, 1833. Bir Singh is locally regarded as a great man and the founder of the family fortunes, and if he was Selim's servant, it may be said for him that he only obeyed orders.

fore suggested to Rajah Bir Singh Bondala of Orcha, who had long been in his service, and who, it seems, was then in Allahabad in attendance on Selim, that he should attack and murder Abul Fazl as he was passing through his territory and promised him great rewards if he succeeded. The undertaking was not a difficult one for the Rajah's possessions lay right upon Abul Fazl's road and the country there was wild and full of ravines. Bir Singh accepted the proposal, hurried down to his estates and lay in wait. Abul Fazl, it is said, was warned when he arrived at Ujjain that Bir Singh was prepared to attack him, and was advised to change his route but he refused to do so. He insisted on pushing on, and was attacked and killed on a Friday—a propitious day for martyrdom—12th August 1602, at a place between Antri and Bir Sarai in the Gwalior country. In Jahangir's own words in his *Memoirs* "Heaven favoured him (Bir Singh), and when Abul Fazl passed through his land, he stopped him on his way, dispersed after a short fight his men, and killed him, and sent his head to me at Allahabad. Although my father was at first much vexed, Abul Fazl's death produced one good result; I could now without further annoyance go to my father, and his bad opinion of me gradually wore away." (Blochmann's Translation). According to one writer, the head was thrown into a jakes. The body lies in a neglected tomb in the village of Antri, and is locally described as the grave of Fuzloo. It would be hardly proper to disturb the remains, unless with the object of giving them a more honourable sepulchre, but I confess it would be interesting to know if the skull were wanting.

We may judge of how much Akbar had fallen off in vigour of mind by the fact that he overlooked the flagrant crime of his son and sought to salve his conscience by pursuing the miserable instrument Bir Singh. Where now was that trait in Akbar's character of which Abul Fazl has so much to say, namely, his impartial justice between friend and stranger when an offence had been committed? With an amiable desire perhaps to save Akbar's credit, Elphinstone remarks that "Akbar does not seem to have known of his son's share of the crime." But would any one have dared to kill his secretary and counsellor unless supported by the heir-apparent, and besides we have Jahangir's own statement that Akbar was at first very angry with him for what he had done. When we read the account of Selim's barbarities, and of this last crime and of Akbar's ignoring of it, there is something humorous in Abul Fazl shakings of the head over the excessive paternal affection of Abdullah Khan, the ruler of Turan. Abdullah was Akbar's great rival and died in

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January or February, 1598. Writing of his death and character (p. 736 of Vol. III) Abul Fazl says :—

“ One of the events was the death of Abdullah Khan, the ruler of Turan. To some extent he devoted his life to the administration of justice, but on account of child-worship (*far-zand-parasti*) he did not suppress his son's tyranny. The latter, from the idea that he was the Regent and successor (*janishini*) hunted the lives of many innocent persons, and ruined families. Unmeasured kindness made the wicked man infatuated, and he made long his arm against the lives, the property and the honour of men. The first awakening of a monarch should be his inquiring from time to time into the characters of his sons and sons-in-law and other near relatives, for complaints against them are not readily preferred, and his making no distinction between them and others in the administration of justice. He must not be slothful in making the investigations of a king. Abdullah Khan, out of excessive love, did not speak to him as a father, and only after a long time did he give him maternal advice. Consequently that dull-witted one waxed more and more insolent. The senility of the king and the vogue of flatterers held him back from right actions. He looked upon the representations of such right-thinking and right-speaking men as did not tremble for their own safety as being instigated by interested motives. At length Abdul Mumin came gradually to play with the idea of taking his father's life, and lay in wait for an opportunity.”

If, as was his custom, Abul Fazl read this part of his history to his master the latter can hardly have failed to see its application to himself. Indeed it is difficult not to suppose that when Abul Fazl wrote it he must have been thinking about Prince Selim and that he meant Akbar to make an application of the remarks to himself.

Akbar was deeply grieved for the death of Abul Fazl. The author of the continuation of the *Akbarnama* (Inayat Ullah ?) says that he heard on good authority that Akbar was watching the flights of his pigeons when Farid Bakhshi brought the news, and that he immediately uttered a cry and became insensible. He remained long in a swoon and when he came out of it he was for days in tears. He also spoke in terms of bitter reproach of the Prince-Royal for what he had done, and in fact never really forgave him. The author of the *Iqbalnama* also tells us that he had repeatedly witnessed Akbar's grief for Abul Fazl's death. Akbar is said to have remarked that if Selim had wished to be emperor he might have killed him (Akbar) and spared Abul Fazl. He is also said to have given vent to his feelings in two lines of poetry in which he

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alluded to Abul Fazl's having been killed as he was hurrying to wait upon him.

"My Shaik in his zeal hastened to meet me

From desire of kissing my feet he lost his own and also his head."

Miriam Makani, Akbar's mother, Gulbadan Begam, his aunt, and Selima Sultana Begam, his cousin and wife, all interceded for Selim. Their prayers were listened to, and Selima went off towards Allahabad to bring him to court. In order to show him that he was forgiven she took with her as presents, an elephant, a horse and a robe of honour. She succeeded in persuading him of this and brought him back with her in the 48th year of the reign, but though he tendered an enormous present of twelve thousand gold-coins and nearly one thousand elephants he was not really forgiven. Shortly before this Gulbadan Begam, Akbar's father's half-sister and the accomplished author of the *Memoirs* known as the *Humayun Nama*, died, on February 7, 1603, at the ripe age of 81.

In spite of all his knowledge of Selim's character, Akbar was weak enough to entrust him once more with an army and to send him on a campaign against the Rana of Udaipur. This was the same enterprise which he had managed so badly in the 45th year of the reign. On this occasion he did no better. He marched as far as twenty miles from the capital and then reported that he was unable to advance further on account of the smallness of his force and the want of an equipment. He wanted to come back, but Akbar replied in oriental language that the stars were unfavourable to his return and that as he had gone off at a time approved by the astrologers he had better go on to Allahabad and enjoy himself. This message was brought to him by his half-sister, Shakarnisa Begam.

The gloom of the 48th year was lightened by good news from Bengal, Rajah Man Singh having defeated a zamindar of Eastern Bengal named Kedar Rai, and his allies the Magh Rajah and the Portuguese pirates. The battle took place near Bikrampur. There was also a success in Cashmere, Ali Rai, the ruler of Little Tibet, having been forced to retire.

But the news of Prince Selim was worse than ever. On returning to Allahabad he had given himself up to debauchery, to the ruin of his temper and nerves. One of his dreadful deeds was the causing his Recorder to be flayed alive in his presence for desertion and the killing or mutilation of two of his accomplices. When Akbar heard of this he remarked: "We, during the time of our rule, have not tried to hurt an ant, and are not willing that a dead sheep

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should be flayed. How then has our honoured son had the heart to do such things, and how has he ventured to spoil what has been built by God ? ”

He was so much moved by this and other acts of the prince that he resolved to go to Allahabad and read him a lesson. But he was stopped at first by his boat's taking the ground and becoming immovable. This was regarded as an unfavourable omen. Bad weather ensued and the troops were in much distress and on the top of these things came the news of the serious illness of the king's mother. He therefore returned and shortly afterwards, namely, on 29 August 1604, his mother died. She could not have been many years younger than her old friend Gulbadan Begam who had passed away in the previous year. Akbar who at first was inclined to think that her illness was feigned in order to prevent his journey—probably he remembered that something of the kind had happened before in his young days when they wanted to get him away to Delhi—did not start at once and when he arrived he found his mother insensible. She was buried beside her husband in the majestic mausoleum near Delhi. Her death gave Selim an excuse for coming to court—to offer his condolences, he said. He came in November 1604 and as before he offered magnificent presents. These were accepted, but he was not received as graciously as on former occasion. On the contrary Akbar shut him up for twelve days in the *ghusal khana* or private parlour, and deprived him, to some extent, at least, of his favourite wine and opium. We are told that his sisters were allowed to come and see him during his imprisonment, and doubtless they brought him comforts. Akbar also ordered him into retirement in his own quarters, but as the condition of Prince Daniel seemed to be now hopeless, he had not the heart to proceed further against Selim and to punish him as he deserved. He therefore allowed him to retain his rank and his fiefs as before.

We now come to the 50th and last year of the reign.

In April 1605 Prince Daniel,* Akbar's third son, died at Burhampur of the same cause as his half brother Murad. The fact that all three sons of Akbar were drunkards, and that they were by different, and apparently, by Hindoo mothers, seems to show that the taint in the blood came from the father. And indeed Akbar, according

* Daniel was Akbar's favourite son, and judging by his portrait by Nadir of Samarkand, No. 351 in the Ashraf Album in the British Museum, he was like his father in his person. He also resembled his father in his fondness for elephants and in his taste for Hindustani music and poetry.



Akbar Receiving the Child of Bairam Khan (Abdu-r-Rahim)

Blocks by Messrs. W. Griggs & Sons of London from Photographs taken specially for *The Indian World* from the Clarke Mss. of the *Akbarnamah* in the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington. with permission from the President of the Board of Education, England.

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to the Portuguese missionaries, was given to drink, and Ferishta tells us that he was also an opium-eater and so fears of the result were entertained when he had an illness in 1582. His father, grandfather and great-grandfather all had the same propensity for stimulants but perhaps we should remember in their favour that tea and tobacco were then unknown, and that coffee was hardly procurable. It would seem that Daniel was the most brilliant of the three sons, and that he was his father's favourite. His death was a heavy blow to his father who only survived him by a few months, dying at Agra on the 15th or 16th October 1605. He had then just completed his sixty-third year.* So perished the dreams which, according to Badayuni, Akbar had entertained of his exceeding the ordinary term of human life, and which Abul Fazl affected to expect with regard to himself. However, Akbar exceeded the life-duration of his father, grandfather and great-grandfather, and of nearly all his descendants except Aurangzeb. Akbar's body was conveyed to Bibishtabad, that is, Sikandra on the following morning.

Apparently Akbar's illness was caused or aggravated by a disturbance at an elephant-fight. Jahangir's elephant beat Khusru's animal and when a third elephant appeared, according to Akbar's orders, to help the defeated one, Jahangir's men threw clods and bricks at the driver and wounded him.† There is a long account of Akbar's last moments in the version of the *Tuzuk* translated by Major Price, but the authenticity of this version of the *Memoirs* is doubtful.

The edition of the *Memoirs* of Jahangir translated by Major Price has been denounced as spurious, and undoubtedly they contain some mistakes which Jahangir was not likely to have made. But they agree too closely in many places with the genuine *Memoirs* to be altogether a forgery, and the fact that they were transcribed as early as 1640 or only three years after Jahangir's death (if indeed this date be not part of the forgery) seems, as Mr. Morley has remarked, to be evidence of their genuineness. Dr. Rieu regrets that so poor a fabrication should have been given to the world as a genuine production of Jahangir, but in fact it contains some very

* There is a story, told first apparently by Peter van den Broecke, who had been for many years in charge of the Dutch establishment at Surat, that Akbar was the victim of his own wiles, he having by mistake swallowed poisoned globules which he had intended for Mirza Ghazi, the son of Jani Beg, the whilom ruler of Scinde. See De Laet's *India Vera*, Leyden 1631, p. 204. The story has also been repeated by Father Catrou and by Talboys Wheeler, but is in all probability false. There seems to have been nothing abnormal in Akbar's illness or death. There is a full account of Mirza Ghazi in the *Tuzuk Jahangir*, p. 109, but there is no reference to Akbar's being displeased with him etc. We learn from this account that M. Ghazi was in Agra at the time of Akbar's death.

† See Preface to *Tuzuk*, p. 16.

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interesting paragraphs which we should have been glad to find in the more complete *Memoirs*. Among them is a detailed account of Akbar's last moments.* According to it, Akbar died a Muhammadan. He made his son Selim send for the Sadr Jahan or chief ecclesiastical officer and made him recite the Kalma Shahadat, or Muhammadan confession of faith. After he had done so, Akbar addressed himself to his son and begged him to be careful to continue the allowances to the ladies of his harem—a kind request which may remind us of Charles II's dying request to his brother not to let poor Nell starve. Then he requested the Sadr Jahan to repeat the confession once more, and he himself joined in, and recited the creed with a loud and a distinct voice. After that he asked the Sadr Jahan to recite the long and famous 36th chapter of the Koran, known as the *Ya Seen* chapter and which Muhammad is said to have styled the heart of the Koran. Then he asked him to repeat the *Adilah* prayer which, I am informed, is a prayer much used in Persia and by *Shias* generally at the time of the death-agony. Curiously enough, the word is not given in our dictionaries. Akbar is also said to have recited some verses of poetry on his death-bed and among them is a quatrain which was composed by Faizi shortly before his death. It was a complaint of the hardness of fate in which he whose spirit was once too vast for the universe could now scarce draw half a breath. It is likely enough that Akbar might repeat these lines of his favourite poet though they were more specially applicable to Faizi's case as he died of asthma. If the narrative is true and if Akbar wished to die in the true faith, it is rather singular that he should have called in the Sadr Jahan for, according to Badayuni, the latter was a convert to Akbar's new religion.

Akbar died in Agra Fort on the eve of Wednesday, the 16th October 1605, and so apparently upon the anniversary of his birthday. He was buried next day in Secundra, but the splendid tomb which now exists there was not then finished, and perhaps had not yet been begun.

H. Beveridge

(To be continued)

* Price, pp. 75-77.

THE JUMNA AT AGRA

THE JUMNA AT AGRA

A puny feeble creeping stream,
Struggling through sand-swollen bed,
Its lowly soul for e'er to lose
In holy Ganga far ahead—
Is this the Jumna, this the stream
That poets sing and lovers dream ?

Is this the stream of kisses lost,
Of loves and losses, O ! untold ?
This the stream erst sanctified
By Radha's tears in days of old ;
On which the sweet Mumtaz would fain
Gaze and smile and gaze again ?

Ah no ! much rather would I choose
To wipe off from my poet's eye
The years and ages long begone,
Not see the Jumna thus belie
The noble past that it has seen
And majesty its own has been ;

And look on Jumna undefiled
By man's begotten filth and dirt,
Undiminish'd, by stoutest forts
Its lofty banks so rich begirt ;—
Which yet, for soft and limpid stream
For loves and kisses made would seem.

Fain would I like the royal maid
Of Delhi* mount the tower bold
By ruins of Prithwiraja's pride
And strain yearning eyes to behold
The heaving Jumna nobly splash
And feet of Indraprastha wash !

And winding on its languid course
With bewitching smile oft 'twould cast
A sweet glance, and soft murmur come
Of myriad ripples rushing past :

* It is said that the Kutb-Minar was originally built by Prithwiraj to let his laughter see the Jumna from it.

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Glory in smiling beauty lost
In heaving bosom deep embosst.

Lo ! rushing down in heedless haste
I'd see its fury sweetly melt
To tiny ripples playing past
Radha's grove, as Krishna knelt
At Radha's feet, in transport mute,
And Jumna sang its sweet tribute.

O the joy, the beauty and love
By lyre of bards immortal made !
I hear the echoes of its song,
Ringing, singing sweet serenade.—
Jumna, th' ancient love in thy breast
Makes thy water doubly blest !

My heart leaps with joy ; and something
More than sordid earth whispers love
And joy in my too modern heart
Alas ! to melt in sorrow and move
Thy sands, Jumna, to murmur grief
For Radha's wasted pleasure brief.

“ Thrice happy stream ! ” Radha's wail
Methinks I hear, “ 'Thou yet art blest
With sight and touch of Krishna's feet
Canst thou not take up from my breast
My plaintive song and sadly sing
'Till in Krishna's cruel ear it ring.

Who knows but Radha's tearful tale
Thou most sorrowfully didst take
To Muthra, where thy plaintive song
Rang in the air and did break
Against palace ramparts in vain
While the sweet girl her tears did rain !

“ Vain scribbler ! who cares to list
To tales of woe so oft retold ?
Let's rather turn another page
And less sickening stuff behold ! ”
Sayest thou, and I quickly turn
To times when widows they did burn.

THE JUMNA AT AGRA

A sad monument* there it stands—
Of constant love in life and death
Of royal princess to her spouse :—
Junna do thou hold thy breath
And softly pass, for here sits death
On sweetest soul that e'er drew breath.

As yet I see thee rushing on
Through loveless plains, as beautiful
As the gay deer that leaps with joy
Upon thy banks ;—and glorious
Like the proudest peacock that there
Struts and spreads its plumage so fair,

Methinks I feel thy heart beat high
To hear the fiery Moghul lead
Huge armies to their glory,
To feel many millions tread
Thy bank as to the field they go
To fight what foes they hardly know !

With pride I see thy bosom swell ;—
Yet does a regretting tear drop
In thy inmost heart, at thought
Of deaths they mean ? Ah, wherefore stop
To whine at the evils of death
When all must die that e'er drew breath ?

I would much rather choose to dream
When embosom'd in thy glassy breast
The marble palace rich bedecked
With shining jewels fair did rest :—
The palace thy own Shah Jahan
Built, Agra ! ere thy fall began.

Methinks in thy singing ripples
That ceaseless beat the heartless stone
Ring trembling trinkets of Mumtaz
Skipping in chamber all alone,
As in thy breast her loveliest frame
Dancing, puts the lily to shame.

* The Sati-ka Burz or the Tower of the Sutee in Muzra stands on the Jumna on the site where a Rajput princess burnt herself on her husband's funeral pyre.

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The king a truant from the State
Steals a glance at ravishing face
That smiles and talks, not knowing him,
To Jumna as it runs its race ;
While clasping her the doting breeze
Fondly kissing, forgets to cease.

He steals the softest march on her
And shining bright with joy and love
Lays his nimble hands on eyes
Sparkling, as she, " It doesn't behove
A royal lord to play a thief,"
In feigned anger speaks to chief.

The charmed king in fond embrace
Sweetly held the little frame ;
Her beaming face in hand encas'd,
Called her by her sweetest name :
And love to love and smile to smile
Spoke in the silence all the while.

Drawing closer and closer still
The hungry lips did quick advance
And each to the other spoke a tale
Of endless love ; while yearning glance
Finished up the message each
Had to the other's heart to reach.

O Jumna, what wouldst thou not give
To have the picture deep engraved
On thy glassy breast as then —
A picture luck would fain have saved
Through ages when thy all is gone
The frailest frame and strongest stone !

Nor wouldst thou moan thy plaintive song
Thy tribute at foot of beauty laid
In death—the greatest beauty's thief—
Under the coolest marble shade :—
Loveliest thing that Love could build
To mourn love the loveliest filled.

The lustre of thy bygone days
Is gone, and dost thou seek to hide

THE JUMNA AT AGRA

Thy face in oblivion's sand ?
Ah no ! creep on whate'er betide !
Treasure of memories sublime
No fate can waste thy fame nor time !

What if to feed the hungry poor
Thou hast given thy life away,
To soften cruel earth and make
Profusion smile where desert lay ?
Like *Dadhechi* famed of old
In sacrifice thou hast been bold !

What if thy noble mission done.
India's glory faded long,
Thou choose a humble path to trace,
Warbling there thy joyless song ?
Better than thou shouldst shameless strut
Like pompous prince in lowly hut.

Encosen

REVIEW & NOTICE

KRISHNA LEGEND

II. VASUDEVA IN EARLY JAINA LITERATURE

A fuller account of Vasudeva and his family is supplied by the Jaina scriptures. A complete life like the Ghata-Jataka or Harivamsa is nowhere given. But in narrating various legends or describing the divine hierarchy a deal of informations is furnished incidentally about Vasudeva. The narrations are as a rule prolix, and the descriptions often diffuse. In some instances therefore I have condensed the references quoted.

The earliest Jaina scriptures or Siddhantas consist of

- 12 Angas,
- 12 Uvangas, and
- lastly, miscellaneous Sutras.

In spite of the valuable informations contained in the Siddhantas, they have been neglected by the Indian scholars. Much of this neglect can be accounted for by the rarity of their manuscripts outside Western India, the fragmentary state of their texts, the difficulties of their language (Ardha-Magadhi), and the diffuseness of their style.

The Jaina mythology enumerates in the present age (avasarpiṇi) nine Baladevas and nine Vasudevas, of whom the last were Rama and Kṛṣṇa. These last are said to have been contemporaries of the 22nd Tirthamkara, Ariṣṭanemi.

A. ANGAS

(i) Ayare or Acharanga Sutra. Anga I.

"A monk or nun on a begging tour may accept food &c. from unblamed, uncensured families, to wit, noble families, distinguished families, royal families, families belonging to the line of Ikshvaku, of Hari, . . . ; for such food &c. is pure and acceptable. (2)"

Book II, Lecture I, Lesson 2 ; H. Jacobi's translation ;
the Sacred Books of the East, vol. XXII, page 92.

(ii) Suyagade or Sutrakritanga. Anga II.

(a) "A man believes himself a hero as long as he does not behold the foe, as did Sisupala (before he beheld) the valorously fighting great warrior."

Book I, Lecture 3 ; Jacobi, S.B.E. Vol. XLV, p. 261.

(b) "As Vishvakṣena (i.e. Kṛṣṇa) is the most famous of warriors

as the lotus is the best of flowers, as Dantavakra is the best of Kshattriyas, so Vardhamana is the best of sages. (22)"

Book I, Lecture 6 ; XLV., p. 290.

(iii) Samava-e or Samavayanga Sutra. **Anga IV.**

This Sutra concludes thus with a list of Vasudevas (nine), Baladevas (nine), their parents, their capitals and their enemies :

"In the Jambu island, in the Bharata vishe, in the present avasarpini (age), lived nine Vasudevas and nine Baladevas. Their fathers were—1. Prajapati, 2. Brahma, 3. Soma, 4. Rudra, 5. Siva, 6. Mahesvara, 7. Agnisimha, 8. Dasaratha, ninth by name Vasudeva (49).

"In the Jambu island &c., the mothers of nine Vasudevas were—1. Mrigavati, 2. Uma, 3. Prithvi, 4. Sita, 5. Ambika, 6. Lakshmi-vati, 7. Seshavati, 8. Kekayi, 9. Devaki (50).

"In the Jambu island &c., the mothers of the nine Baladevas were—1. Bhadra, 2. Subhadra, 3. Suprabha, 4. Sudarsana, 5. Vijaya, 6. Vajrayanti, 7. Jayanti, 8. Aparajita, (51).

"The ninth Rohini ; these are the mothers of the Baladevas."

[A little after are described their attributes and ornaments, from the latter of which I cull out the following] "palm-bannerred and floating Giruda-bannerred," "having in the hands plough, club and golden (arrow), holding conch-shell, discus, club, spear, and Nandaka (sword)," "having the bright, clear, beautiful, the best Kaustubha (gem) in the crown," "the lotus-eyed," "with the Srivatsa (gem) hanging (over the breast),"—"wearing blue (for Baladeva) and yellow (for Vasudeva) cloths, the two brothers Rama-Kesava appeared. From Tripriishtha to Kanha (Krishna), from Achala to Rama, these are the old (Vasudevas and Baladevas).*(52)"

"The nine cities of Vasudevas were from Mathura up to Hastinapura ; the nine enemies of Vasudevas (*prati-vasudeva:*), were from Hayagriva to Jarasandha.† (57)."

(iv) Amtagadadasanam or Antakritdhasas. **Anga VIII.**

This Anga is specially rich in Vasudeva legends. The text of

* The text names the first and the last ; the remaining seven are named in the old Gujarati gloss as follows :

Vasudevas—2. Dvipriishtha, 3. Svayambhu, 4. Purushottama, 5. Purushasimha, 6. Puru-ha pundarika, 7. Datta, 8. Narayana.
Baladevas—2. Vijaya, 3. Bhadra, 4. Suprabha, 5. Sudarsana, 6. Ananda, 7. Nanda, 8. Padma.

† The old gloss fills the the gap with the following names :—
Cities—2. Kanakavastu, 3. Sravasti, 4. Potanapura, 5. Rajagriha, 6. Kakandl (Sanchi), 7. Kosambi, 8. Mithila.

Enemies—2. Taraka, 3. Meraka, 4. Madhukaitabha, 5. Nisumbha, 6. Bali, 7. Prablada, 8. Ravana.

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the Calcutta edition is, however, in a corrupt fragmentary state ; and my translation is only tentative.

(a) THE FIRST LEGEND

"At that time there was the city of Dvaravati, 12 yojanas long, nine yojanas wide. Made by the skill of Vaisavana with wall of gold, ornamented with various gems and variously (lit. five) coloured articles, a beautiful (city it was), like the Alakapuri, alive with amusements, graceful, looking like the Devaloka (god's regions).

"On the outside of that Dvaravati city, on the north-east limit lay the hill Raivati ; and on that hill of Raivata was a garden named Nandana, the residence of a Yaksha named Surapriya, who in old days lived in an Asoka tree with a wild bull (?).

"In that Dvaravati city lived Vasudevaraja by name Kanha, a great ruler. With ten Dasarhas headed by Samudravijaya, five chief heroes headed by Baladeva, seventy princes headed by Pradyumna, sixty thousand braves headed by Sambla, fifty-six thousand strong men headed by Mahasena, twenty one thousand heroes headed by Virasena, sixteen thousand kings headed by Ugrasena, sixteen thousand queens headed by Rukmini, many thousand courtesans headed by Anangasena, numerous kings and chiefs and merchants, over the whole of half Bharata, while he (Krishna) ruled in Dvaravati city ; then in the city Dvaravati lived the king named Andhaka-vanhi. The king Andhaka-vanhi, great as the Himavanta (mountain), had a queen named Dharani.

"To him queen Dharani once spoke :—you I consider to be highly favoured, that at the birth of (your) son the lion (mahavala) was seen in the dream. He has learnt the *Kālas* and the enjoyment of life. Have the prince Gotama married to eight chief princesses on one day, giving eight and eight gifts. At that time while the Arhat Krishtanemi Adikara was staying (in the Nandana garden), visited by four kinds of Devas—and while Kanha (with relatives) were coming out at that time Kumara Gotama, also (called) Megha, came out to learn *dharma*."

[Then follows a discourse of Arishtanemi with connected matters] fol. 2a-4a, first varga, first lecture.

(b) OTHER REFERENCES

In the other legends Vasudeva and his family are referred to incidentally, e.g.

(1) "King Vasudeva entering the house of queen Devaki" fol. 11b.

(2) "At that time in the city of Dvaravati was a king named Baladeva Raya and he had a (queen) named Dharani." fol. 32b.

(3) "In Dvaravati city where, as in the first lecture, while Kanha-Vasudeva was ruling, at that time in that city Vasudeva king and Dharani queen lived, that Gautama, otherwise named prince Jali (on reaching youth) having fifty wives, twelve companions till his sixteenth year at last reached salvation. So 2. Mayali, 3. Uvayali, 4. Parisusena, 5. Virasena, 6. Pradyumna, (these princes) with Kanha as father and Rukmini as mother, and so too Samba with Jambuvati as mother, and so too Ruddha with Pradyumna as father and Vaidirbhi as mother, and so too Satyanemi with Sumudravijaya as father and Siva as mother, and so too (prince) Dridhanemi." fol. 34a-b.

(4) "The princes headed by Jali, Mayali, Uvayali, Purissasena, Varisena, Pradyumna, Samba, Aniruddha, Satyanemi, Dridhanemi." fol. 35a.

(5) "Then Kanha-Vasudeva thus asked Arhat Krishtanemi :— Reverend Sir, in what month, after what time shall I go away ? Where shall I go ?" On this Arhat Krishtanemi thus replied to Kanha-Vasudeva :—In sooth, O Kanha ! On the burning of Dvaravati city from the anger of Dvipayana for liquor, in compliance to father and mother, with Rama Baladeva you (would be) going to Pandu's Mathura (city), going to the five Pandavas headed by Yudhishtira, the sons of Pandu Raja ; in the Kansambhi forest at the foot of the Nyagrodha trees while seated on the ground on a stone, with the body covered by yellow cloth, you (would be) pierced on the left leg by a sharp arrow let loose from a bow by the prince Jara ; living for a little while, in the morning, after brightening the earth you would go to the hell." fol. 37a-38a.

(6) "At that time in the Dvaravati city, on the Raivata hill, in the garden in the Nandana woods, while Kanha Vasudeva and his queen Gauri lived, to meet Arhat Arishtanemi Kanha came out and so did (the queen) Gauri also called Padmavati, for hearing *dhamma* discourses. While Kanha came out and Gauri alias Padmavati came out, so did 2. Siddha, 3. Gandhuri, 4. Lakshana, 5. Susima, 6. Jambuvati, 7. Satyabhama, 8. Rukmini, the eight (queens) with Padmavati, as in eight lectures.

At that time &c., there was the son of Kanha-Vasudeva, the son of the queen Jambuvati, the prince by name Samba ; that prince Samba had a wife named Mulasi." fol. 43a-44a ; cf. 34b-35a.

(v) Dithiva-anga or Drishtivada. **Anga XII.**

In the fourth part *Anuvaga*, along with the legendary histories of the Kulakaras, Tirthankaras, Ganadharas, Chakradharas and Dasaras

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is given an account of Vasudevas and Baladevas with a special account of the Harivamsa under the title *Harivamsa-gamdiya*.

B. UPANGAS

(vi) *Uvavaiyam* or *Aupapatikasutra*. **Upanga I.**

In section 76, the following alien faiths are named :—

“The Sankhya, the Yoga, the Kapila, the Bhargava, the Hamsa, the Paramahamsa, the Vahu-Udaka, the Kuti-Vrata, and the Kanha-Parivrata.”

The following Brahmana and Kshattriyas Parivrajās are named in connection :

Brahmanas :—Kanva, Karakanta, *Ambade*, Parasara Kanha-Dvipayana, Devagupta, Narada.

Kshattriyas :—Silaka, *Masihare*, Naggaka, Bhaggaka, *Tiya*, Videha raja, Rama-Baladeva.

(vii) *Pannavana Bhagavai* or *Prajnapana Bhagavati Sutra*. **Upanga IV.**

The first book deals with a division of “men” into Mlechchhas and Aryas. Six gāthās describe the chief countries of the Aryas and their capitals. They give interesting geographical details and are therefore quoted in full :—

“Rajagriha in Magadha, next Champa in Anga, Tamralipti in Banga, Kanchanapura in Kalinga, Banarasi in Kasi. (1)

“Saketa in Kosala, Gajapura (Hastinapura) in Kuru, Sauryaka in Kusasthali (Kusastha), Kampillya in Panchala, Ahichhatra in Jangala (2)

“Dvaravati in Saurashtra, Mithila in Videha, Vatsa in Kausambi, Nandipura in Sandilya (Samdilla), Bhadrālapura in Malaya, (3).

“Vairata in Matsya, Varana in Achchha, Mrittikavada (*Mattiya-vat*), in Dasarna, Srotriyamaka (Sottiyamai) in Chedi, *Vibhayam* in Sindhu-Sauvira (4).

“Mathura in Saurasena, Pava in *Gambhi* or *Bhingi*, Masapura in *Vattu* or *Vuddha*, Sravasti in Kunala, *Kodivarisam* in Lata, (5).

“Half of Kekaya is said to be Arya, where took place the rise of the Jinās, the Chakrinās and the Rama-Kanhas.” (6)

C. MISCELLANEOUS SUTRAS

(viii) The *Nirayavali Sutas*.

In this is narrated a legend about the conversion by Arishtanemi of a son of Baladeva, a nephew of Vasudeva.

(ix) *Uttaradhyayana Sutra*.

(a) “As Vasudeva, the god with the conch, discus and club, who fights with an irresistible strength (has no equal), neither has a very learned monk. (21)

Jacobi, S. B. E. XIV, Lecture XI. p. 98.

(δ) The Legend of Rathanemi.

"In the town of Saurikapura there was a powerful king, Vasudeva by name, who possessed the characteristic marks of a king. (1)

"He had two wives, Rohini and Devaki : each of them had a beloved son, Rama and Kesava. (2)

"In the town of Saurikapura there was (another) powerful king Samudra-Vijaya by name, who possessed the characteristic marks of a king. (3)

"His wife was Siva by name ; and her famous son was the venerable Arishtanemi, the saviour of the world and the lord of ascetics. (4)

"This Arishtanemi, who was gifted with an excellent voice and possessed the thousand and eight lucky marks of the body, was a Gautama, and his skin was black. (5)

"His body was strong like that of a bull, and hard like steel ; he was well-proportioned and had a belly like that of a fish. Kesava asked the girl Rajimati in marriage for him. (6)

"Now this daughter of an excellent king (Ugrasena) was virtuous and well looking ; she possessed all lucky marks of the body and shone forth like the lightning. (7)

"Her father said to the powerful Vasudeva. 'Let the prince come here that I may give him my daughter.' (8)

"He had taken a bath containing all (lucky) herbs, and had performed the customary ceremonies ; he wore a suit of heavenly clothes and was decked out with ornaments. (9)

"Riding on the best mast elephant of Vasudeva he looked beautiful, like a jewel worn on the head. (10)

"He sat under a raised umbrella, fanned by two chowries, and he was surrounded on all sides by a host of Dasarhas and by a complete army drawn up in rank and file, while the heavenly sound of musical instruments reached the sky. (11 and 12)

"With such pomp and splendour the hero of the Vrishnis started from his own palace. (13)

"On his way he saw animals kept in cages and enclosures, overcome by fear and looking miserable. (14)

"Seeing them on the point of being killed for the sake of their flesh, and to be eaten afterwards, the great sage spoke to his charioteer thus : (15)

"'Why are all these animals which desire to be happy, kept in cages and enclosures ?'(16)

"Then the charioteer answered : 'Lucky are these animals because at my wedding they will furnish food for many people.' (17).

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"Having heard these words, which announced the slaughter of many animals, the great sage, full of compassion and kindness to living beings, meditated thus : (18)

"If for thy sake many living beings are killed, I shall not obtain happiness in the next world' (19).

"Then the famous man presented the charioteer with his pair of earrings, his neck-chain, and all his ornaments. (20).

"When he had formed his resolution, the gods descended (from heaven), according to the established custom, to celebrate, with great pomp together with their retinue, the events of his renunciation. (21)

"Surrounded by gods and men, and sitting on an excellent palanquin, the venerable one left Dvaraka and ascended Mt. Raivataka. (22)

"On arriving at the park he descended from his excellent palanquin surrounded by a crowd of thousands, and then his renunciation took place, while the moon was in chitra. (23)

"Then he himself plucked out his delightfully perfumed, soft, curled hair in five handfuls. (24)

"And Vasudeva said to that subduer of the senses, who had plucked out his hair : 'O lord of ascetics, may you soon obtain what you wish and desire. (25)

"Increase in knowledge, faith and right conduct, in forbearance and perfection !' (26)

"In this manner Rama and Kesava, the Dasarhas and many people paid homage to Arishtanemi and then returned to the town of Dvaraka. (27)

"When the daughter of the king heard of the ordination of the Jina, laughter and gaiety forsook her, and she was overwhelmed with affliction. (28)

"Rajimati thought : 'shame upon my life, that I have been forsaken by him ! It is better I should turn nun'. (29)

"Firm and decided she cut off her tresses which were black like bees and dressed with a brush and comb. (30)

"And Vasudeva said to her who had cut off her hair, and subdued her senses : 'Lady, cross the dreadful ocean of the *Samsara* without difficulty'. (31)

"When she had entered the order, the virtuous and very learned lady induced there many people, her relations and servants, to enter the order too. (32)

"On her way to Mt. Raivataka it began to rain ; her clothes being wet, she entered a cave and waited there in the darkness while it was raining. (33)

"She took off her clothes and was naked as she was born ; thus

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was she seen by Rathanemi (her husband's elder brother), whose mind became disturbed ; and afterwards she saw him. (34)

"She was frightened when she discovered herself alone with the monk ; folding her arms over her breast she sank down trembling.(35)

"When the prince, Samudravijaya's son, saw her frightened and trembling, he spoke the following words : (36)

"I am Rathanemi, O dear, beautiful sweetly-speaking lady ! Do accept me for your lover, O slender one, you shall have no cause to complain. (37)

"Come let us enjoy pleasures, for it is a rare chance to be born a human being ; after we have enjoyed pleasures, we shall enter on the path of the Jinas.' (38)

"When Rajimati perceived that Rathanemi's strength of will was broken, and temptation had got the better of him, she did not lose her presence of mind and defended herself on that occasion. (39)

"The daughter of the best king, true to self-control and her views, maintained the honour of her clan and family and her virtue, and spoke to him : (40)

"If you owned the beauty of Vaisramana, the pleasing manners of Nala-kubera, if you were like Purandara himself, I should have no desire for you. (41)

"Fie upon you famous knight, who want to quaff the vomited drink for the sake of this life ; it would be better for you to die. (42)

"I am the daughter of the Bhoja king, and you are an Andhakavirishni ; being born in a noble family let us not become like Gandhana-snakes ; firmly practice self-control ! (43)

"If you fall in love with every woman you see, you will be without hold like the Hatha plant, driven before the wind. (44)

"As a herdsman or a keeper of goods does not own the things (he has the care of), so you will not truly own Sramanahood.' (45)

"Having heard these well-spoken words of the virtuous lady, he returned to the law, like an elephant driven by the hook. (46)"*

22nd lecture, Jacobi, pp. 112-118.

D. THE COMMENTARIES

A lengthy account of the destruction of Dvaravati is given in the commentary of Devendra, the text of which was published by Professor H. Jacobi with a German translation in the Journal of the German Oriental Society, Vol. 42. I may publish in a future issue of this Review an English translation of this account.

Monomohan Chakravarti

* The verses 42, 43, 44, 46 have been found in the Dasavaikalika Sutra II. 7-10.

ARTICLES ON INDIA IN OTHER REVIEWS

1. BLACKWOOD'S MAGAZINE—England's Mission in the Far East : Pu-lu-ssu.
2. BADMINTON MAGAZINE—This Amazing India : D. S. Skelton.
3. EMPIRE REVIEW—The Conversion of India.
4. MONTHLY REVIEW—Lord Curzon in India : Anglo-Indian.
5. PALL MALL MAGAZINE—Burma, the Lotus-Land of Asia : Ian Malcolm.
6. POSITIVIST REVIEW—The Partition of Bengal : S. H. Swinny.
7. PRACTICAL TEACHER—Through India with the Prince and Princess of Wales.
8. WIDE WORLD MAGAZINE—District Life in India : Capt. C. H. Buck.
9. OPEN COURT—The *Vedanta* Philosophy : Charles Johnston.
The *Bhagavadgita* : Dr. Paul Carus.
10. UNITED SERVICE MAGAZINE—The Indian Army as It Is : *Punjabi*.
The Madras Sepoy : *Mudrassi*.



SELECTIONS

THE ARMY QUESTION IN INDIA

THE HON. MR. GOKHALE'S ATTACK ON GOVERNMENT

The following extracts from Mr. Gokhale's speech in the Imperial Council on the 28th March last will serve to show the line which he followed in dealing with the Army questions in India :—

A profound change has taken place in the general position of Asiatic politics. The triumph of Japan in the late war has ensured peace in Mid and East Asia. The tide of European aggression in China has been rolled back for good. The power of Russia has been broken ; her prestige in Asia is gone ; she has on her hands troubles more than enough of her own to think of troubling others for years to come : and thus a cloud that was thought to hang for twenty years and more over our North-Western Frontier has passed away, and, humanely speaking, is not likely to return, at any rate during the time of the present generation. The Anglo-Japanese alliance, concluded without considering how it would be regarded by the people of this country, is a further guarantee of peace in Asia, if such an alliance has any meaning. Surely, my Lord, this is the time when the people of this country have a right to look for a substantial relief from the intolerable burden of an excessively heavy military expenditure, which they have had to bear for so many years past. And the first step in the direction of such relief is to suspend the execution of the reorganisation scheme drawn up by H. E. the Commander-in-chief and estimated to cost more than 10 millions sterling. This scheme was projected in the early stages of the Russo-Japanese War, and was sanctioned in November, 1904, when the issue of the struggle was not only uncertain, but the odds seemed to be against Japan, and when apprehensions were entertained of hostile movements of Russian troops in the direction of Kabul. Now, however, that the situation has undergone a complete change and the North-Western Frontier has for the time ceased to be our one danger-zone, there is no justification for proceeding with a costly scheme, devised to ensure a concentration of the entire armed strength of the country on that frontier at the shortest notice. . . . My Lord, I respectfully protest against the execution of such a scheme at such a time, as involving an expenditure of money and effort, wholly beyond our capacity and not called for or justified by

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the requirements of the situation. The Secretary of State for India stated in Parliament the other day in reply to a question that the matter was being further considered. I earnestly trust that his decision will be to hang up the scheme, at any rate till a more disquieting situation than the present arises on the North-Western Frontier. Should the Government, however, unfortunately make up its mind to ignore recent events and proceed with the scheme, I would most strongly urge that the money required for the initial outlay should be found out of loan funds.

1885 and 1906

Reviewing the military expenditure of the last twenty years, Mr. Gokhale said :—

My Lord, I beg leave next to urge that the strength of the Army in India should now be reduced by at least those additions that were made in 1885 under the influence of the Penjdeh scare. The growth of the military expenditure in recent years has been simply appalling as may be seen from the following figures : 1884-1885—17·9 crores (before the increases of 1885 were made).

1888-89—22·2 crores (after the increases had their full effect).

1902-03—28·2 crores.

1906-07 (Budget).—32·8 crores.

Our military expenditure is now nearly double of what it was twenty years ago. Since 18·8, it has risen by over 10½ crores a year and this notwithstanding the fact that the strength of the Army has not been increased by a single troop or company during the time. The increases made in 1885 were made in spite of the protest of two members of the Government of India and in disregard of the view recorded by the Army Commission of 1879 that the then strength of the Army was sufficient both for internal peace and to repel foreign invasion not only if Russia acted singly but even if Afghanistan joined her as an ally. And since that time the fear of Russian aggression has been the one dominating factor in all our military arrangements. With Russia now crippled and the Anglo-Japanese Alliance concluded, the last trace of any such fear should disappear from the mind of the Government and the country should be relieved of the burden imposed upon it specially as a result of that fear. The increasing difficulty that has of late been experienced in England in the matter of recruitment and in providing the annual drafts for India, with the resulting payment of bounties to short-service men here as an inducement to extend their service, also point to a reduction of the garrison in this country as a necessary measure of justice to the Indian taxpayer. Should the view, however, be

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upheld that such a reduction is not possible on the ground, urged in this Council by Sir Edmond Elles, that the Indian Army "is no longer a local militia for purely local defence and maintenance of order" and that it "must in the future be a main factor of the maintenance of the balance of power in Asia," I submit that the Imperial Government ought in justice to bear a part of the cost of an army maintained for such a purpose. My Lord, our military expenditure has now grown to such proportions that it overshadows the whole field of Indian Finance, and under its chilling shade, no healthy development is possible for the people. And unless the axe is resolutely applied to its over-grown portions, our life will continue to exhibit the same signs of sickliness that at present unhappily marks its growth.

A POLICY OF DISTRUST

Turning to the question of the employment of natives as officers, Mr. Gokhale said :—

But the appalling increase in the weight of military burdens is not our only grievance in connection with the Army. The whole system of Indian defence, founded as it is on a policy of distrust, rests on an unnatural basis, and one notes with regret that the position is growing worse every day. Whole populations are now excluded from the Army. The abolition of the Madras Commander under the new scheme involves the dis-establishment of that Presidency as a recruiting ground and amounts to a denial to the people of Southern India of all opportunity of service even in the ranks, with the result that the Army is approximating more and more completely to a mere mercenary force. The Arms Act is being worked with increasing rigour, and license to carry arms are now issued more sparingly than at any time before. I believe there are not more than thirty to forty thousand such licenses at the present moment in all India. A large increase has been made in the number of British officers attached to the Native Army, so as to give all Punjab regiments an establishment of 13 British officers and all other regiments of 12. This increase completely ousts the native officers from even such positions of trust as were open to them before and not even the command of troops and companies is now really left to them. We have been asking for years that the commissioned ranks in the Indian Army may be thrown open to aspiring and qualified Indians, scions of aristocratic families and others, and the reply of the Government is a stiffer closing of such careers to us. It is true that four members of the Cadet Corps were granted commissions last year and the language used by the last

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Viceroy more than once in speaking of the Corps had raised the expectation that these young men would be allowed the same opportunities of attaining to positions of command in the Indian Army as British officers. The reply given by the Commander-in-Chief to my question on this subject last week disposes of this expectation, and we see that Lord Curzon's promise in the matter, though kept to the ear, has been broken to the hope. In pre-Mutiny days we had two systems, the regular and the irregular. Under the regular, there were 25 British officers to a native regiment, whereas under the irregular there were only just three picked ones. The Army Commission of 1859 pronounced in favour of the irregular arrangement, and after considerable discussion a compromise was eventually arrived at and it was decided in 1863 that seven British officers should be attached to each native regiment, these to command squadrons and wings, while the native officers were to have charge of troops and companies. The question was re-opened in Lord Mayo's time and an increase of British officers was demanded ; and the discussion again went on till 1875-76, when it was finally decided by Lord Salisbury (then Secretary of State for India) that the seven officers' system should be upheld, his Lordship laying stress on the point that the position of the native officers should be improved and raised. And now the question having been brought up afresh, we find the decision going against us and the number of British officers in native regiments raised from seven to 12 and 13 ; my Lord, such growing distrust of the people after so many years of British rule is to be deplored from every point of view, and not until a policy of greater trust is inaugurated will the military problem, or indeed any other problem in India, be satisfactorily dealt with. I recognise the difficulty of the situation and the undoubted need that exists for caution in the matter. But after all it is only confidence that will beget confidence and a courageous reliance on the people's loyalty will alone stimulate that loyalty to active exertion. As long as things continue as at present, the problem of Indian defence, do what you will, must remain essentially and practically unsolved.

A PLEA FOR CITIZEN-SOLDIERSHIP

Mr. Gokhale concluded his remarks on the Army question in the following terms :—

I respectfully submit that it is a cruel wrong to a whole people, one-fifth of the entire population of the world, to exclude them from all honourable participation in defence of their hearths and homes, to keep them permanently disarmed and to subject them to a process of demartialisation such as has never before been witnessed in

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the history of the world. Lord George Hamilton once told an English audience that there were millions of men in India, who were as brave as any people on the face of the earth. Leaving such material in the country itself neglected, the Government has thought fit to enter into an alliance with a foreign power—and that an Asiatic power, which once borrowed its religion from us and looked up to us—for the defence of India. Japan came under the influence of western ideas only forty years ago and yet already, under the fostering care of its Government, that nation has taken its place by the side of the proudest nations of the West. We have been under England's rule longer than forty years and yet we continue to be mere hewers of wood and drawers of water in our own country and, of course, we have no position anywhere else. My Lord, things cannot continue—they must not continue—much longer on so unsatisfactory a basis. Time and events will necessitate a change and true statesmanship lies in the intelligent anticipation of that change. The present Prime Minister, speaking in November last on the subject of the Anglo Japanese alliance, observed as follows :—"I am enough of an Imperialist, if this be Imperialism—to hold that the maintenance of the integrity of India is our affair and no one else's ; and if further measures of defence are necessary—of which I have no assurance—the appeal should be to the loyalty of the people of India and to our own capacity for organising their defence. Is there not danger that the pride of the Indian people may be wounded and the prestige of the Empire abused in the eyes of the world by the provisions, by which Japan makes herself conjointly responsible for the defence of the Indian frontier ?" My Lord this is true and far-sighted statesmanship, and my countrymen ask for nothing more than that the military problem in India be dealt with in the spirit of this declaration of the Prime Minister. The measures needed are short service for the Indian Army, the creation of Indian reserves, and the gradual extension, first to select classes of the community, and then, as confidence grows, to all of the privilege of citizen-soldiership so that they may be able, if the need ever arises, to bear arms in the defence of their own hearths and homes. The Government may move as cautiously as may be necessary, but it is in this direction that it must move ; and then the whole situation will be altered. Our military defence will then be gradually placed on a national basis, the Army will have the support of the nation behind it, the present military burden will be largely reduced and funds set free to be devoted to other objects of national well-being ; the people of the country, instead of being condemned, as at

present, merely to pay the taxes and then helplessly look on, will be enabled to feel a real and living interest in their Army, and our position in the matter will cease to wound our self-respect. Now that all fear of any immediate aggression from outside has disappeared, a trial may be given to this policy, and I feel a profound conviction within me that England will have no cause to regret its results.

A RETROSPECT OF THE FINANCIAL SITUATION IN INDIA

Mr. Baker, the Finance Member of India, laid before the Supreme Council on the occasion of the last Budget Debate a retrospect of the changes effected in the Indian fiscal system in the last 24 years, dividing that period into four sections. The first 1882—1885, marked the remission of taxation under Lord Ripon ; the second, 1886-92, the re-imposition of taxation owing to the Penjdeh scare and annexation of Upper Burma ; the third, 1893-1902, the period of unstable exchange and stagnation : the fourth, 1903-1906, the period of plentiful harvests, steady exchange, surpluses and remission of taxation. Dealing with these he said :—

A merely statistical comparison, however, is of little value. A more fruitful and instructive method is to compare the fiscal position as it stands now with that which obtained in 1882-83, the year which I took as the starting point of my review. Proceeding in this way, I think that the results so far obtained may fairly be summarised as follows :—

Firstly, we have reduced the salt tax from Rs. 2-8-0 or Rs. 2-4-0 per maund to Rs. 1-8-0 throughout India, except Burma, where it is Re. 1. I do not wish to dwell on the effect of this measure in cheapening the cost of a necessary of life, because I have never believed that the tax pressed with undue severity even on the poor. But the importance of the reduction in creating a fiscal reserve is obvious and immense. If we allow for increase in consumption not less than $3\frac{1}{2}$ crores of rupees per annum could be obtained from this source by a stroke of the pen, if necessity should arise, and this sum may be relied on to expand with the progressive increase of the population.

Secondly, we have broadened the basis of taxation by re-establishing the general customs duties, on imports by sea. I freely admit that in view of the chaotic condition to which the import tariff had been reduced in the late seventies, the Government of Lord Ripon

A FINANCIAL RETROSPECT

had probably little option but to sweep the whole mass of anomalies away. But in my judgment, in the conditions prevailing in India, there are few more appropriate and less onerous forms of taxation than a light duty on imports from over sea. Our duties are pitched on so moderate a scale that, to the best of my belief, there is not a consumer who feels them, and not an indigenous industry which is injured by them. The revenue they yield is unfelt and unresented, and has placed it in our power to effect the successive reductions of direct taxation to which I have already alluded ; and although it fell to the lot of Sir Evelyn Baring in 1882 to abolish them in this country, it is significant to observe that Egypt, which has benefitted so greatly from the wise and vigorous guidance of Lord Cromer for more than 20 years, now derives one-tenth of her entire gross revenue from this source, a proportion not far short of double that which obtains in India to day.

Thirdly, we have effected a valuable reform in our system of direct taxation by substituting the income-tax for the old license-tax. It is unnecessary on the present occasion to enter upon the well worn theme of the unpopularity of these taxes. Whatever views may be entertained on that point, all reasonable persons will agree that the income-tax is greatly superior to that which it superseded. The license-tax exempted the whole official and professional classes, and fell almost exclusively upon trade. Its incidence and the range of incomes included within its net varied widely in different Provinces : and in some places it extended to incomes so low as Rs. 20 a year. From all these defects, the present tax is free : and the raising of the limit of exemption to Rs. 1,000, releasing over 60 per cent of the assesseees, has removed the chief remaining element that was vulnerable to criticism.

Fourthly, a high place in our list of results should be assigned to the reform and reduction of local taxation. It is not merely that we have relieved the landed interest and the agricultural tax-payer from a variety of supplements to his regular assessment always irritating and often considerable in amount. That alone would have been an advance of no small value. But I attach much greater importance to the fact that we have for the greater part got rid, I trust for ever, of the practice of making appropriations from the proceeds of local taxation for the benefit of Provincial or Imperial revenues and have gone a very long way towards establishing the principle that no local taxation shall be levied save that which is devoted exclusively to local, as distinguished from general, purposes, and so far as possible is administered by local bodies. It is true that the levy of con-

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tributions from local authorities for the benefit of the Central Exchequer is by no means unknown in Europe. But I think it is most commonly found in countries whose fiscal system and financial standing are not regarded as models for imitation, and in any event, it is peculiarly out of place in India, where local authorities in the western sense are an exotic of recent growth and need all the encouragement that justice and liberality can afford them.

Lastly, there is one more feature in regard to which the fiscal system, as it now stands, is conspicuously stronger than in 1882-83 ; and it is worth while to refer to it, though it is not directly concerned with questions of taxation. I allude to the greatly diminished reliance which is now placed on the revenue from opium as compared with twenty years ago. In 1882-83, the net receipts from opium were 721 lakhs of rupees, and formed 14.1 per cent of the total receipts classed as Principal Heads of Revenue. In 1905-06, they amounted only to 546 lakhs or 7.8 per cent of the aggregate of the Principal Heads of Revenue. When it is remembered how uncertain the opium revenue is and how liable to violent fluctuations from causes over which we can exercise no control, the dwindling away of its relative importance in our fiscal system must be regarded as a matter for lively satisfaction.

In the foregoing summary, I have made no allusion to the numerous changes introduced from time to time in the stamp and excise duties. I have not referred to the greater leniency of our assessment of the land revenue, or to the smaller proportion which it now bears to the sum total of our resources ; nor would it have been relevant to refer to the signal change that has come over the position in regard to the net yield of our railways, our canals, and, to a lesser extent, the postal and telegraph services. Putting all these on one side, I venture to think that the results which I have now laid before the Council constitute an advance of which the Government of India have no cause to feel ashamed. Opinions may differ as to whether our predecessors and ourselves have accomplished as much as we might with the means at our disposal. I for one shall not quarrel with our critics if they urge us on to further developments on similar lines. There is no such thing as finality in finance. Though not a little has been done, it would be easy to compile a lengthy list of further reforms which still await the hour and the means. I shall resist the temptation to essay that not very profitable task ; and I shall be content to assure the Council that it will be our aim to persevere steadfastly in the policy that has guided us in the past to remove every avoidable impediment to the development of trade, to

improve communication, to facilitate the free movement of labour, to stimulate all indigenous industries and to encourage the profitable employment of capital. Indian capital first and foreign capital afterwards, and while providing as generously as we can for the administrative needs of the country, in education, agriculture, public health and public safety, to take as our watchword first, and last, and all the time Lord Cromer's well-known dictum : "Keep taxation low."

THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL

Presiding over the last Annual Meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, the Hon. Justice Ashutosh Mukerjee passed in review the year's work of that historical Society in a comprehensive and interesting speech, from which we make the following extracts :—

Some reference is necessary to what appears to me to be the most important event of the year from the point of view of oriental research and scholarship. Members of the Society are no doubt aware that a large number of valuable manuscripts and books were brought by the Tibet Mission, which are now deposited in the British Museum in London. 'If I am not very much mistaken, the materials thus placed at the disposal of scholars are calculated to throw light upon some of the darkest corners of Indian history and antiquities. That such a result is more than likely will be obvious, if we remember what intimate relations subsisted at one time between Tibet and India, the birth-place of Buddhism, and to what extent the literature of Tibet has been influenced by the literature of India. It is well known that the two chief periods in the history of the literature of Tibet are the period of translation extending roughly from the seventh to the twelfth century of the Christian era, and the period of original composition extending from the thirteenth century to the present times. In the first of these periods the Tibetan monks were principally engaged in enriching their literature by faithful versions of many of the great books of Sanskrit literature. The course which the secluded monks of Tibet pursued was somewhat similar to what was followed in Rome, when Greek authors were freely copied by the dramatists of the Republic, and in England when the great translations with which a remarkable monument of English literature were made during the Tudor period. Now it has so happened in the case of Tibetan literature, that although the Sanskrit originals have been in many instances lost, in course of time in this country, the translation, and in some cases the original

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itself, has survived in Tibet. As one illustration, mention may be made of the *Avadana Kalpalta* of Kshemendra no manuscript of which could be traced in this country ; indeed it was supposed to have been lost, but was recovered in Tibet in original with a Tibetan version. The publication of this work was undertaken some years ago by our Society, and although some progress has been made, it has remained in abeyance by reason of the death of one of the editors. If one wishes to find a parallel to an incident to this description in the history of modern literary research, one must travel to Egypt, which has given back to Europe some of the most exquisite products of the Greek intellect, the fragments of Bacchylides, the Mimes of Herondas, and the long lost work of Aristotle on the Constitution of Athens. It is likely, therefore, that a wider knowledge of Tibetan literature, specially of such portions of it as are translated or mainly founded on Sanskrit literature, must throw considerable light on the latter, either by giving us back books which have been lost in this country or by enabling us to determine with some approach to certainty, the original forms of works which, as they now stand, are believed on good grounds to be full of later interpolations. It has been generally supposed that the literature of Tibet is mainly, if not entirely, Buddhistic ; this, however, is erroneous because the Tibetans possess translations of Kalidas's *Meghaduta*, Vararuchi's *Satagatha*, Rabigupta's *Arya Kosh*, Valmiki's *Ramayana*, Vyasa's *Mahabharat*, Chanakya's *Nitisastra*, Dandi's *Kavyadarsha*, Panini's *Vyakarana*, Chandra *Vyakarana*, *Pramana Samuchyaya* of Dignaga, and various other works including several, of the originals which cannot be traced in this country. It looks, therefore, as if the most profitable course which a serious student of Indian antiquities may pursue is to take himself to the study of Tibetan, and a minute examination of the manuscripts at our disposal beginning with those which were brought nearly eighty years ago by Mr. Hodgson, while Resident at Nepal, and ending with those brought last year by the Tibet Mission. Of the manuscripts brought by Mr. Hodgson, those known as the *Kangyur* consisting of a hundred volumes are deposited in our library, while those known as the *Tangyur*, consisting mainly of non-Buddhistic Sanskrit works, and extending over two-hundred and twenty-five volumes, were deposited in the India Office at London. Only a small fragment of these has up to the present moment been worked through by scholars, and as regards those brought by the Tibet mission, they have not yet been completely examined and catalogued. But an inkling of what rich harvest is in store for us may be obtained from one or

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two recent instances. Thus the Tibetan translation of the logical work of Dignaga, which must be placed in the front rank of works on modern Nyaya, but the original of which is not available in this country, enables us to trace the history and the rise and development of this branch of Hindu philosophy. I need only refer to the scholarly paper on the subject by M. M. Satis Chandra Vidyabhsan, published in the November number of our Journal. Another valuable paper from the same learned member which opens the first volume of our new series of memoirs indicates how additional light may be thrown on the somewhat obscure problem of the progress of Tantricism by an intelligent study of Tibetan scrolls and images. The existence of the Tantra Sastras may thus apparently be traced at least as far back as the sixth century A.D., and the question may ultimately arise whether the credit or discredit of founding that system and its attendant practices may not have to be shared by the Buddhists along with the Brahmins. It would be a mistake, however, to suppose that the only department of knowledge which is likely to be benefited by an examination of Tibetan books and manuscripts is the domain of Sanskrit literature: if from Tibetan sources we are likely to be in a position to determine with some precision the early form of books like the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, there can be no reasonable doubt that a somewhat similar result must follow in the case of Pali literature as well. It has been usually supposed hitherto that no Pali books were ever translated into Tibetan, and that the Tibetan monks confined their attention to versions of Buddhistic works written in Sanskrit. It now turns out, however, that almost the entire Pali Tripitakas are preserved in Tibetan in translations. It is difficult to say whether the translations were made direct from Pali into Tibetan or, as seems not unlikely, were first translated into Sanskrit and then into Tibetan. The Sanskrit versions however are extremely rare. Scholars interested in Pali literature must consequently turn to Tibetan sources to determine to what extent interpolations have been introduced by the Buddhists of Ceylon and Burma into their religious books. Under these circumstances, I trust the case is not put too high in favour of Tibetan studies, when it is maintained that they are likely to open up sources from which considerable light may be expected upon the history of Sanskrit as well as Pali literature.

Amongst the papers published in our journal and proceedings and in the new series of memoirs, there have been several contributed during the last year which may be regarded as of more than average

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interest and importance. Babu Ganga Mohan Laskar, a young epigraphist of talent, who made a special study of the epigraphy and paleography of Northern India as a research scholar under the Government of Bengal, and who has prepared a complete concordance to the Inscriptions of Asoka, contributed a note on four new copper plate charters of the Somavansi Kings of Kosala. These charters, written in characters of the 10th century, refer to a dynasty of four Kings who reigned for over half a century. They were called Trikalinga Adhipati and their dominions included Tosali which the writer corrects into Kosala. I am not quite sure that this amendment is well founded; and it has been suggested on good grounds that the place may be Dhauli, near which there is an inscription of Asoka addressed to the officers of Tosali. Babu Manomohan Chakraborty furnished an edition of the Pabanaduta which was first brought to the notice of the Society in 1898 by M. M. Haropasad Sastri. The work appears to have been written by Dhayika, one of the court poets of Lakshman Sen, the last Hindu King of Bengal. Pandit Joges Chandia Sastri discussed the question of the identity of the Prime Minister of the same King, Halayudha, the author of Brahmana-sarvasya. M. M. Haropasad Sastri contributed a paper on the history and development of the Nyaya philosophy which must be regarded as one highly controversial. It is well-known that the Nyaya Sutras attributed to Gautama or Akshapada have been studied in this country with the aid of the Vashya, the Vartik and other commentaries by eminent Sanskrit writers. Hindu logic, however, has travelled to China and Japan and there it has been studied for centuries on somewhat different lines, as they start with Dignaga as the last of the great writers on Logic in India. The work of Dignaga was translated into Chinese about the middle of the seventh century by Hiouen Tsang; and two of his disciples, one a Chinese and the other a Japanese, wrote great commentaries on it. The history of the introduction of Hindu Logic into China and Japan is a subject of abiding interest and was examined recently by a distinguished Japanese scholar, Mr. Sugiura, in a thesis presented to the University of Pennsylvania. We have therefore from Chinese and Japanese sources Hindu Logic as it existed in the beginning of the seventh century, and on that foundation Pandit Haropasad Sastri has set himself to investigate the original form of the Nyaya Sutras. His conclusion is that the work is not homogeneous but consists of three independent treatises on Logic and three independent treatises on Philosophy. He maintains that the system was originally Hindu, dating back to pre-

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Buddhistic times, that it was modified by an infusion of Buddhistic ideas and subsequently altered again by the Saivas. The question as I have already indicated is one of great difficulty, and inferences, when they are drawn largely from internal evidence, have always to be accepted with caution. I trust the problem will engage the attention of other members of the Society, but unfortunately we have none who is qualified to approach the subject with a first hand knowledge of Chinese, Japanese, and Sanskrit.

Tibetan and Pali scholarship are well represented in the contributions of Rai Sarat Chandra Das Bahadur and M. M. Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana. The papers contributed by the former dwells at length upon the external history of Tibet and, in addition to an account of the various monasteries in Tibet and the rise of different sects of Buddhism in that country, throw considerable light upon the external history of Tibet in its relations with Mongolia and China. Professor Satis Chandra's papers, to two of which I have already referred, bear testimony to his acquaintance with Pali and Tibetan. His paper on Anurudha Thera, who was born at Kanchi and whose chief work was done at Tanjore and Tinnevely, shows that Buddhism lingered in the great cities of Southern India as late as the 12th century A. D. and that Pali used to be studied even up to that time. His other paper on Dignaga to which I have previously referred enables us to fix the end of the 4th century as the time when that great authority on Indian Logic flourished, and this conclusion agrees substantially with that of M. M. Haroprasad Sastri, who placed him in the 5th century, and varies slightly from the result obtained by the Japanese scholar, Taka Kusa, who in a powerful article on Tasubandhu contributed to the Royal Asiatic Society of London last year fixed the period in the sixth century.

Apart from these papers which are more or less of a philological character, the number of papers dealing with historical problems has been unusually limited. Mr. Irvin gave us a further instalment of his exhaustive monograph on the later Moghuls, while Mr. Beveridge brought to light some interesting facts about the Emperor Baber, not mentioned in Abul Fazl and overlooked by Erskine. It must be conceded, however, that the history of the Mohamedan period deserves greater attention at the hands of our members.

In the department of Anthropology, although we have had important contributions to local folklore and ethnology, I am afraid it would be difficult to say that it has aroused as much interest as its nature and importance would justify. In connection with this

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subject, our anthropological secretary, Dr. Annandale, has made an important suggestion which, when it is carried out with the co-operation of our members, will, I trust, promote and popularize its study. The proposal is to publish in our memoirs a series of papers entitled *Miscellanea Ethnographica*, giving illustrations and descriptions of implements, utensils, apparatus, weapons and the like from different parts of India and the neighbouring countries. The scheme is one of great practical importance, because if realized it will help to bring together and preserve a mass of scattered knowledge which would otherwise be probably lost. Very little information is available regarding the distribution, uses and manufacture of the common implements of the people, especially the apparatus used by different tribes and castes in agriculture, hunting and other pursuits of daily life. It is a great mistake to suppose that specimens of these are of value only if they are objects of rarity or artistic workmanship. It is equally erroneous to hold that such specimens are of value only if they are habitually used by primitive races in the lowest scale of civilization. The truth is that these implements of daily life, if properly studied, furnish an excellent guide to the examination of the growth of human intelligence. It is essential therefore that such specimens should be collected, classified and studied, before they disappear in the face of the European or semi-European methods, and implements which are first making their way in many directions. Dr. Annandale has recently given us illustrations of the work which may usefully be taken up in the direction by exhibiting to members of the Society the use of the Drowgun in Southern India and the Malayan Peninsula, and the use of peculiar types of weighing beams in different parts of Asia closely analogous to what prevails in Europe and is there traceable to Scandinavian influences. The subject is obviously one of great interest and importance, and I trust it may engage the attention of some of our members.

There are two other topics to which I should like to invite your attention, before I bring my address to a close. During the year which has just ended, considerable progress has been made in the search for Sanskrit manuscripts, as also in the search for Arabic and Persian manuscripts. So far as the search of Sanskrit manuscripts is concerned, which was conducted under the supervision of M. M. Haroprasad Sastri, the progress of the operations during the year is marked by three important events. The first is the publication of the catalogue of palm-leaf and selected paper

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manuscripts in the Durbar Library in Nepal. The second is the report submitted to Government on the progress of the search during the last five years. The third is the acquisition of about twelve hundred Jain manuscripts for which the Government of India made a special grant of Rs. 5,000 to the Society. The catalogue as also the report contains valuable information upon Tantric literature and they have been received with considerable interest by European scholars. The Jain collection has only been recently acquired and has not been yet completely catalogued, but so far as can be judged from the materials at our disposal, even these works may throw some light upon Tantric lore. We have thus accumulated a mass of material which is of the highest value in examining the political and literary condition of Eastern India for several centuries, as also in studying the evolution of the doctrines which lie at the foundation of our Tantras.

As regards the search for Arabic and Persian manuscripts, which was conducted under the supervision of our Philological Secretary, Dr. Ross, the success has been still more remarkable. The total number of manuscripts purchased up to the middle of October last was about seven hundred, and you will be able to appreciate the value of the collection when I tell you that manuscripts of great variety have been acquired from different parts of India, such as Lucknow, Delhi and Hyderabad, as also from two valuable collections which were brought by two Arabian travellers. The books represent almost every branch of oriental literature and as many as eighty of these are unique, giving us works of ancient and modern authors which are not even mentioned in any of the European catalogues. As regards the age of these manuscripts, a sufficient indication is afforded by the fact that at least a hundred of them range in date between the thirteenth and the fifteenth century. Dr. Ross has been able to secure autograph copies of the works of about sixteen authors, some of which bear the original corrections and marginal notes of the authors themselves, while the interest attaching to others is enhanced by the fact that they bear upon them lines from the pen of eminent scholars who flourished during the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries.

The past history of the Society, however, makes it painfully clear that while the interests of Sanskrit learning have been carefully watched and nurtured, the interests of Arabic and Persian literature have of late years been sadly neglected. In this department at any rate we have distinctly lost ground since the days of Sprenger and Blochmann ; and I trust that under the guidance of Dr. Ross, whose

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devotion to these studies is well-known, a serious effort will now be made to retrieve our reputation in this direction.

I have now given you a brief and I am afraid a very imperfect account of the work done by the Society during the last year, and I have ventured to indicate some of the direction in which research may be profitably carried on. Our illustrious founder defined the bounds of our investigation to be the geographical limits of Asia and he sought to include within the scope of our enquiries whatever is performed by man or produced by nature. It is manifest that although our Society has been in existence for about a century and a quarter, the field of investigation has been by no means exhausted. True it is that we are no longer in a position to repeat the triumphs of the early years of our existence when Sir William Jones discovered Sanskrit, and James Prinsep deciphered the edicts of Asoka. Yet the problems in oriental scholarship, both literary and scientific, which still await solution are so numerous and so fascinating that I cannot conceive any adequate reason why our Society should ever languish.

YOUNG INDIA

ITS HOPES AND ASPIRATIONS

From a comprehensive and able paper read by Shaikh Abdul Qadir, B.A., before the East India Association, at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, some time ago, we give the following passages :—

TENDENCIES OF YOUNG INDIA

To find out the tendencies of "Young India," to know something of the sentiments that actuate it, to discover the directions in which the prospects are promising as well as those in which the outlook is gloomy, and to calculate the changes of progress in the country when affairs finally pass into hands now preparing for them, must be a subject of absorbing interest to everyone interested in India. But it is not the unique fascination of the subject that is its chief recommendation to attention, but to my mind it deserves a serious consideration at our hands as a factor in the solution of many of the social and political problems with which modern India bristles, and which will be difficult to handle unless those trying to solve them have a clear idea of the present conditions of the country and understand the men they have to deal with.

INDIRECT EDUCATION OF THE ILLITERATE

For our present purpose it has to be admitted that the bulk of the population, even in "Young India," is unlettered. Now we have to see what this mass of humanity is about. Outwardly, it is not much different from its prototypes of a past or a passing generation. To all appearances the current of life runs quite smoothly, but a little below the surface there is commotion, for the man in the street in India and the labourer in the field is no longer as ignorant as he looks. The literate minority is not so much cut off from the illiterate majority as is commonly supposed, and the influences that are modifying the trend of thought of the upper and the educated classes manage to reach the lower and the less informed sections of the people though in a weaker and less distinct form. The vernacular Press, so often despised or ignored, is gradually becoming a powerful medium of education for the masses, and those who cannot read the papers themselves at least hear the echoes of what is agitating the newspaper world. A gossip about the latest news, especially in days when a great war is raging in any part of the world, is not an uncommon thing now in the village circle of an evening or in the leisure haunts of workmen in the towns. What is discussed by them as the "latest" may be very stale for an up-to-date man, but, still, their interest in it from day to day indicates a broadening of their mental horizon and a rising sense of what is happening around them. This spirit is stimulated to an appreciable extent among the masses all over the country by the growing number of their countrymen going abroad—as travellers, as students, as traders, as emigrant-settlers, and as indentured labourers. . . . These serve as a link between their small, retired, and hitherto isolated village community and the great world beyond. The progenitors of the peasants of to-day knew little, and cared less, about the destinies of people outside their little world, but the younger men are brought up under conditions which open their eyes and expand their sphere of interest. This indirect education that is slowly but steadily going on is not yet strong enough to give rise to a presumption that the illiterate section of young India can take an intelligent interest in the current affairs of the country and of the world, but it can hardly be denied that a great and effective step is being quietly taken towards that goal, and that in course of time, with a further development of the causes enumerated, helped by a more general elementary education, and accelerated by efforts from patriotic Indians aiming at raising the level of the intelligence of the masses, a body of opinion may grow up in the country calculated to compel attention.

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ACTIVITY OF THE EDUCATED

Turning now to the literate portion of young India, no less important for the comparative smallness of its numbers, we find that there is already some stir in it. Education is having its natural effect : the minds of men are being awakened, their thoughts fly higher, the voice of ambition finds a sympathetic response in their hearts, and they aspire to come into line with the great nations of the world. This desire to improve their condition, intellectually as well as materially, individually as well as collectively, is taking diverse forms, according to the inclinations of the persons actuated by it. We see this spirit of activity, this desire to do something, this anxiety for the welfare of the Motherland, displaying itself in political movements like the Congress, in social movements like the Conferences of Reform, in educational movements like the Mahometan Educational Conference, and in religious movements like the Arya Samaj among the Hindus, to take only one typical instance out of many which mark religious revivalism in India of the present day. Some of these movements are now established institutions, commanding vast influence, and being appreciated in different ways by the classes whom they try to serve. Each has its zealous adherents, who believe the welfare of the whole country to be bound up with the success of their plans, and look with disfavour upon those who bestow their sympathies elsewhere. But to the impartial student of Indian affairs all of them seem to be the natural outcome of the conditions in which we live, and of the period of transition through which we are passing ; and he believes all of them to be more or less needed to culminate eventually in a national life, under the influence of which the hearts of a whole people will throb in unison. Before attaining that end, however, the question is how to reduce this apparent discord into unity. . . . The recognition of the good that there is in each, the extension of sympathy with each other, and the desire to co-operate so far as possible, are remedies which, if skilfully applied, can change discord into harmony and multiply changes of usefulness.

OFFICIAL INDIFFERENCE

There is another side of this question, and that concerns the relation between these movements and the Government in India. People in England, who have practically a free hand in the development of their national life and institutions, can hardly understand, to what extent a movement in India can be affected for better or for worse by the attitude which the Government takes with regard

to it. And the attitude of the Government towards many of the movements we are considering is one of apathy and indifference and sometimes of hostility and mistrust. The Mahometan Educational Conference of Aligarh, confining itself as it does to the object of preaching to Mahometans that they should take to Western education, to which they have been averse for a long time, is almost the solitary exception among the more important public organisations of our country which has occasionally received a word of sympathy from some far-seeing members of the Government ; but a large number of other movements have been treated with indifference. Now, I hold that it is not a wise policy for any Government (least of all a Government like that of the British in India) to remain indifferent to movements that sway the popular mind.

OFFICIAL HOSTILITY AND MISTRUST

Having said something about the apathy that generally characterises the official attitude towards popular movements in India, I think I must say something about the open hostility and mistrust with which political movements have been regarded. The Congress was started with the avowed object of constitutionally agitating for better rights and privileges for Indians, both as citizens and as public servants. It assembled annually, and its assemblies were public, and it made no mystery of its proceedings. That its object was not pleasant to "the powers that be" we can understand, but it acted within its legal rights, and therefore the mistrust that it excited in official quarters and the open hostility with which it sometimes met have been responsible for an amount of ill-feeling which is now beginning to bear fruit. The Congress started by recognising the British Government as a necessity for a peaceful, progressive, and prosperous India, and embodied this principle in its resolutions, in the speeches made on its platforms, and in the printed record of its proceedings. It still adheres, I think, to that principle in its official utterances ; but I have it on good authority that there is a growing body of men who once supported it, but who have been driven by what they regard as years of disappointment and discouragement from the Government to an attitude of defiance. They recognise the smallness of their numbers and the helplessness of their present situation, but they feel very bitterly towards the British, and wish to cut themselves off from them by offering them "passive resistance." Up to the present, this hardly constitutes anything more than a sign, but it is a sign which, I think, everyone who believes in the desirability of good relations between Englishmen and Indians, and wishes to solve most of the difficulties of the

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country by getting the two classes to work together for the welfare of India, will notice with deep regret. Measures of repression to crush the growing spirit of independence have been tried, but have failed to bring about the desired result. They have ended in mere bitterness. It yet remains to be seen what kindness and sympathy can do. It may be said that sympathy has been tried also, but I believe one may rightfully ask for a larger measure of it than has been given hitherto.

CHANGE OF TREATMENT REQUIRED

India is going through a great transformation—nay, it is already considerably transformed. It is a new India which you have to deal with, but you do not notice the transformation, simply because it has been going on under your own eyes, just as you often fail to notice how your own child has grown up since last year if the child has been constantly before you. India is changing—changing in more directions than you know of—but you are too near to observe the phenomenon. I have long believed in this fact, but much has happened recently in different parts of the country to convince me more than ever that the treatment by Englishmen of their fellow-subjects in India ought to be adapted to the altered circumstances. We have long been familiar in India with a sharp line of distinction between the ruling race and the subject race. But is any such distinction just after royal promises of equality of treatment? Or can it last long without hampering the growth of a spirit of mutual goodwill and confidence between the Western and Eastern people whom Providence has brought together in India? Moreover is it true in fact? I doubt if it is. I see an ever-increasing number of Indians entering the higher grades of the public service through the doors of competitive tests, where they prove themselves the intellectual equals of their English fellow-subjects. They take part—within limited areas, but an important and responsible part all the same—in the administration of the country, thus cutting some ground from under the feet of the theory of a ruling race. I also find a number of highly-qualified Indians sitting on the benches of our High Courts, exercising the same authority and discharging the same duties as their English colleagues; and the number of such Indians is bound to grow as time goes by, if all goes well and no retrograde policy is adopted by the Government. How can we, then, speak of a ruling race with any accuracy? The European official in India, in the interest of the Empire, and in order to win the confidence of the people, should so act as not to show any assumption of a divine right to rule, or any air of conscious superiority, which, without strengthen-

ing his position, jars upon the susceptibilities of the people. . . . The Indian to-day is not behind his father in deference to constituted authority, but he is now learning to bow to authority in the abstract as distinguished from its concrete embodiment—the official. He has imbibed the English notions of right and duty, has learnt at the feet of broad-minded English scholars the lessons of independence and love of liberty, and he finds it impossible to behave like those who never has these privileges.

STRONG INDIA MEANS STRONGER ENGLAND

A strong India means a stronger England. At present India, with all the advantages that its possession confers on England, is the weak limb of the Imperial body politic. It is the point that is most vulnerable. But with a people awakened to a full sense of their capacities and prepared to stand by England, sharing the privileges as well as the duties of citizens of the British Empire, and feeling a pride in admission, through Britain, to the comity of nations, it can be the strongest weapon in the Imperial armoury. . . . Who can stand before an England having at her beak and call three hundred millions of people, if she sets to work to make so many Britons of them—i.e., British subjects in the true sense of the term, and not, as they are now, British subjects for something and no-bodies in other things—for example, in the treatment they receive at the hands of their fellow-subjects in South Africa ?

NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

It has been possible to allude but briefly to the chief aspirations of educated Indians, and through them of the rest of India, to see their status improve in the eyes of their own Government, and consequently, in the eyes of the world abroad. They desire to raise the country to a higher level of social, educational and industrial progress. Their efforts have hitherto been mainly confined to endeavours for political progress in the case of some and for educational advancement in the case of others ; but they are now turning their thoughts to other urgent needs of the country as well, and therein lies the great hope of the future. . . . This year has seen greater attention towards industrial and commercial development. Home industries have been encouraged. The need for technical education has been more emphatically recognised than before, and the number of smaller institutions for such training is multiplying fast. A large number—much larger than that of any previous years—have come to England for studies other than literary or belonging to learned professions, and a good many have gone

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out to Japan and America for a similar training. The average stay-at-home Indian merchant has of late ventured out of his shell and travelled abroad, visiting England, France, and Germany in quest of better openings for his trade, and for establishing direct relations with European firms to avoid the demands of the middlemen. Larger orders than before have been given for the purchase of different kinds of machinery in Europe for use in India, and even the slow-going agriculturist has in some cases—for instance, in the Punjab—shown a willingness to try improved agricultural implements on the farms, and form combinations for the protection of his interests. Travelling for the sake of information has also been more largely resorted to, and a remarkable characteristic that Indians visiting the West have recently shown, and which offers a great contrast to the case of many who preceded them, is that they seem to be free from that slavish imitation of the West for which we were so often rightly blamed and held up to ridicule. I have come across a large number of my countrymen who, while adapting themselves with admirable elasticity to their surroundings in this part of the world, adhere firmly to the essential principles of religion or ethics taught them in the East, and do not regard it necessary to lay down all their ancient possessions at the altar of Western civilisation. These are hopeful signs, but what strikes me as most hopeful is that greater benevolence and public spirit than before have characterised the donations that have been made to educational work, and that the encouragement of female education has received a place side by side with the education of the boys in the programme of many an educational reformer.

SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS

We have seen that the sentiment that actuates Young India is a desire for advancement—intellectual, commercial, and political. We have observed that the idea, though primarily agitating the educated classes, has reached the masses as well, and is beginning to be shared by that important section of the population that has hitherto led its life in seclusion away from the gaze of men, and has not brought its influence to bear on the public life of the country as the woman in the West has done. We have also noticed that this sentiment has found expression at first in movements of social and political reform, and later in the promotion of industrial and commercial enterprise, which, though in its commencement at present, is full of vast potentialities. The desire to travel abroad, and to move to distant corners of the world in search of fresh fields and pastures new, is also manifesting itself in larger proportions than

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before, notwithstanding the obstacles that are placed in the way of Indians by people who have had the good luck of being a little early in the field. And last, though not the least, the spirit of independence and self-help that has come into existence is an asset the value of which can be scarcely estimated. These are all matters justifying a hopeful view of the situation. But there are directions in which the outlook is not very promising. The differences between various sections of the community in India have long stood in the way of progress, and though of late there have been some indications of a desire for co-operation, at least in the lines of education, social reform, and commerce, there are forces at work among the younger generation of India that render all united action difficult. The great magnitude of the country adds no little to the difficulties of the task that India has before it, and the very circumstance that would constitute her strength, if she is once welded into a great whole, now forms her weakness. But the facilities of communication are drawing different parts of India more and more together ; the comparative freedom of contact between various provinces is removing many an old barrier of prejudice, and the Press is contributing its share to the work of consolidation. The prospect, on the whole, strikes me to be far from gloomy. There is no height which Young India may not be able to reach with wider education and a greater co-operation between the communities inhabiting the land, especially if those in whose hands God has placed our destinies give us their full sympathy, and encourage the efforts of the people to better their fortunes.

THE SWADESHI MOVEMENT

In an article in the *Morning Post*, Mr. H. F. Prevost Battersby writes upon the swadeshi movement as follows :—

The abuse with which one finds the British Raj occasionally assailed in India is the finest tribute to our integrity and toleration that could be conceived. It is the tremendous faith in our honour which the Native has which makes him so outspoken of what he takes to be a breach of it ; he honestly believes that our devotion to an ideal would prevent our resenting the most censorious assistance to its preservation as a breach of manners. It is really rather touching, and really rather nice ; though coming straight from England one hardly knows, when receiving such assurances, in what attitude to receive them. Still such a confidence is proof that it has been deserved ; faith is not bred of broken vows ; and if one has

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to blush for England's present indifference to India, one can swell with pride at this evidence of her magnanimity in the past. Thus it was that when, as a result of Manchester's refusal to interest herself in the partition of Bengal, a boycott of British goods was decreed the Bengali was astonished to find the boycott treated by English officials and in the English Press as an act of disloyalty, when he never imagined it could be regarded save as a perfectly legal and the only effective method of calling attention to his wrongs. It was thus avowedly "a political weapon used for a definite political purpose," and those who unreservedly condemn must not forget how tightly closed are their ears to any of India's arguments which does not affect their pockets. The boycott served this useful end—that it called attention to the condition of local industries and thus directly inspired the swadeshi movement.

Swadeshism means nothing more than the patronage of home-made goods, and this encouragement has come at a time when the village industries of India were passing, one by one, out of existence. The life of India is essentially the life of the village. The people of India are in overwhelming proportions a village people, and their communities are, or at least were, the most attractive, the most complete, the most contented in the world. Within their self-sufficing confines trade is no vulgar source of profit for which men scheme and strive, but a calling, often a holy calling, handed down from father to son through the generations, each with its own unchanging ideals, its zealously-guarded craft. At the entrance to a village street beside his wheel, which is only a wooden disc weighted with mud and spun on an axle, the potter sits, with dreamy fingers squeezing the clay to the shapes of his fancy ; on one side of him a brown heap of earth, on the other the frail children of his fancy waiting for the fire which shall fit them for use ; type, since man made pots, of the unchallengable authority and detachment of the Eternal Potter. Further down the street, past the green and orange and salmon pink piles of the grain sellers, raised but a foot from the ground, open to all that care to lounge and look, are the workshops of the brass and copper smiths, ringing all day to the sound of the hammer, and with the red breathing of a furnace in their depths. Hard by is the tinsmith, slowly grinding his amalgam in a mortar ; while, further on, a woman with a sari drawn across her face, watches the silversmith, with no tools but a hammer and nail, gravating some shape of god or beast upon the bracelet cast from the silver she had brought him ; for his wife is the poor man's bank, and on her, against the evil day, he hangs his earnings, a

THE SWADESHI MOVEMENT

burden to which she does not object. In this district or that, the village may be distinguished by a special craft ; by carvers in ebony or ivory, blackwood or stone, by some famous maker of swords or worker in lacquer ; or a stall may glimmer with the brightness of glass beads and bangles. Behind the houses the looms will be at work, gay spaces of blue and purple and scarlet in the shadow of the green trees on which the frames are hung, and from which, as the shuttle is thrown to and fro, the scented blossoms fall upon the worker's fingers ; while, further on, the dyers swing from side to side across the width of the sun-lit street, some length of intense and dripping colour.

As the afternoon wears on the women make their way to the well, their robes rich as illuminated letters, brown water jars upon their heads, there to loiter and gossip till the calm-eyed kine are driven lowing from the fields, with a silver trail of dust behind them. Then the sounds of the hammers begin to cease, a film settles on the red-eyed furnaces, the dyer hangs his last damp sari up, the looms are covered and put away, and the village elders gather in the "gate," there to hear the latest news read out to them from the cheap daily sheets which circulate everywhere, to discuss recent judgments, from Tahsildar to Deputy Commissioner, which have come to their hearing, and to shake their heads at the crops ; till the lights begin to shine in the growing darkness, and the sound of songs—songs straight from the Ramayana or Mahabharata—rise from round the cooking pots upon the cooling air. That is a picture of village life all over India, a picture whose restful and contented charm cannot anywhere be bettered, but a picture of a life which is gradually ceasing to be, as the work of the handicraftsman is undersold and displaced by the cheaper, uglier products of the machine-driven West.

It is to re-inspire this life, to re-paint this picture, that the swadeshi movement has informed its energies. Provoked merely as a reply to British indifference, it has become transfigured by the realisation of its immense opportunity into what promises to be a practical and extremely exacting essay in patriotism. Consider how far British benevolence would support a ministration to the unemployed which involved the paying extra for almost every necessary of existence and the getting thereby an inferior article, and then laugh, if you can, at a movement which is not only doing that, but is trying to enmesh all India in a network of organisation which shall discover the needs, supply the deficiencies, and promote the training of those village workers who still remain, a labour which,

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in the truest and most essential interests of the country, should have been undertaken years ago by the Government of India, as doubtless it would have been but for the deterrent fear of the British manufacturer. This chance of proving our disinterested concern for our Indian subjects has, however, been lost, and it is left to the chance product of an agitation to take our place with a determination which is, in its small vexatious way, little short of heroic. Little short, indeed ! for the Indian, and especially, alas ! the cultivated Indian, has a craving for the most awful things of European manufacture, and views with indifference, and even dislike, the characteristic products of his own country.

One enters some Maharaja's palace by an archway of exquisitely-carved stone or of inlaid marble, with gates of beaten silver which Ghiberti would have admired, and between guards with damascened armour and Toledo blades, to find oneself in a drawing-room choked with all the horrors of Tottenham Court Road—glass chandeliers, glass curtain-rods, with crimson plush curtains, crimson plush upholstery on the glass chairs, glass tables in double and triple tiers, glass punkah-rods, even, which must have been a special order; a deliberate infamy, and fringes of tinkling glass prisms along every edge and cornice where they may be hung. The carpet is a painful Brussels; there are cheap German chromographs on the walls, papered with glistening cornucopiæ of roses, and the rest is all gilding and mirrors and Italian statuettes. That is the top, and the bottom is even more preposterous—the bottom is the Standard Oil Company's square tin cans on the heads of the women, where once were only the lovely chattis of brown earthen ware or hammered brass.

Maharajas' palaces, at least the inside of them, may be avoided, but there is no escape from the desecration of the well and of the village, and of the women themselves, by these horrible husks of commerce. In all India there is nothing which so constantly destroys the beauties of its scenes as these tin pests; there is no place secure from them to which water may be carried, and the range of their adoption will give some idea of the difficulties ahead of the swadeshi movement, and the sacrifices it must require even from the poor. Also, to meet the prevalent demand for Western ugliness and cheapness, the small native trader has filled his store and the small shopkeeper his shelves with all the trash the West could offer him, and for both of these some sort of compensation has to be provided. Hence there are many embarrassments to be provided. Hence there are many embarrassments to be dealt with,

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and progress must for some time be slow, but, even if final success not attend the movement, India will have proved herself capable of carrying an effort of pure patriotism much further than it could ever have been advanced at home, and one cannot but believe that in England there must be many who have neither seen India, nor, perhaps, will ever see it, who yet will find themselves in sympathy with an effort to preserve its heritage of beauty, to train its people to an appreciation of that inheritance, and to revive those innocent industries which neither defile the air nor pollute the water, nor make prisoners of men's bodies and souls.

THE DEATH OF AKBAR

AN INQUIRY INTO ITS CAUSE

Before the Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society Mr. R. P. Karkaria read a paper some time ago inquiring into the cause of Akbar's death which is involved in some mystery, as the Persian writers differ considerably from the contemporary European and Hindu in their accounts of it. Akbar's death happened just three hundred years ago, consequently this was now his tercentenary. But modern India, Mr. Karkaria said, was indifferent on this occasion to the memory of its greatest past ruler and did not publicly celebrate it. Probably the visit of the Prince of Wales and its busy preparations made the people forget the splendid times of Akbar ; and that great monarch might derive some consolation that he was forgotten in favour of a Prince who was to be the future Akbar of India ruling over a vaster, more powerful and happy land than himself. But if the people were too busy with the present, at least the learned Asiatic Societies, within whose special province lay this historical subject, should have done justice to it by holding meetings in honour of Akbar and making speeches and reading papers illustrative of his times. In other countries such celebrations were generally organised by learned bodies and their Society ought to lead on this side of India. Shivaji, with all due deference for that great character for whom he had shown his great respect on several occasions, did not appeal to all Indians as Akbar undoubtedly does. In those days when there was so much talk about union among Indians they could do no better than venerate publicly the memory of one who was the hero not of any one section of the people like Shivaji but of all the Indian peoples alike Hindu, Mahomedan, Sikh, Parsi, and Buddhist, whom he did so much in the past to bring together.

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As a step to such a tercentenary celebration Mr. Karkaria offered his contribution on the death of Akbar, which had not been sufficiently elucidated by historians. Of that event we possess no account by the great historians of Akbar, because all of them, Nizam-ud-Din, Badaoni, Abul Fazl, died before their master. We have to put up with the inferior accounts of Asad Beg and Jehangir. And their accounts have been followed without much criticism by all the modern writers, as Elphinstone, Count de Noer, Malleson, Mr. Keene and others. Now Jehangir's account, of which Asad's is a mere echo, ought not to be accepted implicitly. Mr. Karkaria analysed this account, and showed its improbability and imperfections. Jehangir does not state, in spite of his lavish details, the cause of his father's illness. He merely says that Akbar suffered from indigestion ; but surely it could not have lasted long, and indigestion is certainly not fatal. Moreover, he says that the Court physician had blundered and did not give any medicines to the royal patient for eight days ; and yet he pardoned him very complacently. For this, indeed, Mr. Wheeler suspects him strongly of having poisoned Akbar through this Hakim, and he thinks that Jehangir's character supports this accusation. But Mr. Karkaria thought that Jehangir's character points to a different conclusion and does not support the murder theory. He was an indolent, weak-willed voluptuary, but not such a determined and resolute villain as a parricide must without doubt be. He must be acquitted of this horrid crime.

Very important light is thrown on the death and its cause by the only two full European accounts of it we have from persons who were in India within a hundred years of Akbar's death. Manucci was a Venetian physician at the Mughal Court under Shah Jehan and Aurangzeb for forty-eight years and wrote his memoirs of that Court in Portuguese. On these MS. memoirs of his father, Catron the Jesuit based his history of the Mughals published in Paris in 1708. The original Portuguese memoirs of Manucci have been recently discovered in the libraries of Paris and Venice, by Mr. Irvine of the Bengal Civil Service, who is at present engaged in editing them in four volumes for the Indian Government. Manucci had used the court chronicle of the Mughals in his historical narrative. But an even earlier and almost a contemporary European account exists in the excessively rare work of the Dutchman, Johannes De Laet, called "*De Magni Mogolis Imperio*," published at Leyden in 1631 in Latin by the famous Elzevir. This work was almost entirely unknown to writers on Mughal history till Sir Roper Lethbridge called attention to it. "The fact," says he, "that it does

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not appear to have been consulted by any of the modern writers on Indian subjects is to be explained by the difficulty of procuring a copy of the book. The most careful enquiry in England and India has failed to discover a second copy either in the market or in a library, and consequently I am justified in assuring that the copy used by me (in Calcutta) is at present practically unique." Mr. Karkaria said that he had succeeded in securing a copy of this precious book, which he showed to members from Europe. On communicating the fact to Sir Roper, who is at present in India, he kindly invited him to collaborate with him in publishing an edition and translation for the famous Hakluyt Society. The work of De Laet is very valuable for the history and topography of the Mughal Empire at its height and throws important light on several subjects connected with it.

One of these subjects is the death of Akbar. The historical part of De Laet's work was supplied by Peter Venden Broecke who was Director of the Dutch East India Company at Surat in 1620 and thus was in India a few years after Akbar's death in 1605. Broecke had access to what he calls the genuine chronicle of the Mughals from which he took his facts, and which was also utilised by Manucci for his history. In Broecke's account Akbar's death is narrated, from which it appears that the Emperor poisoned himself by mistake. He was, it seems, in the habit latterly of removing quietly obnoxious nobles at his Court by giving them poisoned pills to be taken in his presence whilst he took harmless pills himself. He in this way once wanted to kill Ghazi Khan, Governor of Tatta in Sind, but by a misadventure gave him the harmless pill and took the poisoned one himself, and so unwittingly poisoned himself and died. Here therefore the mystery of Akbar's death is cleared up, a mystery which the Persian writers, who were flatterers, took pains to cover up as they rightly thought that such a cause would damage the memory of their dead master. But European writers could have no such motive in suppressing the real cause of his death, and they thus gave it as they found it in the private Court Chronicle. The narratives of Broecke, De Laet, and Manucci-Catron receive confirmation from another European writer who travelled in India and was at Agra from 1627-8, the well-known Sir Thomas Herbert. Again, the Rajput chronicles also confirm the story in an independent way. The chronicles of the Bondi State, as given by Tod in his great work, say that Akbar wanted to poison Raja Man Singh, his Rajput wife's brother, but by mistake poisoned himself and thus died ingloriously.

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The only conclusion from all these accounts well worthy of credit was that the poison theory is true, though it is much against the grain to believe it. But a deep study of original contemporary authorities, other than merely Persian, of Akbar's reign had convinced him that that great and good monarch degenerated in his latter days and stooped to several things unworthy of him in his best days. That subject might be treated on another occasion as the whole truth about Akbar must be known, to judge him as he really was throughout his life and not only during his best days. It would then appear that Akbar did not escape the limitation of the age and the environment in which he moved, and that great as he was, he yet occasionally fell into the snares of his irresponsible position as an unconstitutional autocrat. For the present this investigation into the cause of his death must suffice. Mr. Karkaria concluded his paper by giving the various contemporary accounts of the mausoleum erected over Akbar's tomb at Secundra to show that Jehangir tampered with his father's design for it. He alluded in conclusion to Lord Curzon's recent orders for the preservation of Mughal buildings and monuments and said that much as had been done for them, still more remained for the successor of that great ruler, and hoped that in particular greater care would be taken in future than has been done in the past for the last resting place of the renowned monarch who in spite of his later degeneration still remains for us all the Greatest of the Mughals, and not only the greatest but also the best.

THE QUEEN OF THE SNOWS

Mr. William Maxwell, the special correspondent of the *Daily Mail* with the Prince and Princess of Wales, sent the following account of *Kinchinjunga* to his paper, dated Darjeeling, January 17 :—

Far below, like stars in an azure sky, shone the lights of Darjiling. Through a chasm of wind-divided cloud loomed the crest of Kinchinjunga—a wan shadow on which the moonbeams lay. In all the strange and beautiful world there is nothing to compare with the twelve giants that lift their white arms 20,000 feet to make a throne in the heavens for Kinchinjunga.

We came to Darjiling with fear and trembling. In Calcutta it was whispered that the Queen of the Snows was in purdah—hidden behind a veil of mist. But we had faith, and crossed the broad Ganges and awoke at the foot of the mountains, where a sturdy little

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engine climbed skyward through forests of fern and plantain and oak and bamboo. Panting past rhododendrons thirty feet high, circling the rim of jade bowls 3,000 feet deep, we reached the zone of the white-flowered magnolia and tumbled headlong from the clouds into a new wonder.

THE PLACE OF TEA GARDENS

Darjiling has more than fills the tea-pot: it has a people as well as a life of its own, and both are grafted on the Chinese. Among the booths—dignified by the name of bazaar—you rub shoulders with a race alien to the men of the plains. Here are the Lepchas—original inhabitants of Sikkim—Mongolian in type, short in stature, broad-chested and muscular—yellow men with flat noses and oblique eyes. A peaceful, dirty people, they were content to remain savages and to worship evil spirits until the Tibetans taught them to plait their hair into pig-tails and to aspire after the Nirvana. Their women are built on a generous plan, and with amiable smile offer to barter the silver hoops in their ears, their necklaces of amber and cornelian and turquoise, and their amulets of prayers and saintly nail-parings. They never whine, like the vendors in the plains, but have a smile to cover the fraud or to acknowledge defeat.

On Sunday, when the people flock from village and tea plantations, you see the Bhootias, who are industrious and quarrelsome; the slender and sinewy Limboo, who neither plaits his hair nor wears ornaments; the Moormis, from the pestilential forests of Terai; the yellow-robed, bare-skulled priest from Tibet; and the sturdy, aggressive little Ghurka from Nepal, who, till we interposed, was pushing his frontier over the Himalayas to the border of Burma. All these and more arrest your glance in the sloping streets, and set you thinking of the strange races on the border of Hindustan. A Lama whines out his endless prayer, and a grave-looking urchin wheedles you into possession of a drum fashioned from two skulls covered with fish skin. The skulls are of a man and woman who died a violent death, and the rattle is necessary to ward off the evil eye. Scoff at the charm, and you become the victim of a revolving prayer-wheel designed for your salvation or—spun from right to left—for a black paternoster. You will be cheated, yet you will love the cheat, and, remembering the plains, will say that it is well to dwell in the mountains in the face of day and in the shadow of the snow.

"HILLS ANCIENT AS THE SUN"

We rode out to see Kinchinjunga and Everest. It was the witching hour—that heralds the dawn—when the moon has with-

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drawn to her frontier and the stars are dreaming. Not a leaf stirred the still air as we climbed through the violet darkness past the sleeping hamlet over which slumbered the white flags that flutter prayers on the wind. Ten thousands feet, and we saw the scarlet sun pierce the sable rampart of the horizon and smite with gleaming spear the summit of Kinchinjunga. A livid light spread over the plain, and the world pulsated with newborn life. Such was creation's dawn. The luminous air breathed a subtle fragrance; the words were embroidered with strange hues; the hills were damascened and the snows melted into gold, as the widening morn spread like a waveless sea over mountain and plain. A soft and purple mist "like a vapoury amethyst" overflowed the deep valleys and gorges. Behold range upon range of mountains engulfed in depths—a shadowy world below a shadowy moment.

Look well, for this is the earth and not a shadow—the earth where men toil and die and are forgotten. And when your eyes have seen the mountains of the earth, let them look upward and behold the mountains of heaven—the everlasting snows spread high between the clouds and the sun. A thousand twinkling points of light tip the broken ridges, and from the azure sky down to the submerged world of nether hills falls an avalanche of snow and ice over peaks and walls of granite on which the shadows play. A stainless temple of eternal snow bathed in the splendour of the sun—a silent, inaccessible shrine that holds communion with the heavens. This is Kinchinjunga—a stupendous mass of grey granite springing sheer 9,000 feet, smoothed and polished by avalanches, overhung with untrodden snows. Kinchinjunga—second only to Everest among the mountains of the world.

ON THE ROOF OF THE WORLD

And what of Everest—remote, serene, and inaccessible? Over league upon league of mountain and plain hanging in the shadow of dawn shone a milk-white dome no bigger than the dome of St. Paul's! This is Everest, mightiest mountain of the earth, dwarfed by distance and the near presence of Kinchinjunga.

We were fortunate in having for guide Mr. Regi, of Woodlands, who recently attempted to climb these twenty-nine thousand feet of ice and snow, and is one of two that escaped burial in crevasse. His knowledge gave us a new sense, and we saw the range of snows as on a map. That sharp, conical peak which appears on the other side of the valley is Nursing, thirty-two miles away, and rises over nineteen thousand feet above the sea. Peak upon peak, like Pelion on Ossa—wall upon wall and range upon

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range, these everlasting hills stretch across the horizon—more sublime and not less beautiful than the Alps as seen from Mount Rigi. And peerless above them all, fair as a bride of Heaven, shone the face of Kinchinjunga, radiant with the glories of the rising sun.

Descending into the valley, we passed through gardens emerald with tea bush, and, skirting valleys that tumble six thousand feet into a green gorge, came again to Darjiling and its picturesque streets. But our eyes and our thoughts were on Kinchinjunga, and we watched it grow in splendour of colour and shade, from the orange and ruby of dawn to the ghostly pallor of twilight, till the clouds began to gather and a white giant torn from the mountain advanced with a train of shadows and hid from our gaze the Queen of the Snows.

REVIEW OF LEADING INDIAN REVIEWS

East and West

The March number of this Magazine opens with a rather disappointing article from the pen of H. H. the Aga Khan who describes some of his *Impressions and Reflections on the Royal Visit*. It is interesting to note that in the illumination night in Calcutta, His Holiness went out into the streets 'disguised as an ordinary native and walked till the early hours of the morning.' *Is Home Rule Dead* is the interrogative title of an article in course of which Mr. Boyle states that Ireland must have it either by instalments or at once. Sirdar Jogendra Singh's story of *Nur Jahan* is still continued. Mr. H. Bruce concludes his review of the poems of the late Mrs. Nicolson, *A True Indian Poet*. Dr. Cooper has a very learned paper on *Radium*. Mr. C. A. Kincaid, I.C.S., relates the old popular story of Prithviraj and Sanjukta in an interesting paper entitled *An Old World Romance*. Mr. Indu Bhusan Mazumder gives an account of *Benares—The Holy City of the Hindus*. The Rev. Father Noti's biographical sketch of *Joseph Tieffentaller* is continued. The *Editorial Note* deals with *The Organisation of Public Opinion* and it is followed by some notes on *Current Events* which bring the number to a close.

The Indian Review

The April number of Mr. Natesan's Review is very good so far as Indian topics are concerned. The *Editorial Notes* deal with *The Barisal Outrages* and the Hon. Mr. Gokhale's *Departure to England*. An 'Indian Publicist' enters into a very vigorous criticism of the last Indian Budget. The 'publicist' seems to be filled with indignation when he finds that in reality the Government spends only 'one-thirty-second part of the fat revenue derived from land towards the purpose of improving agriculture.' Mr. Henry Crossfield puts forward *A Plea for Fiscal Autonomy*. Mr. Sarat Chandra Ray describes *The Services and Sufferings of a Loyal Hindu*, a Banker of Bareilly, during the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857. Mr. V. J. Kirtikar writes on *Indian Asceticism*. Mr. C. Y. Chintamani's useful article entitled *An Improved Process of Sugar Manufacture* should be read

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with interest especially in these days of industrial upheaval. The two following papers, which discuss the prospects of the proposed Hindu University at Benares, are dealt with elsewhere. Mr. V. G. Aiyar has a lengthy and scholarly paper on the *Chronology of the Siddhantas* which is followed by the reproduction of a lecture on *Economics* delivered by Mr. D. E. Wacha at the Fergusson College, Poona. As usual, 'Rajduari' makes some notes on *Current Events*.

The Hindustan Review

Our Allahabad contemporary has had its National Number and its Oudh Number and it would not be far wrong to vote its March issue as the Foreign Number ; for, it bristles with non-Indian topics. It opens with an unsatisfactory and scrappy account by Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Das of the *Universities in Ancient India*. This is followed by a second instalment of Mr Nelson Fraser's description of *Switzerland*. *Judaism and Art* is a vindication by Mr. J. S. Ezra of the artistic sense of the Hebrew people. "Sajjad" writes on *Sultan Abdul Hamid and the Young Turkey Party*. The article will be read with interest by Mussulmans and may open the eyes of some—pretending to a sort of education—who in their supreme apathy to all things Indian have their vision eternally fixed on Turkey. The *Labour Problem in India* is summarised elsewhere. Mr. D. S. Ram Chandra Rao stands up for small beginnings in Indian industrial enterprise—a matter, we may mention, which has been receiving some attention in Bengal. His article on *The Day of Small things in Indian Enterprise* will be read with interest in Bengal. Mr. M. S. Commissariat follows with an entertaining but too brief outline of the life of *Lord Thurlow*—the first of a series of articles on *Great English Lawyers*. *In a Japanese Tea Room* is an attempt to familiarise Indians with a no unimportant part of the life in the Land of the Rising Sun. 'Barhaspatya' follows with his heavy commentary on *Jyotish Vedanga* which seems to us to be wholly unsuitable in the pages of a periodical of the type of the *Hindustan Review*. Under the head of *Discussions* the case for ESPERANTO as a common language for India is ably put forward by the Rev. A. H. Hildesley, and "One Interested" enters into a fervent protest against a Moslem University or any Denominational University whatsoever. The Editor brings the number to a close with some comments on Mr. Morley's reply on Mr. Herbert Robert's Amendment to the Address.

SUMMARIES OF ARTICLES

"INDIA A NATION"

(From the *Review of Reviews*)

HOW WE ARE DIGGING OUR OWN GRAVE

The supreme duty of every Power which has acquired dominion over other nations is to dig its own grave with the maximum of despatch. In other words, just as fathers train their sons to stand on their own feet and make their own way in the world, so empires should seek ever to make their subjects fit to dispense with their aid.

THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE AS A SPADE

In India the process has been slow but steady, and now a distinct national sentiment has been developed among the Indian peoples chiefly, it would seem, by the spread of the English language. The *Indian World* of February, quoting from the *Pioneer*, says :

Unification is, in essence, an assertion of race difference, and the unity brought about by the use of the English language seems doomed to be used against those whose native tongue the English language is The new sentiment of Indian nationality embracing, in its scope, the Burman and the Mech, the Kol and the Santhal, the Naga and the Khasia, as well as the ancient civilised races of India, is a very remarkable and interesting result of the vigour and efficiency of British rule in India.

THE EFFECT OF THE JAPANESE OBJECT-LESSON

The process of grave-digging is not rapid enough to satisfy the Indians. They complain that in the King's speech, Self-Government is relied upon as a means of promoting prosperity and loyalty to the Crown in the Transvaal, and the editor of *The Indian World* asks, why not also in India ? :

May we be permitted to enquire why two different policies should be followed in two different parts of the Empire, under the same Government and at the same time, to ensure a common end—"the increase of prosperity and 'loyalty to the Crown' ? If India has not yet been fit for free institutions, it is certainly not her fault. If, after one and half a century of British rule, India remains where she was in the Middle Ages, what a sad commentary must it be upon the civilising influences of that rule ! When the English came to India, this country was the leader of Asiatic civilisation and the undisputed centre of light in the Asiatic world ; Japan was then nowhere. Now, in fifty years, Japan has revolutionised her history with the aid of modern arts of progress, and India, with a hundred and fifty years of English rule, is still condemned to tutelage.

A PERTINENT QUESTION

The *Indian World* says :

The Conservatives used to look upon India as semi-savage country where personal and autocratic rule was believed to suit the genius of its people ; but may we not hope that Mr. John Morley knows the situation better, both as a scholar

THE LABOUR PROBLEM IN INDIA

and a politician? Will the Liberal Party treat India as the Conservatives did, and allow no reform in the constitution and Government of the Indian Empire? If India finds that there is nothing to choose between the two great parties in England, then her loyalty and attachment to England will, as a matter of course, receive a great shock. . . . Why should not, then, the Government of India be revised in the light of modern progress and be adapted to the needs and requirements of the modern day?

AN APPEAL TO BRITISH LIBERALS

Revision, the editor declares, is imperatively needed :

Under the system of government that now obtains in the country, the development of any popular institution in India or even our training for any sort of representative Government must be considered absolutely impossible. Bureaucracy and personal rule, two bastard issues of Imperialism, are holding their reins too tight in India and it is only upon the ashes of autocracy that the temple of freedom can be built. We must therefore wage an uncompromising war against autocracy and appeal to our Liberal friends in England to help us in this crusade. Once we are down with that feudal and time-worn form of government, our salvation will begin to dawn upon us. It will not do any more to tell us that the East is East and that no popular government can thrive this side of the Mediterranean, for Japan has effectually dispelled the Western *superstition* on this point and has proved as worthy of representative, and self-government as any country in Europe.

THE LABOUR PROBLEM IN INDIA

"Rednus" in the March *Hindustan Review* canvasses the problem of the supply of trained labour in India in an article which deserves to be widely read and discussed, particularly as "we have abundant signs of briskness and commotion" in industrial matters just at present.

Talking of our industrial prospects, the writer observes : "The richer classes have been blamed for hoarding up their wealth and not using it for their own as well as their country's advancement. But the question, to what extent the old country has given or is prepared to give labour assistance to any schemes for industrial improvement, has never up to this been considered well." When all the country has been crying for industrial awakening, it is very pertinent to ask, as "Rednus" does, "can India fit up a labour organisation strong enough to bear the pressure of an ever-increasing industrial activity?"

The writer proceeds to discuss the question by a comparison of the labour resources of India with those of Germany, America and the United Kingdom. On the face of it, the comparison appears very favourable but then in relation to India the available industrial labour cannot be easily estimated. In Western countries the urban population affords a fair standard of the hands available for industrial occupation, but the same cannot be said of India "because, in the first place, we cannot fix a proper standard of urbanity; secondly, we can draw labour from the rural population without affecting

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agriculture in any way ; lastly, our joint family system * * is a drone-breeding contrivance." We, in Bengal, with a large number of factories running up the Hooghly, can well realise that here at any rate urbanity is no criterion of industrial population.

However, by deducting the number of people devoted to occupations related to agriculture, the writer concludes that "in 1901 there were 98 million hands free for the industries" and that in the preceding decade "Germany increased her labouring hands by about 107 per cent., the United States by 212 per cent., and India only about 42 per cent." Even this number, making up a third of the population, is not stable or fully available. "In the near future, some of the arable land lying waste will be brought under cultivation," says the writer, and "the one-third margin which we now have, will come down to one-sixth or even less, and in fact we cannot say to how much." Then, we have the plague still on. Even with all this, the writer concludes, "our industrial hands are more numerous than the total population of Germany. And if we have 98 millions, then they far exceed the entire population of the United States." To utilise them to the best advantage we have to get over two obstacles. "First we have the difficulty of transporting. * * The people should be made to move from one part to another. Indian spirit is averse to colonisation. * * * His love is for his village and not for his country." The second difficulty, according to this writer, is the Indian's natural aptitude for agriculture which corresponds to an equal want of industrial knowledge. It is surprising that the writer fails to recognise another scarcely less important difficulty in our social system which move within some prescribed limits of caste and trade and is unfavourable to the free flow of labour according to economic requirements. That is a difficulty which must be solved by a social revolution whose seeds it is not hard to discern in these days.

The writer suggests two remedies to the first difficulty : "The leading concerns should appoint agents in various parts of the country where labour is manifestly abundant. They cannot expect labourers from distant parts to go to them of their own accord. The agents should canvass for labour in the same way as the labour agents for the colonies do. Factory life must be made pleasant and cheerful in every possible way. And this lies not in mere vain futile promises, but in the fulfilment of such promises. Theirs should not be allowed to be a life of drudgery under a cruel and stern taskmaster, but must be one of work alternating with rest, so that when any of them come back to their native homes, they

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should not be stumbling blocks in the way of the labour-seeking agents, but must act as pioneers encouraging their brethren to follow them to the various parts." Industrial education is the remedy for the other evil. But the writer does not set up a very ambitious scheme. "The most important industrial concerns should start technical schools attached to the factories, where education of a rudimentary technical type should be imparted. They need not go in for professors from the continent or other learned men ; trained factory hands will do well. They can be relieved of some of their work in the factories and made to teach the youngsters of the imported labourers such things as the handling of ordinary instruments of mechanism and other subjects relevant to factory work." After the refreshing references to self-help indicated in these extracts and inculcated clearly in other parts of the article, it is somewhat disappointing to find him depending upon legislation for setting right this growing difficulty of the lack of labouring hands.

Whenever Government comes in between capitalist and labour, industries must needs be artificially kept up. A free or natural relation between labour and capital is much better worth encouraging. No doubt the State may do valuable work in the organisation of labour, but with our experiences in Assam and elsewhere we should be least justified in calling to the Indian Government for help.

THE PROPOSED HINDU UNIVERSITY

To the April number of the *Indian Review* Mr. V. G. Bijapurkar contributes an article in course of which he strongly advocates the need for a Hindu University. The following appear to be the principal arguments in favour of a denominational University :

"Scientific and technical education of the Hindus is possible only in a Hindu University. For the prevention from decay of the vernaculars, for the proper training of the morals and manners of the young men of the country, and for the imparting of scientific and technical education in right European fashion, the institution of a Hindu University, independent of Government control and guidance, is an indispensable necessity in the land. The necessity of such an institution is apparent also for the inculcation of political duties, rights and responsibilities in the mind of young India. An important factor of education which is now neglected by British rule is the exclusion of religious education from Government schools and

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colleges. Government aid is flowing like water in the direction of Missionary Colleges, where Indian religions are traduced, sometimes with feeling hardly justified by free criticism. Religion is a universally cherished possession of all nations on the globe. With the Hindu, religion is everything. A Hindu University ought to be organised to fulfil the religious craving of the nation. An ecclesiastical department of the Hindu University is sure to nationalise it. The religious education of the people can be undertaken by a Hindu university alone. Society must move, if even it does, at the bidding of its own wise and respected people, and no leaders of thought can command any attention, much less respect, if they sever themselves from the religion of their fellow-countrymen. This, then, is the most important function of a Hindu university."

As regards the expense for maintaining such a University and establishing branches all over the country, the writer says :—"The Honble Pandit Madan Malaviya at Benares told us that a crore of rupees will be required, but I say five crores will not be enough for such a vast country. Half-a-dozen or more branches will have to be established, but five or even ten crores will not be much when the mighty nation is moved. The Hindu University will be an institution of the people, started for the people by the people, and, as such, it is bound to be an unmixed success in every way. It is impossible that ideas should not roll in the heads of thinking men as to how all the institutions affiliated to the Hindu University can be located in Benares alone. Branch universities and colleges will have to be organised. Starting on the principle of holiness and time-hallowed popularity, no better choice of place can be made for the chief seat of the Hindu University than Benares. Its Bombay side capital can well be Nasik. Other Presidency people will be able to name their own second cities of our University."

In the course of an article on the *Rejuvenation of the Hindu Race* in the same Review, Mr. G. Subramanya Iyer thus describes the inception and aim of, and the courses of study in, the proposed Hindu University :

"More ambitious and more significant of the character and tendency of Indian patriotism in the present day is the proposed establishment of an all-India Hindu University in the holy city of Benares on almost exactly the same lines as those of the *Gurukula Vidyasala*, but on a much more extensive scale. This University is to be called the *Bharatiya Vishwa Vidyasala* and its object is described as the 'promotion of scientific, technical and artistic education combined with religious instruction and classical culture.'

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The proposal was formulated at a Congress of the Hindu religion or the *Sanatan Dharma Mahasava* held at the time of the *Kumbha Mela* at Allahabad in January last and presided over by Jagad-Guru Sankaracharya of Gobardhan Math. The Congress was entirely orthodox in its constitution, spirit and aim, and considered 'the causes of the decline of the followers of the Hindu religion in number and prosperity,' and with a view to promote religious and secular education as the best means of securing prosperity and happiness to the people the Congress resolved to establish a Hindu University at Benares, to train teachers of religion for the preservation and promotion of the *Sanatan Dharma* which is inculcated in the Hindu sacred literature, and to promote the study of the Sanskrit language. It was further resolved that along with religious education, secular education on the most approved modern lines should be imparted at the proposed University. The University, when established, would consist of a Vedic college where the *Vedas*, *Vedangas*, *Smritis*, *Darsanas*, *Itihasas* and *Puranas* would be taught, an *Ayurvedic* college, with laboratories and botanical gardens, a veterinary department and a college with provisions for ample instruction in various branches of modern science and art. There would also be a linguistic college where modern languages such as English and German and the Indian vernaculars would be taught. Its proposals include the establishment of a *Sanatan Dharma Sava* in every town in India, to carry out the objects of the university on a smaller scale. The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya is the Secretary of this great movement and he assures us that, from the communications he has received since the proposal was made public, there is a great deal of enthusiasm in the country for it. Mr. Malaviya perceives considerations pointing to the need for bringing the Hindu nation under a common system of education, which will qualify its members for the pursuit of the three great aims of life as laid down in our scriptures, namely, the discharge of religious duties, the attainment of secular prosperity and the enjoyment of lawful pleasures. The fourth aim, salvation or *Moksha*, must be pursued by each individual by his own efforts under the guidance of his spiritual preceptor and in accordance with his own particular creed or denomination."

NATIONAL EDUCATION IN BENGAL

In the fourth number of the *Students' Magazine*, Mr. Nareesh Chandra Sen-Gupta, M.A., B.L., deals with the question of national education in Bengal. Mr. Sen-Gupta, whose articles are well-known to the readers of the *Indian World*, is a brilliant alumnus of the Calcutta University, and as one of the most ardent workers of the Swadeshi propaganda, has the right to speak with a fair amount of authority on the subject he dwells upon. According to Mr. Sen-Gupta, the National Educational Council is an euphemism for a National University—a name that appears unsavoury to many. In reply to the first question as to whether a National University is at all a necessity, the writer repeats the truism that a nation's education can be best conducted by the nation itself. European professors do not know the mind of the Bengalee youth which they seek to train, the result being that the education which they plan and impart fails to exert its due influence over the pupils. We cannot expect an organic development in the system of education so long as we have European professors with scanty knowledge of Indian life and no great sympathy with the students whose lives they have got to mould. These foreign teachers are characterised by the writer as so many birds of passage. A nation, says the writer, has need for educating its children for the sake of the nation as a whole no less than for the youths themselves.

The writer is of opinion that a complete and efficient system of education for Bengal is necessitated by the particular nature of the Calcutta University. Medicine and Engineering fail to provide for a large number of our young men and the Bar is thus the last resort of many struggling graduates. The education imparted by the Calcutta University does not fit our students for anything but service and the legal profession, and even for the legal it fits us indifferently. When these two fail, as now, owing mostly to the gradual restriction of the area of education, our boys find themselves absolutely at sea. And yet the bread problem has to be solved. Thus to make for an education that will fit a man for independent living on lines as yet unworked upon in Bengal, the establishment of a National University has the full support of the writer.

In the next place, the writer argues that a National University is quite possible if funds are available, if people care to manage its affairs, and if students flock to it. These are large 'ifs,' but Mr. Sen-Gupta seems to think that we should have no lack of students for the new University only if a sound training is ensured. As regards funds, the writer suggests that the students who intend

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to join the National Council of Education should go about begging broad-cast over the land as was the practice at Cambridge in old days.

The education to be imparted by the New University has been called *National Education*, which to Mr. Sen-Gupta seems to have a significance of its own. The education to be imparted must be free and liberal ; but at the same time it should be so given as to make it useful in furthering the realisation of the nation's greatness. To do so, it is essential that the education should be grafted upon the traditions and history of the people to be educated and that their present state must be adequately taken into consideration. This, the writer contends, the Calcutta University fails to do. He then discusses the plan of education to be adopted by the new University, in its various branches, and observe in references to Sciences that they must not only be studied in the abstract, but also in their application to Indian subjects. As regards literature, modern English as well as modern French and German, so far as possible, should be well taught, but the classical studies ought to be left to such as have a taste in that direction. The vernacular should be made the primary vehicle of instruction so far as possible, and the new University should not be an examining institution only, but an educating Committee. The colleges that will be affiliated to the National Council of Education should have their separate funds and endowments but their management should, in the last resort, lie in the hands of a Committee of the Senate. The immediate management of each College should be entrusted to an elected board of trustees and tutors. The new University, according to the writer, should provide for two things. It must, in the first place, give such education as would open out new careers to our young men ; and secondly, it must impart a free and liberal education on lines best calculated to further national interest. There should be a bifurcation of studies at some stage of education into professional and liberal education. In professional education, the writer includes Medicine, Engineering and Technology in general and in the liberal section, Science and Art. The greatest care should be taken to give free scope to originality and this can be properly done, according to Mr. Sen-Gupta, by providing the University with teachers like the *privat docents* of German Universities.

NOTES & NEWS

GENERAL

H. H. the Thakore Saheb of Limbdi has decided to impart free primary education to all children in his Estate.

* *

The Bombay Corporation have, on a motion of Sir Pheroza Shah Mehta, resolved to revert back to local time and to have nothing further to do with the standard one.

* *

A widow-remarriage of much public interest was celebrated at Lahore on the 27th ultimo. The bride is a widowed niece of Mr. Roshan Lal, Barrister-at-law and a leading Arya Samajist; while the bridegroom, Babu Jagdamba Parshad, lives in Bareilly. The ceremony took place at Mr. Roshan Lal's and was witnessed by a large gathering which included many Indian ladies. Mr. Roshan Lal himself married the widowed daughter of the late Rai Bahadur Kanhya Lal, Executive Engineer.

* *

It should also be noted that earthquakes occur chiefly along the Sutlej and it is very possible that this river may supply the water necessary for the production of steam. It is also stated that shocks of earthquake are always preceded or accompanied by rumblings or explosive sounds which again are loudest near the river, such noises are not always associated with earthquakes and have occurred from time to time for the last three years at least and have been the subject of much surmise and discussion among the people of the neighbourhood.

* *

A Brahmin woman named Radha, aged about thirty years, who lived in Dayahutta Street in Jorabagan, lost her husband early in April from plague and in consequence appeared to be considerably affected, refusing to converse with any of the other inmates of the house. The following day at noon she locked herself up in her room and shortly after smoke was found issuing therefrom. Some of the inmates burst open the door and the woman was found

lying on the floor enveloped in flames which were promptly put out, though not before she had been seriously injured. On being questioned by the Police she denied having set herself up in her room, she set her own "sari" on fire with matches. She was so severely injured as to necessitate her removal to the Mayo Hospital, where she died shortly after. This appears to be a very determined case of 'Sati.'

* *

It will be remembered that at the time of the great earthquake last year, vague reports reached Simla of a smoking mountain seen by natives in the interior. These reports were discredited at the time, but they have been now revived, in connection with the severe earthquake experienced in the Simla district on 28th February last, and on this occasion they rest upon more reliable authority. The Missionary living in the interior, about 100 miles to the north of Simla, writes that much damage has been done by the recent earthquake along the Sutlej, where they occur frequently. He goes on to say that he believes the centre of disturbance is a high mountain to the south of Wangtu, and adds that he distinctly saw smoke or steam from there on 28th February and 1st March. He does not think there can be any doubt about smoke or steam, as clouds do not come out of certain parts of a mountain and disappear in apparently a few yards and continue thus for hours. Moreover, he has seen no smoke since the 1st. March, and what is an additional argument in support of his view, half of the biggest mountain seen from his station was denuded of snow from the top at the time smoke was visible, though it has since been covered again. It is true that anything of the nature of volcanic action would be very unlikely to occur in a mountain so far removed from the sea, as active volcanoes, with very few exceptions, are situated either on or at no great distance from large masses of water, but a report of this nature, resting on such good authority, deserves some attention and investigation.

* *

"An Indian University of the Seventh Century of our Era," was the title of a lecture by the Rev. J. Estlin Carpenter, which drew a large audience to the Manchester University on March 13th. From the chronicles of a Chinese pilgrim and student, whose manuscripts have been preserved, an insight into Buddhist thought in India in the seventh century has been obtained. From these records, with their description of the then existing University where Buddhism was fostered, the lecturer gave many happily chosen

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quotations. Five hundred devout merchants were stated to have brought the ground on which the seat of learning was to stand, and they "presented it to the Buddha." Successive endowments created a vast pile of buildings. There were eight huge quadrangles, an equal number of temples, 100 lecture-rooms where 10,000 students were taught, and six immense blocks of residential buildings used as quarters for monks and novices. The government of the institution and its subjects of instruction were in turn described by the lecturer, who concluded by defining the Buddhist's interpretation of life as it was known in the period under review. "These records of the past," he said, "are worth studying. They are the witness of the venerable East to the abiding principle that the first condition of the quest of truth is liberty." Professor Rhys Davids, in thanking Mr. Carpenter for his lecture, expressed regret that the university described was now nothing but a series of grass-covered mounds. He hoped the day was not far distant when money would be available for excavations and research. A vast quantity of historical material of great value might be awaiting discovery.



One of the staple, if not the staple, foods of this country is rice. It dates from time immemorial in the Indian menu, and it has been the mainstay of the people from the night of history onwards. Rice passed many years ago truly into the foods of Europe, and of late years there are many places in Europe where Indian fare is served. It is true also there are many other grains which have to find favour among the poorer Indian folks, but they would all eat rice were they able. The people of China and Japan all live largely on rice, and thrive when there is enough of it to go round. Yet to the European as a rule rice seems to be a poor diet. In one of the famous sieges against Lord Clive, it is told that in a state bordering on starvation his Native soldiers lived on the rice-water and the European troops ate the rice. But it has since been discovered that a large portion of the nutrient power of rice remains in the water in which it is boiled, and that the processes which rice undergoes in order to fit it for the "table rice" of the Europeans absolutely destroys its chief value. The Indian, Chinese and Japanese people know nothing about any such emasculation. The working populations of the East, when they can get rice, eat it in a far more nutritious and simple form. Instead of being passed twice through a mill and then glazed, a process which leaves little of the glutinous husk and only conserves the starch, it is only once milled and then

is eaten without the glaze that gives it the polished appearance with which we are familiar. It does not look so nice and tempting as the twice-milled and glazed rice, as pieces of the brown husk appear here and there, although the roughest part of the husk has been removed, but the rice contains in a larger degree a far greater proportion of the proteid or albuminous element which is so essential for body or muscle-building. When Europeans generally come to understand this, they may prefer the rice in its Eastern guise.

COMMERCIAL & INDUSTRIAL

One Allahabad Bengalee lawyer, respectably connected, has given up a fair practice and gone to Gwalior to become a farmer there. Two other B. A., B. L's., one from Meerut and another from Mozuffernagar, have followed suit.

* * *

The total receipts of the Forest Department of Burma, during the year 1904-05, amounted to Rs. 109,61,494 as against Rs. 85,19,409 in the preceding year, and the net receipts of the department to Rs. 74,46,497, as against Rs. 50,19,093. Every head of revenue, except grazing and duty on foreign timber, showed an increase. The total quantity of teak extracted by Government agency and by purchasers from Burma forests was 218,466 tons, as against 244,878 tons during the preceding year.

* * *

Lord Minto during his recent visit to Peshawar said that the able and enlightened policy of the Amir of Afghanistan had done much to increase the trade of British India with our neighbours to the north. It is, however, interesting to learn that since the Dane Mission returned from Kabul trade between Afghanistan and India has nearly trebled in value. The Amir, moreover, has taken measures to facilitate and encourage the settlement of Indian traders in his country, and there is every prospect of a still larger and more thriving trade.

* * *

In the course of a Resolution on the Forest Administration of Burma for the year 1904-05, the Lieutenant-Governor says that, despite the insufficiency of the staff by which the forest administration was hampered in every direction, the year was one of continued development and progress. The total amount of teak timber extracted was somewhat less than in the previous year, but there was

a considerably larger outturn of timber other than teak of both reserved and unreserved kinds. The financial results were very satisfactory, both the gross and net revenue being more than twenty-four lakhs in excess of the revenue of the previous year. The Lieutenant-Governor fully concurs in the remarks of the Chief Conservator regarding the need for the restriction of Taungya cutting and the extension of reservation, especially in the Chin Hills and Southern Shan States, both in the interest of the water-supply and for the protection of valuable teak forests.

* *

There seems to be the same tendency in Burma amongst the people to prefer town life to district life as is exhibited in England, says the "Rangoon Gazette." The Salween Hill Tracts, although communications have been improved, show a considerable falling off in population. In 1901 there was a population of 19,500 distributed over 229 villages. Ten years previously the population was 31,439, mostly Karens and Shans. In 1881 the population was returned as 30,000. Possibly, large numbers of people who came to the Salween district during the disturbances in the Shan States and Karenni prior to the annexation have now gone back to their homes. The Salween Hill Tracts produce the finest betel nut in Lower Burma and the cultivation and export of this crop is said to be very remunerative. Only some twenty-one square miles out of an area of 4,646 are cultivated. The district is almost entirely mountainous, intersected by deep ravines, and the difficulty of navigating its three principal rivers, the Salween, the Yunzalin, and the Bilin, doubtless retard its progress.

* *

The Bombay Government have decided that arrangements should be made for the starting of experiments in the Southern and Northern Circles and in the Garden of Economic Botany which is about to be established in Bassein. For the Northern Circle, Mr. Ryan has been requested to prepare and submit, under the direction of the Conservator, a scheme for the plantation of *Ficus Elastica* and experiments to ascertain the yield of rubber and its commercial value, and to suggest other rubber plants which he may consider likely to show good results. For the Bassein Garden of Economic Botany, Mr. Gammie has been asked to prepare a scheme of experiment on a smaller scale in numerous rubber-yielding plants with the object of ascertaining which are the most likely to succeed in the coast districts of this Presidency. For the Southern Circle orders

have been given for the preparation of a scheme for the experimental plantation, more particularly of *Hevia*, in one or more localities under the direction of the Conservator by an officer best fitted for the purpose. It has been directed that full information should be obtained of similar work which is being done in Ceylon, Burma, and Tennaserim and that the schemes or experiment should be prepared with due regard to economy, beginning on comparatively a small scale, with provision for expansion. The plantations in Kanara will be the most extensive, and will be under the supervision of a Forest officer best qualified for the work.

DIARY

FOR THE MONTH OF MARCH

1906

Date

1. The Jubilee of the Bombay Elphinstone College celebrated.
H. R. H. the Princess of Wales visits the Taj at Agra.
2. Heavy rain at Lucknow and outbreak of cholera in Nepal.
3. H. E. Lord Minto leaves Calcutta.
5. In the House of Commons, Mr. Morley reads a despatch from Lord Minto accepting the home decision on the military question.
6. Heavy mortality from plague is reported from the Punjab.
7. The Royal Party visit Gwalior.
8. The Indian Army Administration was discussed in the House of Commons.
9. A destructive fire at Forbesgunj.
10. The Radicals in the House of Commons declare themselves to be in favour of reducing the Army Expenditure of India.
12. The Royal Party visit Quetta.
The *Morning Post* and the *Times* of London discuss the Indian Army question.
14. A deputation of Bombay textile workers waited upon Mr. Morley.
15. Major Seely's motion for a reduction in the Indian Army is lost in the House of Commons.
16. H. R. H. the Prince of Wales unveils the late Queen's Statue at Karachi.
19. The Indian Army debate was resumed in the House of Commons.
20. Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman declares in the House of Commons that he cannot give a pledge to place the Secretary of State's salary in the Home Estimates.
21. The Financial Statement of India for 1906-7 presented before the Viceregal Council by Mr. Baker.
24. Sir James La Touche presides at the opening of the Victoria Memorial at Allahabad.
25. The Government of Bombay appointed a special Committee to inquire into the causation of malaria and other fevers in the Presidency.
26. A shock of earthquake was felt at Bombay.
28. The Budget was discussed in the Supreme Legislative Council.
Sir Arthur Lawley assumes the Government of Madras.
30. H. E. Lord Minto pays an official visit to Lucknow.

Reflections on Men and Things

By the Editor

THE BARISAL AFFAIR

The administrative tomfooleries which were brought to a head in East Bengal during the last Easter week, and which have been appropriately described by the newspaper Press of India as 'the Barisal outrage,' must be considered as the natural outcome of the reactionary and repressive policy which has been introduced into the administration of India since the days of Lord Lansdowne and which has been so vigorously carried on during the last twelve years by Viceroys of such opposite schools as Lords Elgin and Curzon. The arrest, conviction and fine of Mr. Surendranath Bannerjea, the belabouring of the delegates of a long-established and a well-recognised institution with regulation *lathis*, and the insensate crusade against *Bande Mataram* are, by themselves, matters of no very grave moment, and have had their parallel in the history of India under the Crown. When the Poona fever was on and the Mahratta Brahmin was in the brain of every white man in the land, the government of Lord Sandhurst behaved as foolishly as, and certainly in a more high-handed and tyrannical way than, that of Sir Bampfylde Fuller seems to have done. Mr. B. G. Tilak and the brothers Natu and the Mahratta leaders suffered much greater hardships and indignities at the hands of the Poona Constabulary in 1897 than what have befallen upon Mr. Surendranath and his comrades in 1906. The cry of Sivaji was more relentlessly suppressed in the Deccan during the closing years of the nineteenth century than *Bande Mataram* has been in East Bengal in the first decade of the twentieth. The Barisal episode then, so far, does not stand alone in the history of British rule in India.

But there has been *one thing* in the Barisal affair which towers head and shoulders over all other *wrongs*, and besides which the personal indignities offered to Mr. Surendranath Bannerjea and his friends sink into a mere parochial and personal question—it is the dispersal of the Bengal Provincial Conference by the orders of a District officer under a clumsy pretext. Into the history of India under the Crown we look in vain for a parallel of such an atrocious wrong, and even when hundreds of unnecessary and irritating arrests were made throughout upper India and the district jails of Hindustan were crowded with innocent convicts, after the suppression

of the Sepoy Revolt, and people were shot down dead in the public streets for no greater offence than an alleged sympathy with the mutineers or with the Court of Delhi, no officer of the Crown, thanks to the lynx-eyed supervision of Clemency Canning, ever could take it into his head that it was possible for him to suppress a public meeting with impunity. The freedom of the Press has no doubt been interfered with now and then in the last 20 years, but the freedom of public speech and the platform has never been so much even as touched since Lord William Bentinck granted it to the people of India about three-quarters of a century ago. For the first time now in the history of India under the Crown has a District Officer taken upon himself the responsibility of dispersing a meeting of the leaders of a province,—a meeting which has been held in peace for the last fifteen years in Bengal—and which has never been identified with violence or revolutionary doctrines. And when one remembers that this meeting was dispersed on no more serious ground than that the Magistrate suspected on police rumours that there might be some shouting of *Bande Mataram* in the public streets when the Conference was dissolved—one is bound to wonder if British rule has come to *this*, and if sanity has taken leave of those who have been entrusted with the administration of Eastern Bengal.

‘I was not in a position,’ says Magistrate Emerson of Barisal, ‘to control a crowd of 7 to 8 thousand people in a public street and so decided to disperse the meeting at once.’ Strange logic this. The man who on the afternoon of the 14th April dared and managed to belabour the pick of the province, may be ‘irresponsible delegates’ as Commissioner Le Mesurier says of them, before a most enthusiastic and excited following of 6 to 7 thousand men and felt strong enough to disperse a meeting of 6 to 7 thousand people from a pandal in a private compound on the following day got nervous all on a sudden and did not find himself equal to dispersing the men who composed that meeting when they would come out of it and stand in the public streets in a helpless and disorganised state. This is common-sense topsy-turvier.

Whether the Barisal police acted on their own initiative or under instruction in belabouring the delegates of the Conference, whether the procedure adopted for dispersing that body was legal or otherwise, or whether the arrest of Mr. Surendranath Bannerjea was wise or not—these are questions which the newspaper Press of India has discussed threadbare and upon which we shall offer no comments. In this article, we shall only discuss the larger

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issue of the effect which the Barisal episode is likely to have on the future policy of our rulers in the government of this country on the one hand, and the result of the disillusionment which has come upon the public as a painful surprise on the other.

But before doing so, one misapprehension needs to be removed from the public mind in this connection. An impression seems to have got abroad to the effect that the un-British policy pursued in Eastern Bengal owes all its inspiration and strength to the personality of Sir. B. Fuller and that, with his removal from the head of the government in that part of the country, the administration of East Bengal will resume its normal aspect. Though Sir Bampfylde Fuller has himself lent colour to that idea by his savage hostility to the Hindus and the educated Bengalees of Eastern Bengal and has made an exhibition of himself here and there, it goes without saying that he would long have been *removed* from where he is if his general policy were not in a way endorsed by the Government of India and the Secretary of State in England. And if the Viceroy of India *approves* of a certain definite policy of coercion in the administration of one of the Indian provinces and if the Secretary of State *supports* it, it does not matter to us very much whether it is Sir A. B. C. or Sir X. Y. Z. who carries it out into practice. Let the conduit pipe be what or who he may, we should have no quarrel with the subordinate agencies who register and carry out instructions. It is the Supreme Government, which have got to look after and guide the provincial satraps and are responsible for the good government of this country, that must be brought to book for any departure from the traditional policy of beneficence with which England has administered the affairs of India for the last fifty years and more. The Lyon Circulars, which seem to be mere transcripts of some of the ukases of the Czar of all the Russias and which prohibit the cry of *Bande Mataram* and the marching of processions through the public streets, have been long enough before the public, the indiscretions and follies of Sir Fuller have too frequently been brought before the attention of the Viceroy, and nothing that the Eastern Bengal administration has done during the last six months has been done in a half-hearted or a close way to have escaped public attention. Sir B. Fuller has the courage of his convictions and makes no secret of his motives or never does things by halves. Under the circumstances, the personality of the satrap of East Bengal can well be ignored and the entire blame of the Barisal outrage may be thrown at the door of the Simla gods who have

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never asked Saista Khan redivivus to halt in his mad career but have indirectly encouraged him always to go one better.

Let us now examine what effect the Barisal affair is likely to have upon the general character of the future administration of this country. For the first time in the history of British India, despotism has thrown off the mask of 'benevolence' and has appeared in the Indian stage in all its naked horrors. It is said that as soon as a tiger tastes the blood of man it becomes a man-eater and will have no more but human beings for its prey. As with man-eaters, so with despots. Once you allow the despot to have his own way without restraint, you will seldom find him going back to 'benevolent despotism;' and despotism, every body knows, is contagious. We shudder to think of the time when despotism, pure and simple, will replace the despotism known ever since the days of Mill as 'benevolent,' and a whole race of irresponsible autocrats will be let loose in India and administer the affairs of the country according to their sweet will and vie with each other in high-handed and oppressive proceedings in different parts of the Empire. As sure as night follows the day, that will be the beginning of the end of British rule in India. Sir John Seeley has said that England retains India by mere sufferance, and if the day would come when her people should like to throw away the present yoke of the foreigner, British rule in India would collapse like a house of cards. That may or may not be so, but there can be no manner of doubt that India is a sleeping volcano, as Meredith Townsend has described it, whose activity it would not be prudent to rouse just at present, both in the interests of Englishmen and Indians. But if England is determined to sow the wind in India, it must also be prepared to reap the whirlwind.

So far as to the baneful effect of the spread of a despotic spirit in the administration of India. Now as to the effect of the disillusionment upon the Indian mind. Promises made to the ear have repeatedly and wantonly been broken to the hope. No deference is shown to the views and feelings of the ever-growing community of educated Indians who are loyal to the British Crown out of motives of self interest and whose loyalty ought to be considered as a great asset of the Empire. New India has clung pertinaciously to the promises held out in the Proclamation of Victoria, but Lord Curzon came forward to declare that the document had been incorrectly interpreted from the very outset. New India have met for the last twenty years or more and formulated its hopes and aspirations in Congress assembled and put them forward before the government ;

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but none so blind as those who wont see and none so deaf as those who wont hear. Stones have been given to the people for bread in the agitation against the Sedition law, the Official Secrets Act, the Universities Act and last, though not the least, against the Partition of Bengal ; and yet the public mind of India has hitherto consoled itself with the knowledge that though the people have been deprived of the many rights and privileges to which they might legitimately lay claim and kept out from places and posts to which by qualifications they might aspire, at least it was allowed to speak out and no gag was put against freedom of speech in British India. That was the straw which the disappointed Indian and the constitutional agitator caught to save himself from sinking, and, as ill luck would have it, that straw has also been sought to be taken away from him, under a clumsy pretext, by the very power whose interest it would have been to help him. To-day the constitutional movement in India stands condemned and discredited by the powers that be, and its use as a safety-valve is clean forgotten and ignored.

The situation now lies clear before us—the Government does not want us to criticise its proceedings and measures and wants us only to submit cheerfully to the yoke of the foreigner. Can we do so, is it possible for us to do so ? It would be more than human if we *could* ; it would be an outrage upon our patriotism if we *did*. And if the Government will redress no wrong, listen to no complaint, do no justice, and not even allow us to speak,—why, we must in that case rush to the other alternative, and no power on earth can prevent anybody from cherishing a bitter antipathy against another. And fancy the cumulative effect of the antipathy of a whole nation. Is it wise to provoke that antipathy, knowing that nothing would be too strong before it ?

And yet it is just the thing what has unwittingly been done by dispersing the Conference at Barisal and by ' teaching ' the delegates a ' lesson,' in the words of the District Superintendent of Police at Barisal, with regulation *lathis*. The constitutional party in India which has held the field so long and relied so much upon the sense of justice of Englishmen and upon the righteousness of British administration and which has always rallied round law and order, not so much because they were British, but because it was thought expedient to learn from England the arts of peace and progress and to develop a united nationality out of a heterogenous conglomeration of peoples and creeds under the *Pax Britannica*—this constitutional party has

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well-nigh been swept out of the board and a new school of politicians, who would invite chaos and anarchy in the country, has now got the better of the situation and, what is much more significant and dangerous, the ear of the public. The rout of the constitutional party has already created a void in the public life of India which is bound to be filled up in a way which can portend no good either to India or to England. A leap has been taken in the dark of which no man can foresee the consequences at this stage. Constitutional agitation has been discouraged and discountenanced openly, but our rulers will soon find to their cost that its inevitable effect will be to allow designing men to spread discontent throughout the land and secret societies to work untold mischief. Heaven only knows how all this is likely to end. And the men who have brought all this about,—God forgive them, for they know not what they have done and what they may have to account for.

Last year in reviewing the Budget Debate in the Viceregal Council we happened to animadvert rather strongly upon the want of personal amenities, and the spirit of bitterness with which criticism was thrown and met, in the Council Chamber at Government House.

**The last Budget
Debate in the
Imperial Council**

We have great pleasure in recording a quite different temper of that body in the debate over the Financial Statement of 1906-1907. The Hon. Mr. Gokhale broke a new field this time and directed a vigorous attack against the military expenditure of the Government of India and entered into an exhaustive examination of the question of recruitment and citizen-soldiership for the Indian Army. To the latter portion of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale's address, H. E. Lord Kitchener replied in a very convincing and conciliatory manner, holding that the case of Japan bore no parallel to that of India and that conscription would certainly find no great favour with the Indian people. The Commander-in-chief was right so far and his observations on the military question was conspicuous by the absence of any intolerance of criticism. The Home Member and the Finance Member also met all attacks in a fair and generous way, and Lord Minto brought the debate to a close in a most courteous and graceful and what is most remarkable after the unconscionable length of similar performances by his predecessor in office, a brief little speech in which, instead of resenting any criticism, he seemed to have welcomed with pleasure all honest representations of the views of the people. This is in striking contrast to the exhibition of temper to which the Council was treated by Lord Curzon in his last Budget address. We hope

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the spirit shown this year in the discussion of the Financial Statement will be the normal feature of every debate in the Viceregal Council of India henceforward.

Excepting this change of temper and the lack of the 'first person singular' and the absence of all airs of the 'superior person,' there was nothing in the last Debate worth noting. It was of the usual humdrum kind when nearly every member indulged in manuscript eloquence, including the heads of departments who had to explain the government position in terms of general platitudes on all matters on which criticism was offered by non-official members. The Hon. Mr. Baker somehow went out of his way to defend such an iniquitous imposition as the salt-tax, against which political economists of all schools have ranged themselves, and Sir Arundel Arundel set his face against the introduction of free education in the country by raising the question of *£. s. d.* May we be permitted to inquire that if the question of fund does not matter very much in re-organising the Army or constructing railways or reduplicating administrative machineries, why should it stand in the way of the greatest measure which is calculated to raise the Indian people to the comity of nations? Then again, nobody in his senses ever asks the Government to take the subject in hand for the whole country at once, but why should not a beginning be made with selected areas and then advance steadily with the process of time?

The most noticeable feature, however, in the last Debate was the singular absence of any attack against the partition of Bengal. This was the first meeting of the Imperial Council in which its members had an opportunity to address themselves on this question and perhaps also the only opportunity. But no one, not even the Hon. Mr. Gokhale, seemed to seize it for a little bit of plain-speaking; and a measure which has agitated the country in a way which has not been witnessed for many a long day and has been estimated to cost the tax-payer an additional expenditure of nearly 10 lakhs of Rupees a year went wholly unchallenged in the only Council of the Empire where the principles as well as the procedure of the partition might be effectively assailed. What a pity that while there has been several very important debates in the Imperial Parliament on this momentous question, there has not been so much as even a single speech of protest made against the measure in the Viceregal Council of India. No echo was heard in the Council Chamber in Calcutta of the chorus of bitterness and indignation of the people outside on this revolutionary measure, to the great relief, no doubt, of the Home Member and the new Viceroy.

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An esteemed friend sends us the following :—

1. As *Mukti* is the destiny of individuals, so is national freedom also the destiny of nations.
 - Aphorisms of Nationality 2. Most men love their own freedom : Few know to devote themselves to the freedom of others.
 3. True help lies in helping men to help themselves.
 4. He who does for another what that other ought to do for himself, injures, and does not benefit, his fellows.
 5. Choose hard things. Spurn Ease.
 6. Purpose is Mastery. Purpose is Consecration. Purpose is Unity. Keep your Purpose living.
 7. The future of India lies in the welfare of the Indian people. (Ripon).
 8. By realisation of the past, we create the future.
 9. The whole history of a nation is expressed in the national character.
 10. The whole power of a nation's character is written in its history.
 11. History is dynamic.
 12. Achievement depends more on character than on intellect.
 13. The whole strength of the thunderbolt lies in one selfless man.
 14. As many threads to form one web : As many rivers to form one Ganges : So many peoples make a single Indian Nation.
 15. Life is always struggle : Struggle now for great ends.
 16. Life is the harvest, desire the seed : Desire great things.
 17. The whole essence of the Vedas and the Upanishads lies in that one Word, *Strength*. (Vivekananda).
 18. India is one. India is strong. United, the Indian people are irresistible.
 19. The task before modern peoples is the interchange of national ideals. Thus India cannot regard as foreign those ideas which have been created by the labours of France and Germany.
 20. The Indian ideal, the highest for its own sake ; knowledge as knowledge ; love as love ; and the Right without any lower motive of self-interest.
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Interesting Facts Told by a Bolarum (Deccan) Lody

Miss Liliash H. Flanagan, residing at Rock House, Bolarum, Deccan, India, favours us with the following communication :—"For three or four years I suffered from continuous stab-like pains in the back, particularly over the kidney. My right ankle swelled very much, and I was troubled with rheumatism.

"I used to feel tired on getting up in the mornings, and was fit for nothing all day. Often in the midst of my sleep I used to start up with palpitation of the heart ; I was subject to dizziness and fainting, and there was a bad taste in the mouth.

"The pains in my back and the dizzy feelings were so bad that often I couldn't do my work. One doctor told me I was rheumatic.

"I am very glad to tell you that since using Doan's backache kidney pills I feel almost well again. I have recommended these pills to many, and know a friend of mine who was found the medicine helped her a great deal.

"You are welcome to publish these facts, and I sincerely hope that many poor sufferers may gain relief by using your medicine.

(Sd.) LILIAS H. FLANAGAN."

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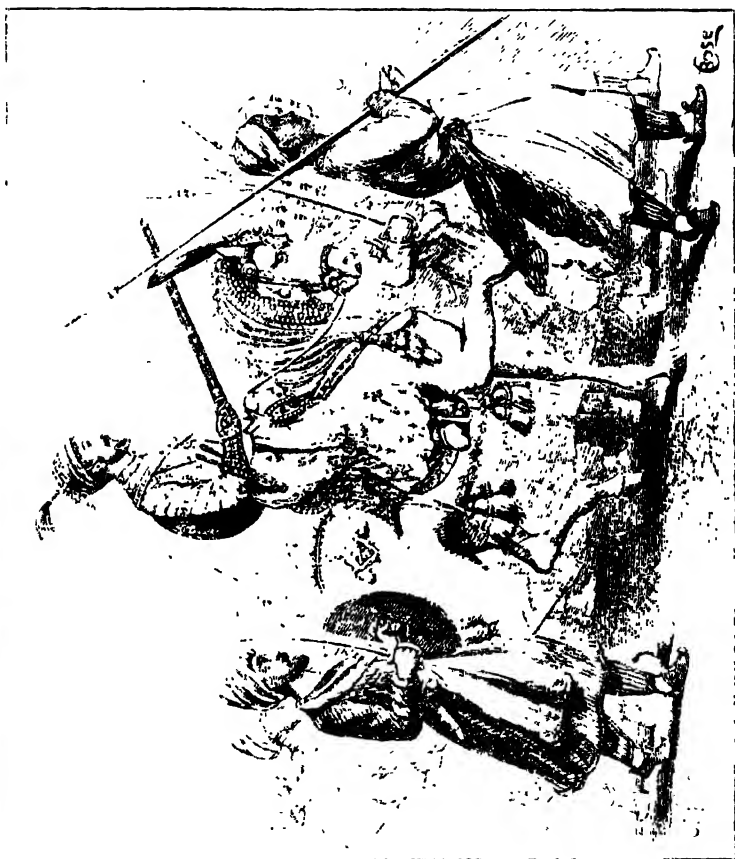


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A PLEA FOR A COMMON LANGUAGE IN INDIA

A new era of national consciousness seems at last to have dawned upon India and everywhere one meets with signs of a new life. There is quickening in the pace of our progress as a people ; the breath of life has entered into the dry bones in the valley.

But what are we doing to guide this new life and to develop this nascent self-consciousness of the people into a real all-Indian nationality-movement ?

Since Professor Seeley discoursed at Cambridge in 1885 on the conquest, history, politics and the Government of India, it seems to be generally recognised that Indian mankind still want some of the 'special uniting forces' which operate to elevate a 'population' into a 'nationality.' Out of the several elements which go to make a nationality, next to, what Mazzini said, the free will of a whole people to unite themselves into a nation, we have among us to a certain extent the sense of kindred or the community of race, and to a great extent just at present the community of interest, thanks to the existence of a common suzerain power. But a common religion and a common language, two of the most influential factors which go to the making of a nationality, have never found any place in the economy of Indian life so long.

It is impossible to expect under the present conditions of Indian civilisation that the multitudinous population of this Empire should adopt any common religion ; so far as mortal vision goes, no one can even think of such a day coming, unless religion be either elevated above all rituals or reduced to a code of mere morals. It is no good speculating upon that theme at the present moment.

But a community of speech in India is not so hopelessly beyond the region of practical politics. It is a pity that nation-builders in India should ignore the supreme importance of this factor of national life and throw away the opportunities of the present situation.

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‘The English are those who speak English, the French those who speak French.’ What a uniting force ! Is not such a force worth striving for in India ?

The very fact that a community of feeling and sympathy has been established among the educated people in different parts of the country through the agency of the English language is proof palpable of the miracle that is capable of being wrought by a community of speech. This English language has bound in a silken tie of friendship and brotherhood, for the first time in the history of India, the upper-class Punjabee with the Rajput, the Mahratta, the Gujrati, the Madrassee, the Oriya and the Bengalee. This English language has made feasible all such pan-Indian institutions like the National Congress, the Social and the Industrial Conferences. English literature has emancipated our intellect from the thralldom of thousand and one meaningless and pernicious superstitions, has taught us to appreciate the duties and responsibilities of citizenship and the rights of a people, has given us the first lessons in patriotism and, above everything, given us the opportunity to think imperially of India as ‘one.’ But unhappily, though most naturally, the influence of this agency is limited to a certain class, and the masses beyond do not enjoy its benefits. It has consequently drawn a stronger line of cleavage between the classes and the masses than was done by caste in pre-British days. This is a danger-signal which it would be suicidal to ignore any further.

The question now is how to avoid this danger and at the same time to establish a community of speech in India. It can be done in one of two ways,—by extending the knowledge of English to all and sundry, or by introducing some other language, in all parts of India.

The idea of making English ‘understanded’ of all the people of India is absolutely visionary and utopian. English is such a difficult language to learn and so much unlike any of our own Indian vernaculars that no hope can seriously be entertained of its ever being the common speech of India. An idea of the hopelessness of the task can be gathered from the fact that about 97,000 people only out of a population of nearly 300,000,000 or about 1 person in every 3,000 can read and write in that language at the present day. And this progress is reported after over a century of British rule.

If the universal acceptance of the English language by the people of India is a mad idea, equally mad would be the hope of making any other foreign language the *lingua franca* of this Empire.

We must then turn our attention to the Indian languages. For

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obvious reasons, Sanskrit and Pali have no chance, nor have any of the minor speeches of India. Mahratta, Guzerati, Tamil, Telugu and Bengalee have, no doubt, very superior claims among Indian vernaculars, but they are all restricted to narrow racial limits. A class of writers has recently appeared in Bengal which seems to think that the language of the Bengalee people is by far and away the best among the Indian vernaculars, that it is as sweet as the Italian, and that its literature is rich with books which might bear comparison to the best classics in either Greek or English. Conceding to all this, we fail to see how the Bengalee language may successfully be extended to peoples who themselves have well-established vernaculars of their own and who would derive no special benefits by learning it. Besides, there seems to be a prejudice against the Bengalee language in some quarters as being too soft and not suited to the martial peoples of Hindosthan and Rajputana. Anyhow, it does not seem very likely that the people of India, outside Bengal, would very much care for the language of the Gangetic Delta and would like to see its boundaries extended much beyond Chota Nagpore.

By this process of elimination we now come to the Hindusthani, and this appears to us to contain all the elements which may satisfy and meet the wants of all classes and peoples of India. The Hindusthani is not only the language of the Hindu and the Mahometan population of Upper India, but it is spoken and understood by a large number of people in Bengal, in Deccan, in the Southern Presidency and in all the outlying and frontier districts in the north and west of India. Thanks to Anglo-Indian residents and the very large body of *sadhus* and *sannyasins* who roam about here, there and everywhere, Hindusthani has already become the *lingua franca* among those classes of people in India which have got to come into contact with them. And through them, the language is continually spreading,—beyond the confines of India into South Africa, into China, into Burmah, into British Guiana and everywhere where the British flag encourages Indian colonists to settle.

Then again, Hindusthani is a language which combines softness and strength in a measure which has hardly any parallel in any of the existing languages of the world. It is a language that moreover conforms to the genius of all the different peoples of India and can be used as well by the Bengalee for his love lyrics and sonnets as by the Madrassee for his philosophical speculations or by the Sikh and the Rajput for an account of the military exploits of their heroes. Its vocabulary is copious and sweet and generally derived from the Sanskrit, and its grammar is not burdened with

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too much technicalities. It is a language as much for the scholar as for the tradesman, the merchant and the man in the street.

There are any number of books in the Hindusthani to satisfy the literary ambition of the average student, and for the common people there are the invaluable and ever-inspiring works of Tulsi Das. It is a language which easily yields to adaptation and already books are appearing in scores in it on various branches of human thought and science.

On the potentialities of the Hindusthani language as the vehicle of enlightened thought and culture, Mr. Abdul Qadir, Editor of the *Lahore Observer*, made the following observations in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* of last July :—

“Though yet in its infancy, it is proving itself capable of interpreting some of the subtlest thoughts of the best writers of English and assimilating some terms of expression which were not long ago regarded beyond the capacity of any modern Oriental language. Its basis is the Sanskrit language, which has a literature superior to some, and inferior to none, of the ancient languages of man. The superstructure is furnished by literary Persian, which includes the influence of another great classical literature, namely the Arabic. With such a ground-work and such a fabric, what may not a language become, specially if it is ready to receive and assimilate whatever it can from other advanced languages? And there is no gainsaying that the Hindusthani is pre-eminently receptive. Not only has its vocabulary grown since its contact with English, but its idioms, its modes of expression, and the style of its modern writers are receiving a strong impress of the western influence, and the result of a careful engrafting of the culture of the West on the taste of the East are singularly happy.”

Under the circumstances, a more acceptable language for the entire people of India it would be impossible to conceive.

Already a movement has been set on foot and gained influential support in many parts of Bengal and Bombay to make the Hindusthani alphabet the common script of all India.

But this does not go far enough. Efforts should be made by all leading men in every part of the country to introduce this language more widely among the people and to arrange for the instruction of all school-going boys and girls in the country through its vehicle. In every school under Indian management in the country, it should be made a compulsory subject of study in all classes and standards. Primary schools should be established in different villages in every district of India for imparting the elements of knowledge through

FAMINE OF FOOD OR MONEY

its medium. Newspapers written in Hindusthani should be widely distributed among all villages and haunts of men, and missionaries ought to be sent round to preach the creed of the Indian Nationality in Hindusthani to all peoples from the Himalayas to the Nilgiris and from Dwarka to Dibrugarh.

If the process of population be pushed at a fast rate, there is every reason to hope that Hindusthani can be made the *lingua franca* of a united India in less than a hundred years ; and as soon as a community of speech is established in this country, Indian nationality will receive a momentum unknown in the history of the East. All provincial barriers will then be swept away and all lines of cleavage between the masses and classes disappear. Hindusthan will then no longer mean the valley of the Jumna and the Ganges but stand synonymous with India and will be recognised all over the world as the land the bulk of whose population are the Hindus,—not in the narrow sense in which the term is accepted today but in the sense of a people who speak the Hindusthani language just as Professor Seeley says that ‘ the English are those who speak English, the French those who speak French.’ There will then be a steady development of the spirit of nationality and of a composite patriotism in India, and the puissant Indian Nation of the coming era, masses and classes together, will revel in no better patriotic cry than *Hindusthan for the Hindus*,—a much more sacred cry for our united people than *India for the Indians*.

Prithwis Chandra Ray

FAMINE OF FOOD, OR FAMINE OF MONEY ?

It is often argued that the comparative immunity of Bengal from famine is due not so much to the Permanent Settlement as to the fertility of its soil, intersected as it is by innumerable water courses, which render the harvest independent of rainfall. If this argument were to be admitted, we should be constrained to conclude that when the food supply in any part of India was assured, as it is in Bengal, the people should not die of starvation. Such a conclusion would, however, be contrary to all experience. At the present moment for instance the food supply is not only adequate for all requirements in the United Provinces and Bengal but the difference in the prices of the staple food-grains is almost negligible : yet the situations actually produced are

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entirely different in the two countries. For, while in Bengal the people are not dying of hunger, although there are reports and complaints of local scarcity, famine relief operations have become necessary in the United Provinces to save the people from starvation. Figures will perhaps be more convincing. At the present time retail prices of common rice at some of the principal towns in Bengal are quoted in the official reports as follows :—

				Seers per Re.
1.	Noakhali	...	...	8½
2.	Backerganj	...	...	10
3.	Mymensingh	...	...	9½
4.	Dacca	...	...	9½
5.	Faridpur	...	...	8½
6.	Pabna	...	...	9
7.	Rangpur	...	...	9½
8.	Khulna	...	...	9
9.	Howrah	...	...	9

On the other hand, prices of wheat, the staple food grain of the United Provinces, are :—

				Seers per Re.
1.	Mirzapur	...	...	9½
2.	Ghazipur	...	...	9
3.	Jaunpur	...	...	9
4.	Fatehpur	...	...	9
5.	Hamirpur	...	...	9½
6.	Etawah	...	...	9½
7.	Meerut	...	...	10
8.	Ballia	...	...	9
10.	Oudh			bet 9 and 10½ seers.

With these prices of food-grains ruling in Bengal and Upper India, why are the people of the latter driven to earn their subsistence at the relief works, while no relief works have yet become necessary in Bengal? The reason, no doubt, is to be sought not in the deficiency or in the price of the food-stuff, but in the relative economic condition of the peasantry. The requirements and social customs of the people of the two provinces being similar, we are unable, by any imaginable analysis of the courses of events, to account for the difference in this condition, unless it be attributed to the difference in the principles of land-revenue settlement. In the preceding argument it has been assumed that there is a sufficiency of food in India as a whole, even

FAMINE OF FOOD OR MONEY

during the prevalence of famine ; and that starvation is caused not by the deficiency of food supply but by the incapacity of the people to command it. The subject, therefore, resolves itself into the simple proposition that famines in India are not famines of food, but famines of money. It is proposed in the following paragraphs to discuss this proposition by reference to official statements.

The most vital economic causes from which distress and starvations generally originate during a period of drought are want of resourcefulness or resisting capacity of the people, their chronic poverty, their indebtedness, and generally their improvident habits. Such a fierce controversy has raged round this subject that it would be advisable to avoid altogether dry and monotonous statistics, and all controversial points, and to deal with the question on broad and general principles based on facts or authoritative statements. The impoverished condition of the Indian peasant is proverbial and has never been disputed by the highest authorities in this country and England. Lord George Hamilton in speaking before the House of Commons on February 3, 1902, said : " I agree at once that India is very poor. I admit that one section of the agricultural community are becoming more and more in debt." Again, on November 10 following, he stated : " I admit readily that India is a very poor country, and there are dense masses of poverty located there, and that the partition between the ordinary wage of the coolie and indigence is very thin and their general standard of life and comfort is far below that of European nations." Similar views of India's poverty have been expressed by Lord Curzon in the Legislative Council and the Rt. Hon. Mr. Brodrick in the House of Commons on August 12, 1904. In spite of this poverty, the people of India are able to maintain themselves because food is " extraordinarily cheap," and the climatic conditions limit their necessities of life to so low a standard that they can afford to live on £2 or thirty rupees a year. There are no published statistics bearing on the economic condition of the agriculturist, and whatever exists in published form are either too fragmentary or untrustworthy to be utilised for a scientific investigation of the subject. It is not therefore possible to make a satisfactory inquiry into the condition of the people ; and, in these circumstances, we are constrained to accept the general statements made, and conclusions arrived at, by responsible authorities that the people of India are poor and that they are too improvident and resource-

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less to protect themselves against the physical and economic effects of calamitous seasons.

The circumstance that, at the first warning of an impending famine, millions of people flock to the relief works where they receive a daily subsistence wage of 5 or 6 pice a day can only be explained on one of two hypotheses: (a) that no food is available in the country; (b) that the people are devoid of any accumulated saving represented by the sum of 20 or 30 rupees by means of which they could purchase a livelihood during a stress of 7 or 8 months. The first of these hypotheses has no foundation on facts. Lord George Hamilton stated on February 3, 1902: "What does drought mean? It is not a question of food; the scarcity of food in a district affected by drought is the least of the evils with which the Government of India have to deal. There is nearly always a sufficiency of food in India to feed all the people within its limits; and, owing to the development of the railway, the British Government are able, no matter what part of the country may be affected, to pour in sufficient food to maintain the people of the district." The Famine Commission of 1898, who made an exhaustive enquiry into the question, came to the conclusion that the "surplus produce of India, taken as a whole, still furnishes ample means of meeting the demands of any part of the country likely to suffer from famine at one time, supposing such famine to be not greater in extent and duration than hitherto experienced. If proof is wanted, it is found in the fact that during the late famine . . . the stocks at the end do not seem to have been close on exhaustion, though the only import from outside was some 600,000 tons from Burma. No doubt the high prices led to great and often painful economy of consumption, but nevertheless the result indicates considerable ordinary surplus and accumulated stocks." These views had been independently stated by General Sir. R. Strachey in a speech before the Royal Institution of Great Britain on May 18, 1877, in which he confidently declared that, taking the country as a whole, "the food supply easily provides for the entire population under all known circumstances and that in the late severe Bengal famine, the export of grain continued without very great diminution in spite of the failure of crops." These conclusions dispel the popular theory that there is no sufficient food available in the country to feed a hungry population; and this naturally leads us to the second of the two hypotheses, namely, that the people are too poor to buy the food which already exists in the country.

FAMINE OF FOOD OR MONEY

What now is the extent of the resources necessary to enable a famine-stricken people to weather a period of, say, 8 months of distress and starvation? Here, again, we must rely on the official statement made by the late Secretary of State for India, who said on February 3, 1902: "I was looking through some papers the other day, which were prepared in Lord Dufferin's time, and I came across a statement, which I believe to be absolutely true as to what a man can do on an income of 6 rupees a month. That is 96 pence, and it gives a man a little more than 3d a day. Any one in receipt of this 3d a day, and being the head of a family, consisting of not more than four, could give his family every day three meals of rice or millet, and fish, if near the coast, and butcher's meat once or twice a week; but there would be no milk or butter or cheese for the children." Allowing for an increase in the price of food during a scarcity and for the sacrifice of some meals as well as general economy of consumption, it may be inferred that Rs. 30 or 40, in all, would be sufficient to maintain an individual and his family during the worst months of famine. And it follows as a corollary that lack of this insignificant capital, either in the shape of cash or ornaments or other articles of marketable value, drives an agricultural family to the horrors and pains of the relief camps. In other words, distress and starvation are the result of a lack of resources represented by barely six months' wages of a relief camp labourer. When it is remembered that famines occur, say, on the most pessimistic calculation, at intervals of 5 years, it is impossible to resist the conclusion that the earning member of a rural family is unable to save, in normal seasons, 40 rupees in five years, or 8 rupees a year, as an insurance against seasons of calamity.

It has sometimes been asserted that the steady yearly increase in the Savings Banks deposits is an unfailing indication of the growing material prosperity of the people, by which we are to understand, in Lord Curzon's words, the "patient humble millions toiling at the well and at the plough, knowing little of budgets (we would add "and of savings banks"), but very painfully aware of the narrow margin between sufficiency and indigence." A little reflection will convince the reader that this assertion is obviously incompatible with the conclusion arrived at above. Indeed, there is absolutely not the slightest connection between the deposits in Savings Banks, to which the agriculturists rarely resort, and improvement in their material condition;

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for, if there had been any, they would have instantly fallen back on the reserve instead of allowing themselves and their dear ones to die of hunger and diseases brought on by starvation. In making the assertion it is generally forgotten that there exists in India a lower stratum of the population than that which contributes to the unfunded balance of the government. This stratum is represented by the starving peasantry which constitute 68 per cent of the population of British India, who hardly use any imported articles except a few yards of cotton stuff, or a few gallons of oil, and who are ignorant, we dare say, of even the existence of Savings Banks in India. The number of depositors in the Post Office Savings Banks—and, for obvious reasons we leave the other banks out of account—hardly exceeds 1,000,000 people. What is one million out of 295 millions of the total, and 198 millions of the agricultural and labouring, population of India? The state of things is analogous to that of a community consisting of 295 members, in which the prosperity of 294 persons is synonymous with the prosperity of the 295th member; or, it is the picture of a purely agricultural community, in which the wealth of 197 members is judged by the wealth of the 198th. Is it not, therefore, somewhat astounding to assert that the material condition of an infinitesimal proportion of the population is a justifiable indication of the condition of the overwhelming balance? Indeed, in the Post Office Savings Banks, agriculture plays but an insignificant part, which is represented by only about 17,000 depositors, other professions and industries enjoying the preponderating proportion.

The origin of this poverty in its chronic and epidemic form is believed to be the improvident habits of the ryot which drive him to indebtedness. The circumstances that are directly contributory to these habits are believed to be : (1) the low assessment of land, over which he has acquired rights of transfer and alienation and (2) the rigidity of the system of revenue collection. The exact state of affairs is described by the Famine Commissioners of 1901. Referring to the indebtedness of the Bombay ryot, they write : “we desire to call special attention to the agrarian system introduced by the survey settlement as an accentuating cause of indebtedness, and more specially to the unrestricted right of the cultivators to transfer their holdings which the survey settlement recognised. . . . A leading principle of the revenue system as finally established was that, in view of the moderation of assessment, sufficient elasticity was given by making the assessment of each ‘field’ separate,

FAMINE OF FOOD OR MONEY

and, by giving the registered occupant complete power of transfer or relinquishment over his 'field.' A strong tenure of this sort held at a low assessment was a very valuable property ; and, it is easy to see now that it would have been wise to have kept a vigilant watch over the use which an ignorant and unthrifty peasantry was making of it. . . . It was decided that there should be no interference by Government with the people, and that no inquiries should be made regarding the financial condition of the cultivators. Thus, things were left to take their own course ; and the result was—as invariably happens when an ignorant and improvident peasantry can dispose, without restriction, of valuable rights in land—that cultivators sank deeper into debt and their property began to pass out of their hands. It must be admitted that the conditions on which, under the revenue system, the cultivators held their lands helped to bring this result about, the rigidity of the revenue system forced them into debt, while the valuable property which they held made it easy to borrow." Lord George Hamilton puts the same view in different language as follows : " If we had so taxed the agriculturists that he could not get a livelihood out of his holding, the money-lender would not advance large sums on a security that was of little value. It is to the fact that we have given this asset of great value to the agriculturist and to the fact that we have also, by the alterations we have effected in the law, given the money-lender facilities that he never had before, and security which he never had before, that we must attribute this great increase in indebtedness. I have, on more than one occasion, in this House, ventured to express my opinion that, as regards the future of India, the most serious difficulties that this country can have to encounter are not inherited with the system of native government which we took over, or are inherent in that system, but they are of our own creation." This is not the place to discuss the psychological problem whether the possession of property naturally and invariably leads the possessor to borrowing propensities and thereby precipitates his ruin ; or, whether borrowing is the result of inherent poverty in a human being when he has no other resources to fall back upon than the valuable property itself to maintain a struggle for subsistence. It would require a careful analysis of human nature, in its various stages of growth and enlightenment, to determine whether the analogy between the condition of a tenure-holder in land and a private property holder would bear examination. It admits, however, of no dispute that the cultivator has no other financial reserve than the land he holds, and that he is driven, in

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necessitous times, to borrow on the security of his land, in consequence either of his inherent poverty, or of the rigidity of the collection of land revenue, payable in coin. If he was well-to-do before the British system was introduced, he has been impoverished by that system ; if he was poor, he has become poorer. And now that system, which has been admitted to be a creation of the Government itself, has brought about a situation which is grave enough, in all conscience, though not so critical as to be wholly irretrievable. The two most important remedial measures adopted by the Government of India to meet the situation are (1) to prevent the easy alienation of the ryot's holding and (2) to avert his ruin by making himself independent of the usurious sowcar. In regard to the first, the experiment began with the Punjab by the enactment of the Punjab Alienation of Land Act. It is understood that this will serve as a "model for other Provinces where the expropriation of the peasantry by the money-lender is a social and a political danger." In regard to the second, we have the Co-operative Credit Societies' Act. Both these measures are in their experimental stage, and it is too early yet to fully gauge their effects. If they prove to be successful, they will have solved the two most vital problems affecting agrarian economics. Time and experience alone will show whether, when the full effects of these two great measures are in operation, the second famine of the twentieth century will be a famine of food or a famine of money.

Satis Chandra Ray

INDIAN NATIONALITY

The progress or development of an organism is, according to Biology, a change in the state of that organism, from the simple to the complex, from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous.

The most important factor that stimulates and regulates this change from unity to diversity in the structure and function of the organism is the over-active and varying play of Environment, or external conditions, coupled, of course, with an inherent capacity in the organism to adapt itself to the constant play of these conditions, the ultimate end and aim of the whole process being the continuance or survival of the species.

It may therefore be said that multiplicity or diversity is the *means* or process by which the original unity of the organism is maintained ; in other words, the persistence of the one is secured by and through the change into many. This supreme law in the organic world

is found, on close examination, to be a cosmic law as well, and therefore to possess a profoundly philosophic significance, since philosophy is nothing but a quest after unity. It is the compendious statement of the ultimate unity of all things which found expression in the lips of the ancient Hindu philosophers when they said *Yekam Sat, Yekamevadwitiyam*.

The growth of a Nation is similar to the growth of an organism, inasmuch as in both the goal or purpose is the realisation of unity by the co-operation of diverse means and methods. In studying the question of Indian Nationality, therefore, it is necessary to examine and take into account the various elements out of which this nationality has been evolved, and also the common Ideal or Ideals which have acted as a cement to bind these divergent elements into a coherent whole.

Life, in ancient India, was lived not as a whole, but in little circles or groups, each circle or group shaping its life according to its own needs and necessities.

The unit of Society in those early days was not the individual but the family, embosomed in a group of families that went to make up the village-community.

Since the occasions that called for a combination and united action of these communities were few and far between, each village group developed a system of isolated life which, within its own limits, was beautiful and perfect, but it totally left out of consideration what may perhaps be called the civic aspect of life, for the simple reason that the State, as we understand it now, had not yet come into existence.

In due course of time, however, this old order of things began to change, yielding place to new, foreign element being gradually brought into contact with the old society, and often tending to disturb and confuse the ancient mode of classification of its members.

The hedge that once fenced off and shielded each tender flowering plant gradually disappeared, the flowers themselves were soon taken out of their natural soil, until at last, they all went to make up the beautiful bouquet of one single, complex, Indian Nation. It is thus that the three hundred millions of people that live in India—the Sikh and the Punjabi, the Parsi and the Bengali, the Mahratta and the Rajput, the Mahomedan and the Dravidian—have been brought together and fused into one compact nation.

So complete indeed has been this fusion into one nation, that the Mahomedan, at the present day, has come to call his

own language *Hindustani*, the language of Hindustan, thereby unmistakably acknowledging the adoption of India as his motherland.

Foremost among the forces that have contributed to the fusion of the various races and people of this vast country is the idea of India being the common motherland of all the different peoples that find shelter in her ample bosom, so that "BANDE MATARAM" serves indeed as a perfect national cry for the common Mother of all. The next great unifying principle is to be found in the essentially Indian conception of the unity of God, as a common father of all,—or father who manifests Himself to His children in diverse ways, at diverse places and times, according to different conditions of need and requirement.

Thus, the different races and peoples inhabiting India have been like so many meandering streams and rivers, each flowing softly and gently in its own course and bed, but all flowing over the ample bosom of the Motherland and all bound for the same infinite Goal—the Ocean of Unity.

The rivers have now gained in volume, they have all overflowed their narrow banks, they have all united into one mighty, irresistible flood of Life and Aspiration, they are majestically rolling towards their grand Ideal of Unity, and the music of their solemn flow echoes—INDIA IS ONE ! INDIA IS ONE !! BANDE MATARAM.

M. G. Varadachari

SUPPLY OF DRINKING WATER IN BENGAL A SUGGESTION

About the end of March every year we hear the cry of "No Water" raised by the poor and helpless villagers of Bengal, and, in most places, by the townsmen too. This state of thing has become chronic, and, as time rolls on, the position of the people appears to become more and more trying. When the Olympian Gods of Simla are approached, they, as a rule, drive all such petitions with the soothing and stereo-typed reply, "No Funds for the present." They find sufficient means to carry out a Tibet Mission, they do not find their exchequer wanting for sending an Embassy to Cabul or to purchase the friendship of the Amir, but they cannot make both ends meet when the question of the supply of drinking water is put before them. If a Tibet Mission or a Cabul Embassy has its political importance, we think, for the sons of the land, the question of the supply of drinking water has its importance too, and it is in no way a mean one.

SUPPLY OF DRINKING WATER

Everyone knows that the chief sources of the supply of drinking water in Bengal in the past were the tanks. There was a time when the inhabitants of Bengal—nay of the whole Hindu World—sincerely believed that the excavation or improvement of water reservoirs or tanks for the use and benefit of the public was a part and parcel of their religion, and this is *the* reason why there are to be seen, even now, so many large tanks with huge embankments in almost every part of Bengal. Most of these, as a matter of fact, were excavated more than half a century ago by the middle class men of those days—men who practised plain living and high thinking. From a careful survey, it would appear that the number of such tanks was more than what was actually needed by the people of that time. The people appears to have vied with one another in doing works of public utility for the sake of mere religious scruples.

Most of these tanks have now become silted up and overgrown with filthy aquatic plants. Again, in summer, when water is most needed for drinking purposes, almost all of them dry up and the beds of them only remain to tell what they are. Removal of silt or re-excavation of them has thus become a dire necessity. If this were done, Bengal might be free from a scarcity of drinking water for at best another half a century to come. But why are not these tanks re-excavated? Is it solely because the people of Bengal have become too poor and perhaps not too eager in undertaking works of public utility?

We have said that most of the tanks now in existence were dug nearly half a century ago by men whose descendants are still living among us and some of whom, in course of time and with the change of circumstance, have improved their condition and become rich, while others have gone down to the lowest rung of the social ladder. So that what with poverty, disinclination, and divided counsels, renovation of these monuments of past liberality has become all but impossible.

Now let us consider what means can be adopted to restore the usefulness of these tanks. Let us suppose that in the middle of a large village or by the side of a public thoroughfare, frequented by a multitude of passers-by, there is a large tank owned by several cosharers which is almost filled up with silts and probably overgrown with various aquatic plants, making the little water it has as unwholesome as possible. The owners of it are men of unequal means and position and also are not equally charitably inclined. All of them do not agree as to the necessity of its improvement and are far from willing to bear the share of the expenses necessary for the

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purpose. Nor will these men, jealous as they are of one another, sell their share of the proprietary rights at a reasonable, and some cases even more than a reasonable, price to the man willing to take up the task upon himself.

Such being the case, it may not be absurd to invite the Government to acquire the tank and re-excavate or remove the silts from it for a purely charitable purpose.

The expense that the State may have to incur in this connection may be recovered by leasing these tanks out for fishing purposes. Properly supervised, these re-excavated tanks may be made to yield a respectable revenue to the public exchequer every year, while their up-keep will cost the State a very nominal amount only. Why should not the Government seize this opportunity of benefitting the public as well as itself by re-excavating these tanks ?

S. Banke

REVIEWS & NOTICES

THE BADSHAHATE OF DELHI

A History of the Great Moghuls or A History of the Badshahate of Delhi, 1398—1739, with an Introduction concerning the Mongols and Moghuls of Central Asia, by Pringle Kennedy, M.A., B.L., Vol. I (Thacker, Spink, & Co.)

The author's object in writing the book was to produce a "work readable by the intelligent man of (*sic*) the street, the person who knows but little of Indian History but has an interest in India." "If I can succeed in rousing my readers' interest in the period of Indian History of which I write, I shall feel myself amply rewarded." But he has evidently a very low idea of the intelligence of his readers, to judge from his cavalier treatment of them. Mr. Kennedy disavows all attempts at "original work in the way of translating Persian authorities, not yet translated," and incorporating the results in this book. He has, besides, written it "at various times and in scraps, with the result of giving place to a certain amount of repetition." And he has inserted long quotations on the strange plea that "these are taken out of books most of which are not likely to come (*sic*) the way of the general reader and which tell my story better than I can myself." And in spite of all these precautions and efforts, Mr Kennedy has produced a work which has no method nor style and would not, or could not, be welcome to the student of Indian history.

For a popular history of India Mr. Kennedy could not have chosen a better model than Stanley Lane-Poole's *Medieval India under Muhammadan Rule* ("The Story of Nations" Series). That monograph reveals the master's hand on every page. The broad outlines are distinctly traced; the leading personages alone are dealt with; and anecdotes are quoted only when they serve to illustrate character. The style is simple, flowing, and of singular charm. Even the most cursory reader cannot lay down Lane-Poole's book without carrying away a vivid and clear impression of the subject.

But Mr. Kennedy's book—it is only the 1st volume of his work—is the exact opposite of it. His reflections are neither original nor profound. No literary grace redeems his dulness of treatment and

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poverty of thought. The work betrays great slovenliness of composition and even disregard of grammar. The sentences are often formed in a cumbrous and unnatural manner, and the paragraphs (with few exceptions) have no organic unity. The division into chapters is a matter of caprice and sometimes reminds us of *Tristram Shandy*. We very much wish that the author should not bring out his second volume at all, or if he cannot avoid it, to bring it out in such a shape that it might really be a handbook to the 'Badshahate of Delhi.'

A few history of India can justify its existence only by serving one of these two purposes : it may embody the result of researches among original materials and thus add to our stock of knowledge, or it may set known facts in a new light and thereby enrich the philosophy of history. It is a mistake to suppose that the latter is an easy task, requiring no patient study, no knowledge of source-histories. Many hasty writers have imitated Macaulay's Essays, but they have only reproduced his "cocksureness" without giving any trace of the vast erudition and laborious work that lay behind and justified it. The panoply which Achilles wore with ease and victory only leads to failure and derision when donned by lesser mortals. Hence the failure of writers like J. T. Wheeler and Pringle Kennedy.

For, a failure the book under review undoubtedly is. It is bad history written in worse English. It is unnecessary to discuss seriously the historical portion of a work, published in 1905, which, in treating of Akbar, gives no indication that its author is acquainted with the researches or studies of Blochmann and Beveridge. Hence, we shall not controvert Mr. Kennedy's view that Akbar was a tyrant only a shade or two less wicked than the other Timurids, or that Akbar's policy of India for the Indians led to the downfall of the Mughal Empire by stopping the flow of reinforcements from Iran and Turan into Hindustan. We shall take Mr. Kennedy's book—as he intends it to be taken—merely as a piece of literature.

For one thing, Mr. Kennedy makes the mistake—fatal to a short popular work—of going to the very beginnings of things. He himself admits that "the great Emperors of India had but little Mongol blood in their veins; they were really Turks" (p. 11), and that Taimur came to plunder not to stay. Indirectly Taimur's invasion laid a legal foundation for Babar's claim to the Lordship of Hindustan, a claim which, however, had to be substantiated not by legal disquisitions but by the force of the sword" (p p. 85 and 86).

And yet on the weak ground that "to one desiring to study Moghul rule in India, a brief account of the Mongal and with it

THE BADSHAHATE OF DELHI

Central Asian History from the time of Chenghiz down to Baber's invasion will probably be of considerable assistance" (p. 12), he devotes 86 pages or more than one-fourth of his volume to Central Asian history, which has no direct bearing on India. This hardly leaves him much space to do justice to Sher Shah and Akbar. In fact, this book appears to be singularly lacking in the sense of proportion on the true historic perspective. English is Mr. Kennedy's mother tongue, and, we presume, he feels himself competent to take liberties with it. But we must warn Indian writers against imitating the following specimens of

OUR AUTHOR'S ENGLISH

"Their *reign* did not reach to further than 10 miles." (p. 5.)

"Horse-powered engines." (p. 6.)

"A fire finally *burst* out which *caused* immense destruction." (p. 87.)

"Christianity has never *far gone* beyond its great victories." (p. 90.)

"Missionaries, both Catholics and Protestants." (p. 91.)

"*Far* opposite has been the case of &c." (p. 91.)

"Christ's personality...pervades *in* the first three Gospels *everywhere*." (p. 92.)

"Church Christianity never *has*, and never seems likely to *exceed*, the limits." (p. 93.)

"To leave the Hindu population entirely to their own *way*. In somethings indeed aboriginal influences must have gained *its* way &c. The custom noted by Mr. Fraser in his Golden Bough and which is *certain* pre-Islamic was maintained there." (p. 147.)

"*Scarcely* had he assisted the wounded heir of Mewar to alight *then* Jeimal galloped up in pursuit." (p. 159.)

"No stilted stiffness such *as* to be found in Taimur's Memoirs and indeed in all Eastern chronicles *are* to be found in his life story." (p. 167.)

"His forces *became* much in the same position as &c." (p. 195.)

"While everything was *going* favourably." (p. 226.)

"He joined *himself* thereafter to other of the Mirzas." (p. 242.)

"The Chitor rulers had aided *with* some of Akbar's fugitive subjects." (p. 248.)

"Sulaiman Kararani ruled the country practically *independent*, though nominally insubordination, &c." (p. 263.)

"The *whole* of the frontier tribes." (p. 274.)

"The latter *paid* only a nominal subjection." (p. 229.)

"The main sources from which all revenues *derived is* the land." (p. 302.)

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"Akbar's chief reform as regards the coinage *all* was to call in &c."

"The *carrying* of a letter...was *carried* in 5 or 6 days a distance of 900 miles." (p. 309).

"Far *and* above any other great Eastern rulers." (p. 310).

Mr. Kennedy writes, "The beautiful sixty-six coloured Hall as well as the tomb (*sic*) of Khusrau and Nizam Uddin show that the arts of grace were well understood by these old [Pathan] kings." (p. 85). We know of no sixty-six *coloured* hall near Delhi, but there is a sixty-four *pillared* hall, "Chausat Khamba," just outside the enclosure of Nizam-uddin's resting-place, where Akbar's foster brother lies buried. What evidence can *it* possibly give of the architectural skill of the *Pathans*?

What does Mr. Kennedy mean by "*the* Minhaj-i-Sirij? Minhajus-Siraj was a man who wrote the history named "Tabakat-i-Nasiri."

The printing is discreditable to Messrs. Thacker Spink & Co's press. The proofs have been very badly read. Hyphens seem to have run out of stock. Misprints are numerous. We hope the 2nd Volume will be an improvement both in matter and get up.

Jadunath Sarkar

Professor, Patna College

**A LIST OF
RECENT BOOKS ON INDIA AND BURMAH**

1. BARNETT, L.D.—Some Sayings from the Upanishadas, Done into English with Notes (Re 1/8)
 2. CURZON, LORD.—Lord Curzon in India, 'Being a Selection of Speeches Delivered during his Vice-royalty from 1898—1905 (with an Introduction by Sir Thomas Raleigh, K.C.S.I.; Macmillan & Co., 2 Vols. : Rs. 4/8)
 3. GAIT, E. A.—A History of Assam (Thacker, Spink & Co. : Rs. 10)
 4. HUDDLESTON, G., C.I.E.—A History of the East Indian Railway (Rs. 5)
 5. LALA BAIJ NATH RAY BAHADUR.—Hinduism, Ancient and Modern.
 6. LELY, SIR FREDERIC, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.—The Better Governing of India with Special Reference to the Bombay Presidency
 7. MURRAY, A. H. H.—The High Road of Empire (with Reproductions in Colour of 47 water-colour Drawings and Numerous Pen and Ink Sketches : Rs. 18/8)
 8. STERNDALÉ, R. A., F.R.G.S., F.Z.S.—A Natural History of the Mammalia of India, Burmah and Ceylon (with 170 Illustrations : Rs. 4/8)
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SELECTIONS



PRE-HISTORIC INDIA

THE KHONDS

We talk and write about the contrasts that India affords until every one grows weary of the word. Yet sometimes they thrust themselves upon you with an insistence and abruptness that defy suppression.

In Madras the native community organised an entertainment in honour of the Prince and Princess of Wales. Of the performance it is not necessary to speak : a more utterly puerile exhibition is inconceivable, and it would have bored a Sunday School treat. But it brought before Their Royal Highnesses the leading native gentlemen of Madras, High Court Judges of distinction, successful lawyers and merchants, men with brains that would challenge comparison with the best intellects of Europe. It brought also a band of Khond aborigines from the Ganjam District, as far removed from the educated Madrassesees as are the pigmies of Central Africa or the Tierra-del-Fuegians from the Dons of Oxford. Geographically, the two races are only a hundred miles or so apart : ethnologically, aeons divide them.

They came like a whiff of Darkest Africa into the rooms of the Royal Society, barefooted and bare-legged, with short accordion-pleated skirts like an Empire ballerina, and huge shields of leopards' skin on their backs. It is the back, and not the honoured chest, that the Khond turns to meet the foemen's steel. Rude plumes of peacock's feathers rose from their shoulders and heads, charms and amulets dangled from their necks and waists, and they brandished small battle-axes locally known as tangis and waved tiny bows and arrows. Their dance can at once be pictured by turning up Samuel Baker's or Stanley's volumes of African travel and finding the woodcuts of African measures—a crude mimic combat punctuated by hoarse yells. It only had this to commend it—that it induced a certain display of agility and was apparently enjoyed, in marked contrast to the ennui of the Burmese posturings. This, cheek by jowl with a civilisation musty when our forefathers were elegantly clad in wood !

The Khonds carried us right back to pre-historic India. Their

origin is obscure, for they must have been driven into the jungles of the Eastern Ghats by the Dravidians—who have not yet found a chronicler—before they in turn were pressed back by the Aryan invasion. Their isolation preserved them singularly intact, for their language bears no known resemblance to any Dravidian or Aryan tongue. When we look for linguistic analogies we cannot find them nearer than the aboriginal tribes in the hills of Assam and on the borders of Burma, who were no doubt ousted in a similar manner. Like the Bhils, they are described as a straightforward and truthful people : they are too simple-minded to tell a lie and prefer veracity. They are loyal to their chiefs and their friends, brave, hospitable and laborious, and of a humourous and cheerful disposition. Passionately addicted to the chase, they pursue it with intrepidity and ardour, rarely abandoning the quarry until they have run it down. Yet with qualities like these, some of them open and engaging, they combine the blackest superstition and the practice of human sacrifice.

Many years ago, when punishing some rebellious zemindars in the Ganjam District, the Madras Government found that these were possessed of a sort of semi-detached subjects in the dense jungles above the Ghats, and it gradually became known that the practice of offering human sacrifices, the victims for which were procured from the plains, was common amongst them. This barbarous rite was only suppressed after tedious exertions, during which hundreds of victims were rescued, some of whom are to the present day receiving a small subsistence allowance from the Madras Government. Great vigilance has to be exercised, even now, to prevent a recurrence of the practice, for when the rains are deficient or the crops bad, the Khonds invariably put it down to the anger of the gods at not being propitiated in the orthodox manner. It was discovered by the Madras Police a year or two ago that the practice had by no means died out, and that several human victims had been offered in sacrifice by Khonds living beyond the borders and under the jurisdiction of the Bengal Government. It is the custom of the Khonds in the Madras Presidency to offer a buffalo in sacrifice in substitution for the human victim, but in doing so they make long apologies to the deity, explaining that they themselves would willingly make the customary sacrifice, but are prevented by the British Government, on whose head they pray that any anger at their neglect of duty may be visited. With a certain grim sense of humour they plead that the British Government is strong enough to bear the anger of the gods while they are not.

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The Khonds' great hobbies are drunkenness and revenge. The flowing bowl is easily replenished, for the solapa or sago palm, which gives toddy for six months up to the rains, and the mhowra tree abound in the jungles. But with a certain rude sense of the fitness of things the women do not join in the debauch. The instrument of revenge is never lacking, for the Khond is as inseparable from his tangi, or light battle-axe, as the Bhil from his bow and arrow. It was quite amusing, when the Prince and Princess expressed a desire to examine one of these instruments and a specimen was presented to them, to note the childish anxiety betrayed by the owner lest his weapon should not be restored to him. The offence is speedily followed by the blow and when the Khond comes into contact with the law the tangi is almost invariably the cause of offence. Indeed, although the evidence is frequently very scanty, the Khond rarely denies the charge, but he will explain why he struck the blow, which according to his simple code is sufficient. Tangi plays a considerable part in the social life of the Khonds. An injured husband will tomahawk the co-respondent on sight. The procedure is Draconian, but at any rate it is preferable to making immorality a mere matter of lucre. Or the owner of a toddy tree will send up an arrow "with intent" at a too thirsty neighbour making free with his toddy pots. In either case an explanation of the fact is considered a justification of the homicide.

Marriages are frequently attended with similar "accidents." When the preliminaries have been arranged and an auspicious day selected the bridegroom goes with a party to the house of the bride, where a large circle awaits them. The fiction of carrying off the bride with force is observed and is accompanied with violent horse-play during which it is nothing unusual for a tap of the tangi to give one of the supporters his quietus. Further south a quainter custom prevails. When the village maiden reaches a marriageable age a bonfire is lit, the maiden plucks a brand from it, and as the young men run the gauntlet before her she smites them with the torch. The one who squeals the least is the chosen one. But the ordeal is fictitious, for the gentle lass has made up her mind beforehand, and the favoured swain is kissed so lightly by the flame that his pain is easily suppressed. Any who have offended the bride, however, receive a buss from the brand that they have cause to remember. Contrary to the custom of most Indian peoples, the Khond woman is not married until she reaches maturity, and she exercises the right of veto on her own disposal. In some remote places the woman wears no clothing until marriage, and the proposal of

INDIAN FOLK-MEDICINE

marriage takes the form of an offer to buy the lady a cloth. If she accepts she is expected to remain virtuous thereafter, and as a rule she does. No doubt the ubiquitous tangi stimulates morality, though to the credit of the Khond it must be said that he never visits his anger on the woman.

Formerly, pitched battles between tribes, attended by all sorts of formalities, were common, but they have now been put down by British rule, and the mimic battle of the war dance is the only survival to remind them of the good old days. Even this is gradually dying out, and is probably kept alive more by the interest taken in it by the touring European officer than by anything else. The Khonds are fond of music, and in their songs there is to the European ear a more distinct melody than can be detected in the songs of other races, in southern India. In their dancing too there are distinct steps, not contortions of the body and mere shuffling of the feet, to provide a jingling accompaniment to the music.

One trait that the Khonds possess was shared by a great Englishman—a passion for cutting down trees. But instead of bringing them notoriety, it arouses the ire of the Forest Department.—(*The Times of India*)

INDIAN FOLK-MEDICINE

The medical folk-lore of the Hindus abounds in prescriptions not a whit less quaint than any known to the Chinese or the Japanese medicine-man. The advent and spread of the new civilisation have as yet left untouched the village-faith in the curious pharmacopœia of the country; and many a potion and ointment, whose seeming absurdity would naturally provoke a broad smile on the face of the Western man of science, is still used by suffering humanity in India. Those of my readers who have heard of the remarkable cures effected by Mr. Peter Gruber, of Rochester, U. S. A., who, besides making use of the virus of the rattlesnake, uses the fearsome reptile as a masseur in goitre and other swellings, will be disposed to regard the popular medical lore of the Hindus with less contempt than the others.

Before dealing with the medicines used in the healing art, it may not be out of place to refer to some of the methods adopted to insure, as it were, against possible ill health. Perhaps in no other country in the world is the "evil eye" an object of such great dread as in India. Untold miseries lurk in an admiring look, and a hearty

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compliment makes its unhappy recipient apprehend vague horrors. You will cause mortal offence to a Hindu lady should you remark of her child, "What a nice baby you have!" or "How baby has grown since I saw him last!" She makes it a rule to speak deprecatingly of her child and represents it as the victim of non-existent ailments, so that your evil eye shall not affect it. But should she become aware, in spite of her precautions, you have defiled it with your admiration, she will lose no time in counteracting the apprehended effects of the *drishti-dosham*. One of the simplest methods adopted for this purpose is to take a small quantity of chillies and salt in the closed palm and throw it into the fire, after waving it thrice round the head of the child to the accompaniment of incantations. If no pungent odour is apparent, it is an indication that the *dosham* has been averted. The harati ceremony, so frequently observed in marriages and other festive occasions, is also intended to counteract the dire influence of the evil eye. A plate containing saffron-water is held by two ladies in front of the married couple about a score of times during the progress of a Hindu marriage so that the admiration of the spectators shall not injuriously affect the bride or the bridegroom. The curious ceremonies of which Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales formed the central figure within a few hours after her landing on Indian shores were in one way intended to be a sort of insurance against the possible effects of the evil eye.

The Hindu medicine-man evidently believes that the ills that flesh is heir to commence with the embryo in the womb, for we find that peculiar remedies are prescribed to prevent the child from sickening on its entry into the world. If a toad should fall on a pregnant woman, it is popularly believed that the child that is born of her will die shortly after birth. The only remedy is to capture the offending toad and to fry it in some medicinal oil, which oil must be internally administered to the child in order to save it from death. In the Telugu Districts, aloes and an old shoe are suspended from the doorway of the confinement room to guard the health of the mother and the baby during the fortnight immediately following the delivery. Another survival of the days of ignorance is that if a child in arms be taken into the open air and a bird fly directly over its head, the infant will be rapidly reduced to a mere skeleton. The only remedy is to give it for some days a few drops of an oil extracted from the titturupitta, a kind of sparrow.

Great virtues are ascribed to the claws and horns of certain animals. Tiger's claws, for instance, are in great demand with the

common people. One or two claws may be worn near the loins, but should one possess a larger number, the fortunate owner makes a garland of them and wears them round his neck. Deer's horn, ground into a fine paste, is an excellent balm for pains and swellings. A more curious use is found for the same substance : it is sometimes made into a powder which is supposed to aid the growth of stunted women. The joints taken from the long and slender tail of the black scorpion are supposed to keep illness at arm's distance, when children wear them on their waist-thread.

In a country where the cobra is such a familiar object of dread, it is inevitable that the medical lore of the people should provide antidotes for the bite of that fascinating and dangerous reptile. An altogether curious remedy is in vogue in several parts of the country. As soon as a person has been bitten by a cobra a snake-charmer is sent for who lures the same or another cobra, whose fangs have not been drawn to the vicinity of the victim, and causes it to bite him at as nearly as possible the same spot as before. This last condition is certainly a difficult one to achieve, but should it be fulfilled, the sufferer will as surely recover as the snake will die ! Watersnakes are generally harmless ; but here and there one comes across a venomous species. A fisherman when in doubt as to whether the snake that has bitten him is a poisonous one or not has resort to a simple though rather disgusting remedy ; he dips his hands into the mud and gorges his stomach with several handfuls of the semi-solid. I must mention another extraordinary superstition connected with cobras. It is believed that if a person should come upon two cobras together, they will give the unfortunate intruder no quarter. To avoid being pursued by them, he takes to his heels, after throwing behind some garment on which the reptiles expend their wrath. When they have completed their work of destruction the pieces to which the cloth has been reduced are gathered together and preserved as panacea for future ills.

Some remedies which may have a more scientific explanation than any of those mentioned above are connected with iron. A red or swollen eye is cured by having it touched with the bolt or chain attached to a door. A remedy which I have seen applied with considerable effect in more than one epileptic fit is to place a bunch of keys in the palm of the sufferer ; I have heard it said that the fit passes away as readily as the keys are placed on the head. A rather quaint remedy in the case of a sprained neck is to use an iron measure for a pillow.

Everyone has heard of the oft-quoted remedy of "a hair of the dog

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"that bit you." The Hindu medicine-man adopts a stranger course to prevent hydrophobia. He takes an old slipper and smartly strikes the patient—no gentle taps, mark you—over the incision made by the dog's teeth. To cure a man of certain illnesses, he is imprisoned in a not too roomy dovecote for an uncomfortable length of time and the distemper is believed to pass off with the perspiration. The Indian village doctor makes as effective and extensive a use of leeches as his Turkish or Chinese brother-practitioner. For children afflicted with asthma, an invaluable medicine is the egg of red ants boiled in margosa oil. The wings of wild bats are very highly prized in the case of diseases of the hair. These wings are crushed and the extract is added to cocoanut oil with other ingredients, this mixture being kept underground in a closed vessel for a period of three months. This novel composition prevents the hair from falling or turning grey. Rabbits' blood is also recommended as a desirable lotion for washing the hair. Sore throat is cured by spitting on red hot iron—quite the simplest and least expensive cure known to the native doctor. The undigested food in the stomach of a freshly killed goat if dried and reduced to powder is a popular antidote for the sting of a scorpion. Peacock's flesh and pig's ghee are the best medicines for acute rheumatism. Cobwebs are most useful in boils and in skin diseases of all kinds. Should your house be infested by mosquitoes or your furniture and bedding by bugs, all you have to do is to write on a piece of paper the names of a hundred villages or towns, taking care that all the names end in one of the suffixes *uru*, *kottai*, *palayam*, etc., and secure the paper to a bed post or the ceiling as the case may be, and you will be relieved of the pest instantaneously, as if by the intervention of a magician. Donkey's milk, besides being a valuable food for newborn children, is deemed to be the most efficacious medicine for one of the cruellest diseases,—epilepsy. ('A Hindu' in the *Madras Mail*)

THE BLOSSOMING OF THE WILDERNESS

AN IRRIGATION COLONY

HOW IT STRIKES A STRANGER

It might almost have been the terrace of an English country house, as we stood there on the verandah, on a pleasant Sunday morning. In front of the stone steps was a gravelled sweep of carriage-drive, bordered by a bed of standard roses and pink and

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yellow chrysanthemums. On the other side of the low hedge was a smooth rectangle of turfed lawn tennis ground, with the court marked out and the nets standing. The eye ranged down an avenue of young tamarind trees to the swinging gate of the compound and beyond that to a broad high road. Not far away one saw the red walls of other bungalows, and in the distance the clustering roofs of a town, the sheds and signal-posts of a railway station, and a tall warehouse chimney. Round us the flat country lay green with fodder and the ripening winter crops ; and at intervals small brown hamlets spotted the plain, which stretched away in an unbroken level to the foot of a purple line of saw-backed hills. Cattle grazed in the meadows, husbandmen were at work among the fields and trickling water-courses, laden carts moved slowly along the roads. It seemed a picture of order and tranquil prosperity.

But you are admonished to glance at a large patch of tawny yellow in the midst of the greenery, not far away. You see that this inset is bare and lifeless sand, with nothing growing upon it but a few stunted bushes. And you have to learn that as this space now is, so, some five years ago, was the whole wide champaign before you. It was all arid waste, without grass, or trees, or cultivation. There was no town, no road, no railway station, no agriculture. There were no cattle but the small and half-starved beasts belonging to the scattered nomads who roamed over the desert track. Now it yields food for nearly a million people, and sends its surplus coastwards to load the corn-ships which help to give Londoners their daily bread.

THE WATER OF LIFE

The miracle has been wrought by water—water and brains, and well-directed energy to apply both. Four-fifths of the inhabitants of India cultivate the soil ; but they serve a hard and fitful task-mistress. Under that burning sun, which crumbles dry earth to a powder or bakes it into fissured blocks, there can be no culture without abundant moisture. To the Indian peasant, the rainfall which comes, or should come, towards the close of the south-west monsoon, or in the early spring, is all in all. If it is plentiful, he may have a good crop and a prosperous year ; if it crops below the average, he will be hardly pressed ; if it fails altogether, his cattle will probably die, his home will be broken up, his wife and children and himself may become outcasts, and the whole family may perish miserably, unless there happens to be a Relief Camp accessible. No wonder the rayat, as he sits under a tree in the heat of a summer afternoon, watches the hard dome of polished azure above him with

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ravenous eyes. To the farmer in another country a bad season brings trouble and loss ; here it is a matter of life and death for millions.

And, unhappily, the rains cannot be depended upon. Seas of water pour upon India from the clouds, or roll down into its plains from the melting snows of the Himalayās ; but the flood is badly distributed and capricious. Over large tracts the normal rainfall is only just sufficient to feed the crops, and grass-lands ; if there is a surplus one year, there may be drought the next. There is an area of a million square miles—nay twenty times the size of England—“of which,” says an official document, “in the absence of irrigation, no portion can be deemed absolutely secure against the uncertainties of the seasons and the scourge of famine.” And there are other extensive districts in which the annual rainfall is so scanty that cultivation becomes practically impossible without irrigation. The greatest and most permanent of all the benefits that British rule has conferred upon India is that of regulating, improving, and equalising the supply of water for agricultural purposes. It is sometimes said that if we were to quit the Peninsula we should leave behind us nothing worthy to endure ; only iron bridges, mostly hideous, and a few tasteless churches, museums, and town-halls ; no noble monuments, such as those of some of the Hindu and Mahometan kings. But our canals we should leave, and unless our successors were sheer barbarians, they could not allow these splendid public works to decay, or permit the provinces we have made habitable by them to go back to desert again.

India, for many centuries, has been supplementing its atmospheric water-supply in its own primitive fashion. The rain-water was stored in tanks, or it was tracked to its subterranean reservoirs and drawn up to the surface. The ancient rulers of the land were great diggers of wells and builders of cisterns ; it was left for the English to amplify and develop the enterprise. For the last three-quarters of a century the engineers of the Indian Government and the Public Works Department have been engaged upon it. The result is a system of irrigation which, though still uncompleted, is unquestionably the most magnificent created by human effort in any modern country. The great rivers have been tapped in their upper ranges, and the surplus water that comes down in the rainy weather is down off into main feeder canals, which deliver their contents into branch canals, and there again fill a network of minor runlets, and finally discharge their fertilising streams into the canals and ditches by which the farmers keep their crops green.

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THE CANALS

The canals are officially classed under two heads : they are regarded either as Protective or Productive. The former are supposed to supplement the water-supply of districts which in years of normal rainfall can be cultivated successfully. Thus they furnish a defence against famine and all the loss and misery that evil word suggests. The Protective canals are not kept up mainly for profit, though, as a matter of fact, they mostly yield a very fair return on the capital expended. The Productive works are, however, intended to increase the yield of the soil, and in some cases to render cultivation practicable where otherwise it could not be attempted, owing to the scantiness of the rainfall. Millions of acres of good land have been turned into arable and pasture by this means. The earth is willing to yield up its abundance ; but the heavens deny the Water of Life, and it has had to be brought in by the hand of man. The Productive works pay very well. In the Punjab they yield $10\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. interest on the capital outlay, and for the whole of India the net revenue is over 7 per cent. The Government of India, after paying 4 per cent. interest on the capital cost, is nearly three-quarters of a million in pocket by its canals at the end of every year, besides having saved its subjects incalculable loss and suffering. So satisfactory a result abundantly justifies it in contemplating a further expenditure on canal construction of over three million pounds during the next few years. Some of the projects are daring even for the new school of engineers, who fear nothing. There is talk of banking the snows of the Himalayas in a stupendous artificial lake in the Kashmir, and spreading them by pipes and aqueducts half over North Hindustan. This may be visionary ; but another proposal, almost equally striking, is considered quite feasible, and will probably be carried out. The Jhelum, one of the Punjab rivers, has rather more water than is needed, and the Chenab rather less ; so the engineers are calmly devising a new conduct by which they can connect up the two water-courses, and regulate the flow of both by turning on a tap. Nature is rough and unruly and frequently terrible in Southern Asia ; but she is being slowly got into harness.

The most audaciously conceived and brilliantly successful of all the schemes are those monuments of engineering enterprise and administrative capacity, the " Canal Colonies," as they are called, of the Chenab and the Jhelum. These Colonies are vast tracts of land which, owing to the want of water, were almost uninhabited, except by a few nomads and semi-civilised squatters and cattle-thieves. The engineers constructed the artificial water-courses, which rendered it

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possible to bring the soil under cultivation. Then the Government constituted each district into an administrative unit, and placed it under the charge of a Deputy-Commissioner, who was also appointed "Colonisation Officer," with special instructions to carry out a definite and systematic scheme of settlement.

THE CANAL COLONIES

The "Sircar" had the wisdom or good fortune to secure the services of officials of quite exceptional capacity for this important task. The Chenab Colony, which is the older and the larger, has been for five years past under the firm and successful rule of Mr. Leslie Jones, who has done great things with it. The district which he controls is nearly equal in extent to Kent, Surrey, and Sussex taken together, and the population is now well over a million. It has two hundred miles of railway, admirable roads, several prosperous little towns, and one, Lyallpur, which is rapidly growing to quite respectable proportions; and it yields a net revenue of more than 21 per cent. on its capital cost. But I preferred to visit the Jhelum Colony, which, though slightly smaller, is newer, for its canal was only opened in the autumn of 1901; and it was here that I spent some singularly agreeable and extremely instructive days. The Jhelum Colony has been watched over from its birth by Mr. W. M. Hailey, one of the ablest of the younger officials in the Civil Service of the Punjab—a man with just that force of character, clearness, insight, relentless industry, and restrained enthusiasm which are required for such work as this. Little more than four years before my visit the Colony was lifeless scrub and empty desert. To-day, like its neighbour, the Chenab, it is covered with fields of grain with orchards, gardens, grazing meadows, breeding-farms, and cattle-runs. It is studded with prosperous villages and it includes a population of probably three-quarters of a million, of whom several thousands live in Mr. Hailey's rising capital of Sargodha, model little town, with well-planned, straight streets, a granary, a municipal market, a busy bazaar, a cotton store, a factory, and an active group of traders and merchants who are on the high road to wealth.

These colonies are "plantations" in the old sense of the term. They have to be planted, not only with trees, but with men. The Colonisation Officer, as he settles down in his first camp or his newly-built bungalow, in the centre of what is afterwards to be the Civil Station of the cantonment, has a blank sheet before him; a million acres of bare waste to be converted into townships, farms, and villages. To a large extent, he has a free hand, he is the

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mandatory of a despotic Government, intended to act the part of a beneficent autocrat himself. There are not many vested rights to be considered in this wilderness, and few troubles about ancient titles or prescriptive boundaries. The Commissioner can mark out his domain accurately into square plots, so many for each farm and each hamlet ; he can trace his highways and local roads on the most suitable lines with regard to topography and water supply ; he can lay out his town with broad avenues and intersecting cross-roads, and secluded, but airy, courts, according to the latest municipal ideas adapted to Oriental customs ; he can put his finger on the map and decree, in consultation with the engineers, where men and women are to live, and under what conditions.

The settlers come to the places allotted to them, with their wives and children, their buffaloes and cows, their brass pots and simple tools, and, presently, on the prescribed site, there arises a thatched brown village which is the counterpart, with certain sanitary improvements, of that which they have left behind—a village with its pond and well and mud-walled byres and farmsteads, its tiny mosque or temple. The Mahometans are in one village, the Hindus in another. The Sikhs congregate in a third. And, besides the cultivators, people of other classes have to be encouraged or attracted : policemen, postmen, and Government messengers, traders, and banyas to supply the markets and fill the bazaars, dealers to buy and sell the grain and cotton from the farms, artisans, and labourers. It is not a backward colony of isolated pioneers, slowly working towards cohesion, but an organised community, with its complex social gradations properly adjusted. And here the structure stands to-day, in its outlines and relative proportions pretty much as it may be a century or two hence, barring some cataclysm of nature or politics ; a complete little province, a miniature State, busy and thriving, self-supporting and self-sustaining, and producing such a superfluity of food that it is helping to convert Karachi into a formidable rival to Bombay, and changing the balance on the corn markets of the world.

"THE PROTECTOR OF THE POOR"

A wonderful work, truly, to have been done in a few brief years sliced out of a young man's lifetime, a work assuredly not accomplished without heavy sacrifices, and an invincible endurance and determination. Before the Jhelum Colony had been many months in being, the plague broke out, and the people began to flee from their houses in panic. Mr. Hailey's chief native subordinate (he had no European assistant) fell ill and died ; he himself, going in and out of the plague-stricken dwellings to superintend disinfecting

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operations, caught the epidemic and narrowly escaped with his life. The men at the head of these irrigation colonies must know the native thoroughly, and love them ; wisely, but not too well. They must have that combination of deep sympathy with equable justice which was the strength of the great Anglo-Indian administrators in the past. If you ride with a colonisation officer on his daily rounds you begin to understand something of the meaning of paternal government. He is judge, governor, supreme adviser, tax-collector, chief magistrate, agricultural expert, and general admonisher of his subjects. When he enters the village, he has an eye for everything. Why is that heap of refuse allowed to encumber the road outside Abdul Kerim's enclosure contrary to regulations ? Let it be cleared away. The offender objects to the suggestion, and makes no sign of compliance. "Hookum h ai—it is an order," says a voice, which is quite low and level ; but Abdul knows the tone, and, with a sigh of resignation, he begins to remove the obstruction.

The head-man comes out with the village elders. They salaam before the Burra Sahib, but they have a grievance. They collect round his horse and pour out a billowy torrent of excited speech, in which you distinguish the word "Pani" (water), reiterated with sobbing passion. They are complaining that the engineers of the Public Works Department are stinting them of their lawful allowance of the fluid, or charging them unduly for that which they do receive. As the Head of the District moves slowly along, they follow him ; the head-man, with agitated staff sawing the air, keeps by his off-stirrup leather ; a tall, a black-bearded sun-burnt peasant, with his red mantle thrown round his right shoulder, raises an antistrophe from the other side ; others behind and in front act as a voluble chorus ; the village children, grinning all over their brown faces, toddle gleefully in the wake of the procession. The pale-faced, square-shouldered gentleman, sitting erect in his saddle, listens, asks a question now and again, does not say much. He lets them chatter, it may be that their complaint is legitimate and must be looked into ; in any case he knows that half their sense of injury will disappear if they are allowed to talk their fill upon it. And so on to another village and another, and then back to camp or bungalow, to make notes of what he has heard, to discuss it with the water officials, perhaps to begin a wearisome correspondence over it with the Public Works Department or the Provincial Government.

But years hence these orators of the hamlet will recollect their speeches and repeat them, and explain how they stood up before the Huzoor and patriotically spoke for the common weal ; and sadly

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they will compare the Burra Sahib, the Proprietor of the Poor, who brought them to this good land, with the much inferior sahibs known to the younger generation. They will not have forgotten him, even after he has long left India and gone home for good, when such a scene as this may be no more than a dim memory, that will perhaps steal faintly back to his brain, as he turns over the evening papers in the smoking-room on some sunny afternoon. At the club they may have only a vague remembrance that So-and-So was once "something in India." Therein they are, indeed, not wrong. A man of this stamp is unquestionably Something in India. (Mr. Sidney Low in *The Standard*)

THE KHYBER PASS

AN OUTPOST OF THE EMPIRE

It was well enough said the other day that nothing, however important, in the internal administration of India could ever hope to rival in interest the frontier questions, symbolised by the golden roofs of Lhassa or the grim defiles of the Khyber. It is all the less accountable, therefore, that there hardly exists for anyone who has not actually visited the spot any very clear idea of the famous cleft in the Himalayas through which a thin trickle of merchandise ebbs and flows between India and the North, and on which so many years of hard military work and close political thought have been concentrated. India—the remark is a platitude—so far as the passage of large bodies of troops is concerned, is an island except for this scanty line of communication, and upon the safe keeping of the Khyber the whole Indian military strategy of fifty years has been pivoted. It is worth while to get some clearer idea of this famous pass. For 1,500 miles, from its source on the right bank of the Hughli, thirty miles north of Calcutta, the Grand Trunk Road unfolds its thin, shadow-flecked ribbon of white metal across the heart of India by Gaya, Benares, Delhi, Amritsar, and Lahore, on to the gates of far-distant Peshawar. And through the pass itself it is but the Grand Trunk Road that has been carried on yet another stage. The Khyber witnesses the extinction of the most historic highway of the East, a hundred yards beyond the fort of Landi Kotal, and it is worthy of its reputation up to the last rod of it.

But from Peshawar one goes along the hard, grey, enamelled track, past the gardens and trees of the cantonment, which appears to be peaceful, even beyond the ordinary stagnation of these deceptive

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enclaves of military control. Nothing could prepare one less for what is to come than the luxurious growth of close-grown, toily, unbrageous banyan, and dusty, spined casuerina, overhanging the low white-washed walls that divide the compounds and the coarsely-grassed lawns from the roadway. Every now and then the square, low walls of a barrack can be seen through the trees, and at last the examining station is passed close beside the police lines on the south side of the road. It is neither of interest nor importance in itself, but close on the post the scene changes with a suddenness that is unmistakable. Man has combined with nature to put a sudden end here to the greenery and the groves of polyglot Peshawar. Man demanded a clear glacié of a mile for his riflemen, uncovered, flat, and from end to end commanded and swept by those innocent-looking, khaki-tinted mud-walls, and even before the farthest edge of this mile was reached nature had given up its brave struggle with the increasing aridity and the uncompromising stoniness of the last up-wash of India against the Himalayan barrier. Henceforth it is a rocky and treeless waste. The road still strikes westwards, level, straight, and smooth. On either side the coarse sand of the plain stretches away, rarely furrowed here and there by dry water-courses, nourishing here and there an even rarer patch of tilth. It is used as a divisional parade ground, though, for the moment, it lies out as empty as the sea.

To right and left the mountain spurs have by now thrust themselves forward to meet one on either side, but the gullet of the Khyber for some six or seven miles yet is not reached, so deeply into the hills does this tongue of Indian sand penetrate. To right and left the long promontories of grey gault, advance spies on their gigantic brethren, clad only with spotted bushes of stunted wild olive, mount upwards towards the steeper walls of gneiss behind, and in the middle of this deep recess stands up Jamrud, yellow in the sun, a fine, upstanding fort of mud and stone, embattled and bastioned like the fortress of a fairy tale, and perhaps almost as useless against modern weapons. Just as the flag on the keep's summit can be distinguished, India stops beneath one's feet. Here is the frontier; beyond is no man's land—ours, indeed, by the right of the nine points of the law and by the necessity of the case, but part of India it is not. The turmoils and the administrative problems, the constitutional rights and duties, the dust and thrust of our Imperial altruism fall behind three miles short of Jamrud, and we come out further to face the elemental facts of life, national or not. Here self-preservation is the only law that sanctions, and the game is

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played with vigour, and with something of the law of the jungle besides. Jamrud and the Khyber do not exist for the delectation of idle men. It is true that on occasions when it may be convenient, when, that is, the pass is guarded, and its peaceful transit guaranteed for some other purpose than that of curiosity, such a reason as the passage of the bi-weekly caravan from Kabul, then, and only then, may the idler have leave to drive out to see the entering in of the famous defile. He will enjoy it the more because of his fearful and delightful belief that he takes his life in his hand, and that behind each rock may lurk the jezail and ruffian of his long expectation. As a matter of fact, he will but be rudely treated by camels and will suffer much dust; his life will be safer far in the pass than when in a hired fly he went yesterday down into Peshawar bazar from the hotel to buy a handful of turquoises or a Penjdch rug from a fat Parsee merchant lolling over his accounts.

From Jamrud the road still runs on the flat across a wide, torrent-seamed bed of rock and sand, up to the very tip of the tongue of land. Here the ascent begins between rough boulder-strewn slopes; these soon give way to steep acclivities and shoulders of bare rock, round which the road sweeps and recurs in an easy and even ascending gradient. The Shadibagiari blockhouse commands the entrance to the pass, and Fort Maude follows soon, just where the old plastered bridge between the wild mulberry and the tolly tree imports a breath of greenery and civilisation into the rocky wilderness between the bare blasted-out road at one's feet and the forbidding grass-less skyline far overhead. Still ascending, the road skirts Shahgai and the little cultivation plots of Lala-china a mile or two before the tiny high-perched group of blockhouses known as Ali Masjid. The name is taken from a blindingly white-washed little shrine which marks a grave in a little plot a few feet above the little stream. The Khyber rivulet flashes by, muttering between its pebbles, and sadly dwindled by the irrigation canal that runs sedately beside it, closely hugging the contours of the rock. On the opposite side rises the sharp conical promontory or group of promontories which guards the gorge itself. For here—and here alone, throughout the pass's length till Landi Kotal is reached—there is a steep rock-bound defile, out of which the road is cut on the north-eastern side, and by which all further view of the Khyber is entirely cut off. This sense of privacy is emphasised by the road sentries a hundred yards further on. No one, except those who are accompanied by a "Khyber Rifle" as an escort, is

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allowed to pass this barrier, and the escort is only granted for special reasons. Bribery, blarney, or bluff, all are useless here, and it is as well that you should not try to steal through. Neither English nor Hindustani do the warders understand, but their orders they most entirely do, and a German who tried to force his way through, the other day, was significantly congratulated on the failure of his attempt. For here is business, real business—short shrifts are given, and few excuses are accepted.

The blockhouses of the Khyber are models of their kind and the very sight of their shrewdly-pierced loopholes, their machicoulis galleries, and their first-floor entrances and hanging ladders, will impress you long before you notice that at your elbow, on the rock beside you, is a careless splash of whitewash—500 yards range this one, and across the valley is a deftly-placed series from 300 to 1,000—a splash which one day it will be sheer suicide to approach. Still climbing, the road now follows the course of the tinkling stream, now strikes across the bottom of a tiny flat pan of ploughland, just where, beside the road, ill-shapen masses of wood are being weighed. They have been brought in by women from the hills, and to-morrow will have started down to Peshawar, which takes every stick of firewood that the pass can provide. From one point of view, this stripping of the pass has its advantages—for even as late as forty years ago the hillsides were thickly-wooded enough to afford considerable cover—but the loss of the vegetation affects, and is in turn affected by, the rainfall, to an extent which is annually becoming more and more unmistakable. Gnarled and stunted wild olives, two or three species of thorn, rarely a rowan tree, still more rarely upon the higher slopes to the north, a small oak which is known locally as a toturra—these make up the robuster vegetation of the valley. Major Ross Keppel, the presiding deity of the pass, has urgently recommended the reduction of coal freights to Peshawar in order to minimise this continual drain upon the fuel of the Khyber, but so far without success.

At Katakushta we pass from the territory of the Malik-dins to that of the Wali Khels, and we enter the Khyber proper. This name is given by the Khels to a comparatively small and insignificant part of the pass. A Kuki Khel from Shadi-bagiar and a Zakka Khel from Landi Kotal will speak alike of making a journey to the Khyber ; Ali Masjid itself is regarded as being outside the limits, and the adoption of the name by ourselves for the entire pass is due chiefly, of course, to the convenience of having some inclusive name, partly also to the fact that in this part of the gorge, near

Zin-tarra, there is the only remarkable monument of the entire length. This is a large and originally a well-built Buddhist tope. A tope is a plain structure dating in almost every case from a comparatively early period—being of course, anterior in date to the expulsion of the Buddhists from India in the seventh and eighth centuries—consisting of a platform surmounted by a plain dome. Much of the exterior casing of the Zin-tarra tope has been pulled down for building material, but it preserves its shape, and in one less accessible part it still keeps closely-fitted exterior masonry. The dome must originally have been about as large as that of the Invalides, and the square platform below projects well beyond the drum. Beyond the tope and the twin villages of the Sultan Khels and the Niklei Khels, the road lifts to the watershed plateau, where the long low blank walls of Landi Kotal command a hundred acres of fairly level ground.

Landi Kotal is not built for beauty, but inside its fortifications is a pleasant little garden, where there is a well overrun with purple convolvulus and zinnias, and rambling roses prepare one for the few stout shafts of English holly-hock which bloom sturdily enough in this Ultima Thule of Britain. Nor is this all that reminds one of home. Inside the mess of the Khyber Rifles, there, on the wall in front of you, is a series of "Spy's" portaits and—an engraving of the "Beata Beatrix !" Yet one is really in the uttermost of all outposts, so far, at least, as the English officers are concerned ; but one can still walk three or four miles on, beyond the friendly levels of the Grand Trunk Road, over a rough camel "track" and cart road, to a lonely post called Mishnaj Khandao, perched on the edge of a precipitous rock. From here, Pisgah-like, you may dangle your legs over, and look down over the interlocking spurs of the pass to the flat brown plain and the white minarets of an Afghan tomb beside the Kabul river.

In the sunset we went back to Landi Kotal, passing through the large walled compound, where the Kafilā or Kabul caravan was resting for the night. Great shaggy-throated and black-headed camels, half as tall again as those of India, loomed out of the obscurity, and tiny groups of incurious women and lazy men gathered round the gipsy fires, at which the evening meal was being cooked. Half-round each party lay a rampart of the heavy corded bundles they were bringing into India. Outside the wall of the compound one could see a dozen heads rise and fall together in outline against the darkening sky as the last prayer of the day was said and the prostration made to the red west that curtained distant

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Mecca. Almost in the dark we went back past the three water-tanks, stumbling up against a placid Shinwari, who, for an expected gain of a few pice, was trudging alone to distant Peshawar beside his pony, laden with dirty snow from the winter pits of Mallagori. (*The Daily Telegraph*)

OLD DACCA

After the lapse of over two hundred years Dacca has once more been restored to its ancient dignity of a capital town. Even as we write the new Provincial Capital is in the making. The selection of Dacca to be the capital of the New Province was an exceptionally happy one, for Jehangirnagar, to give the place its classic Moslem name, is extremely rich in historical associations, and perhaps second only to Delhi in point of a glorious antiquity.

It was one of the centres of art and commerce during the old Moghul days, and, even before the incursions of European adventurers had begun, was famed in Europe for its exquisite muslin. An European traveller who visited India at that time wrote that "all the wealth of Bengal, the richest province of the Delhi Emperor, is concentrated in this spot."

The etymology of Dacca—or, as the native pronunciation has it, Dhaka—is wrapped in obscurity and has been variously ascribed to a tree called Dhak, and a temple of the goddess Durga named Dhakeswari. But these suggestions would seem to be purely traditional and therefore uncertain. The one which is most probable and has most historical basis is that which ascribes the origin of Dacca to Islam Khan, the Moghul Governor of Bengal, who, worried by the constant encroachments of Afghans and Mughls from the eastern outlying frontiers of the Province, decided to move his capital from Rajmahal further towards the eastern boundary of the Nizamut.

The story as recorded in Rahman Ali's mss. of the *Tarikh-i-Dhake* (vide Sayid Aulad Hasan's translation) has it that "Shaikh Alauddin Islam Khan, the then Moghul Governor of the Province, came out in 1608 in a state-barge, accompanied by a fleet of boats, in search of a site for his future capital. When the boat came opposite the place where the city now stands, the governor found it to be a spot of great strategical importance, and accordingly chose it for his future capital. The boats were brought near the bank of the river and moored, and Islam Khan landed and inspected the site. The place where he landed is still called after him Islampur, and is an

important quarter of the city. On his way back he met a party of Hindus performing their Puja with the accompaniment of music and *dhaks* (drums). An idea struck him. Calling the drummers together, he made them stand at a central place, and ordered them to beat the drums as hard as they could. At the same time he commanded three of his attendants to go, one to the east, another to the west, and the third to the north, each with a flagstaff, and plant it at the place where the sound of the drums would cease to be audible. This being done, he called the place Dhaka, from *dhak*, a drum, and ordered boundary pillars to be erected at the places where the flagstaffs had been planted. These he fixed as the boundaries of the city to the north, the west, and the east, the river Buriganga forming the southern boundary. Here he fixed his capital."

This account is very credible because there is no mention of Dacca prior to this in any historical records, and the story finds further confirmation from the fact that when in 1612 Islam Khan became the recipient of imperial favours from Jehangir as a reward for his having crushed and slain the turbulent and rebellious Afghan Chief, Osman Khan, he changed the name of his capital from Dhaka to Jehangirnagar in honor of his patron.

The able viceroyalty of Islam Khan was temporarily disturbed by the inroads of the Portuguese pirates under their leader Sebastian Gonzales who for a time occupied the Sundip Island. The Raja of Arracan, with the intention of invading Bengal, allied himself with the Portuguese and advanced as far as the river Megna, but an encounter with the Moghul Army resulted in the Arracanese being routed with great slaughter.

On the death of Islam Khan in 1613, his brother Kasim Khan succeeded to the governorship, but was recalled in 1618 and Ibrahim Khan appointed in his place. It was during the regime of Ibrahim Khan that the English first visited Bengal with a view to establishing a factory in this Province. "Some years previous to this time, agents had been sent overland from Surat to Agra where they had established a factory; and on their representation two persons were sent (A.D. 1620) to Patna to purchase clothes and to establish a house of business in that city; but the great expense of land carriage, first to Agra, and then to Surat, so enhanced the price of the articles, that in the following year the trade was abandoned."*

Prince Shah Jehan's rebellion took place about this time, and

* Messrs. Hughes' and Parker's letter, Vol. I. of Indian Records A. D. 1620.

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after defeating and slaying Ibrahim Khan, that Prince entered Dacca where the fort surrendered and 'all the elephants, horses, and 4,000,000 rupees in specie belonging to the Government were delivered to him.' After a short stay at Dacca Shah Jehan marched on towards Patna and was shortly afterwards defeated by the imperial army near Allahabad.

• Mahabat Khan, Mukarrum Khan, and Fedai Khan became Viceroy in succession, till the accession of the Emperor Shah Jehan. The new Emperor put his own nominee Kasim Khan on the *musnud* of Bengal who inaugurated his governorship by the wholesale and treacherous slaughter of the Portuguese at Hughly. Kasim Khan died in 1632 at Dacca and was succeeded by Azim Khan whose administration is rendered memorable as the one in which the foundations of English trade were laid in this Province: "A Phirmund had been obtained on the 2nd February, 1633-34, for liberty of trade to the English in the Province of Bengal, without any other restriction than that the English ships were to resort only to the port Piply."*

The Emperor Shah Jehan had granted the firman formally conferring the liberty of trade on the English, but restricting their vessels from entering any ports other than that of Piply near Balasore. This precaution was no doubt prompted by the past experience of the Moghul Government which had felt the risks and danger of leaving the European traders too much to themselves and of allowing the Portuguese to settle at Hooghly and have unchecked communications across the Ganges.

Six years later when in 1639, Sultan Mahomed Shuja, the second son of the Emperor, became Viceroy of Bengal he moved the capital of the Nizamut back to Rajmahal after a lapse of over thirty years. Prince Shuja extended great commercial facilities to the European merchants who were permitted to export large quantities of saltpetre, the value of which at this time had considerably risen on account of the civil war then raging in England. His reign was further marked by the establishment of factories at Balasore and Hooghly by the English in 1604, who were also granted *Letters Patent* for freedom of trade in the Province of Bangala. The viceroyalty of Prince Mahomed Shuja was signalized by the introduction of many reforms into the various departments of State. The *Bara Katra*, a building of considerable architectural beauty, was also erected during his time, and has endured to the present day.

The illness and death of Shah Jehan led to the internecine

* Bruce's *Annals of the Hon. East India Company*, I. 320.

warfare in which the unfortunate Shuja after several defeats by the Imperial and rival armies was pursued to Dacca, and shortly afterwards met with his death through the monstrous treachery of the Raja of Arracan. Meer Jumla, who had greatly distinguished himself by his pursuit and defeat of Shuja and throughout had actively supported the cause of Aurangzib, now received the Viceroyalty of Bengal as a reward for his services from the successful rival. His first act was to remove the seat of Government from Rajmahal back to Dacca in 1660. From this time onward Dacca continued to be the capital of the Province until Murshid Quli Khan, the Nazim of Bengal, removed the Court of Murshidabad in 1704, and Dacca became the seat of a Naib Nazim or Deputy Governor, which it continued to be till so late as 1843 when the last Naib Nazim leaving no heir, the office ceased to exist.

Meer Jumla was succeeded by Amir-ul-Omra Shaista Khan, nephew of the Empress Nur Jehan, whose Governorship is memorable as one of the most prosperous and notable in the annals of Bengal. One of the first acts of his administration was to complete the subjugation of the Arracanees who had in their employment the Portuguese who were settled at Chittagong. After the Arracanees had been compelled to beat a retreat, the Moghul army laid siege to Chittagong. On its fall they changed the name of the city to Islamabad (City of the Faithful).

The regime of Shaista Khan marks another step in the progress of English trade in Bengal. At this time the English had no regular house of business at Dacca—a deficiency which was telling on their trade every day. The woven stuff from Dacca was in great demand, and the English traders could only now and then visit the place with their merchandize and 'with the sale proceeds purchase was made of Dacca muslin and piece-goods for export per Company's ships at Hooghly and Balasore.' Not only commercial exigencies but also political reasons—due to representation of the English traders at Court to advance their own interests and keep in check the incessant rivalries of the Dutch and Portuguese—made it imperative that the English should have a factory at Dacca. The Court of Directors wrote to the Council at Hooghly under date 24th Janu ar 1667-68 : "We observe what you have written concerning Dacca that it is a place that will vend much European goods and that the best *Cassues Mullmuls* etc., may be procured. It is our earnest desire as before intimated that as large a quantity of broad-cloth as possible may be vended by you. Therefore if you shall really find that the settling a factory in that place will occasion the taking of

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some considerable quantity of our manufactures, and that the advance of their sales will bear the charge of the factory. We then give you liberty to send 2 or 3 fit persons thither to reside, and to furnish them with cloth etc., proper for that place."* In 1668 Shaista Khan granted permission to the English to establish a factory at Dacca. Stewart in his *History of Bengal* writes : "During the Government of Shaista Khan, the commerce of the English, notwithstanding the alleged oppression of the Government, continued to flourish. Besides their factories at Balasore and Hooghly, they had established agencies at Patna, Cossimbazar and Dacca ; and their exportation of saltpetre alone in some years amounted to 1,000 tons, and their importation of bullion, in a single year, to £110,000 : further, although no English vessels were allowed to sail up the Ganges before his time, viz. A.D. 1664, yet it appears, in the year 1669, the East India Company had, by his permission, formed a regular establishment of pilots, for conducting their ships up and down the river. He also, in the year 1672, granted them an order for freedom of trade throughout the province, without the payment of any duties.

Shaista Khan's administration was remarkable for its manifold activities and achievements, and it proved peculiarly eventful in regard to the condition and prospects of the European traders—more especially of the English. As we have noticed, an English factory had been established at Dacca, and the prosperity of the traders was unprecedented. But this state of things was not to last long : a period of stirring incidents and great vicissitudes followed and the governorship of Shaista Khan saw the English started on that career of assertion and activity which was ultimately to wrest the Empire from Moghul hands. Up to this time the meek traders had been content to court Imperial and Viceregal patronage and toleration, but soon the force of circumstances caused territorial occupation and fortifications to be regarded not only as possible but even necessary. From this time onward the history of Dacca is bound up with the history of the rise of the East India Company as a political force in the country.

After the first term of Shaista Khan's viceroyalty when he resigned in 1677, Fedai Khan and Sultan Mahomed Azem, the third son of the Emperor Aurangzib, became governors in rapid succession. Such quick changes of administration, as might be imagined, entailed no little hardship on the European traders. So "the factors of the English Company, having found it exceedingly troublesome

* Diary of Sir William Hedges, Vol. III, P.C.X.C.V.

and expensive to procure a fresh order for freedom of trade from every succeeding governor, had, upon the removal of Shaista Khan, sent an agent with him to the Emperor's camp, to solicit an imperial firman, to settle this business for ever ; and the agent, after much expense and perseverance, succeeded in procuring the Emperor's order, with which he returned to Hooghly, on the 8th of July 1680. The English factors, wishing to make a great display of their success, caused the firman to be received with much ceremony, and to be saluted with 300 guns from the factory and the ships anchored opposite the town."*

The procuring of the above firman coupled with the great increase of the Bengal investments 'induced the Company to render Bengal independent of Madras ; and, in consequence, they appointed Mr. Hedges, one of their Directors, to be chief agent, or governor of all their affairs in the Bay of Bengal, and all other factories subordinate thereto (1681). His residence was fixed at Hooghly ; and in order to give dignity to the office, a guard of a corporal and 20 European soldiers was sent from Fort St. George, for his protection. This was the first military establishment of the Company in Bengal and the foundation of the English power in that country.' But as the imperial firman proved an ambiguous document, having been "purposely drawn out in a vague and obscure style," it is hardly surprising that it should have given rise to disputes, and 'involved their affairs in great difficulty.'

Matters indeed had come to a deplorable pass, and trade was seriously hampered. Mr. Hedges, the new governor, decided to go to Dacca in person to represent matters and lay before the Nawab all the grievances of the Company and secure redress. But his mission was a failure : "In 1682 our Chief Agent in Bengal journeyed to the Viceregal Court at Dacca and humbly remonstrated against 'the general stop of our trade'—still in vain."†

In consequence of the above, Mr. Hedges was compelled to retire after a short term of less than two years. The troubles of the English were aggravated by the arrest of Mr. Peacock, the head of their factory at Singee, near Patna, who incurring the unjust suspicions of the Nawab was thrown into prison "whence it was with much difficulty and intercession that he was released." The encroachments of the interlopers had been another source of constant worry and trouble to the English about this time,

* P. 195 of Stewart's *History of Bengal*.

† Sir William Hunter's *History of British India*.

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in consequence of which Mr. Gyfford, the Governor at Hooghly in 1685, "made an application, in the name of the Company, to the Nawab Shaista Khan, for permission to erect a fortification in the mouth, or on the banks of the Ganges—to prevent the ships of those persons, whom they denominated interlopers, from entering the river ; and for the better protection of their own property."*

But it was hardly to be expected that so shrewd and experienced an administrator as Shaista Khan would readily place such power in the hands of foreigners. He not only declined to make the concession, but also demanded, notwithstanding the Emperor's firman, $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. duties upon all their imports from the English, instead of the annual payment of Rs. 3,000 which had been received from them formerly.

"In 1685 the Hughli Council, feeling their position so high up the river to be unsafe, fruitlessly begged leave to quit it for a landing place further down. For the first time in its history, the Company found itself under a Moghul oppressor whom the Emperor's firman failed to control, and whom its petitions and presents were powerless to appease."†

Matters had come to a head, and the inevitable rupture occurred between the Nawab and the English "which so injured the trade of the latter, that their ships were obliged to leave Bengal without obtaining cargoes." The only alternatives now for the English were either to abandon their trade with Bengal, or by having recourse to arms 'effect by force what they could not obtain by entreaty.'

The days when aggressive self-assertion became necessary had come, and the English had no course left but to adopt these methods. In 1684 the Court of Directors "had got so far as to declare that 'though our business is only trade and security, not conquest,' 'yet we dare not trade boldly or leave great stocks, where we have not the security of a fort.' "

"The Roe doctrine of 'quiet trade' had obviously ceased to apply to Bengal : as it had never really applied to Madras or Bombay, nor indeed anywhere outside the provinces in which the Imperial authority could secure Imperial protection." In 1685 the Court of Directors "ordered the Black Town of Madras to be walled in and fortified at the expense of the inhabitants, 'whether it displease or please them or any body else.' They also desired a defensible position in Bengal

* Stewart.

† Hunter.

where 'our great ships may lie within command of the guns of our fort.' "

The future policy of the East India Company had been thus determined, and the 'solemn renunciation of the Roe doctrine of unarmed traffic was resolved on in January under the governorship of Sir Joseph Ash.' In pursuance of the above policy warlike preparations began, but 'as a matter of fact the Company possessed neither the information nor the officers for the effective prosecution of a war in India.' They easily obtained the royal sanction for an armament from James II., who was a large share-holder in India stock, and an expedition was fitted out in England, which "consisted of six companies of infantry and ten ships of twelve to seventy guns, some of them mere tenders, under Captain Nicholson with the title of Admiral until he reached the Ganges, when the Agent in Bengal was to act both as Admiral and Commander-in-Chief. The troops sailed with only lieutenants, as the Colonel, the Lieutenant-Colonel, Majors and Captains were to be supplied from the factory gentlemen. On the west coast of India the squadron was to cut off the native shipping and declare war on the Mughal Emperor. On the east coast, after obtaining, if possible, 400 additional soldiers at Madras, it was to bring away the Company's servants from Bengal, lay hold of all Moghul ships at sea, capture and fortify Chittagong at the N.E. extremity of the Bay, establish there a mint, then advance up the Ganges to the Viceroy's capital at Dacca, and extort from him a treaty by force of arms. It was also to take vengeance on the King of Siam, by seizing his vessels for wrongs done to the Company; and it was to give tardy effect to Marriage Treaty of 1661 by driving out the Portuguese from the dependencies of Bombay. Of this vast programme, conceived in ludicrous ignorance of the geographical distances and with astounding disregard of the opposing forces, not a single item was carried out. Misfortunes and miscalculations dogged the expedition. At length in the autumn of 1686 two ships and their light-armed tenders entered the Hughli river with 308 soldiers, to make war on an Empire which had at that moment an army of at least 100,000 men in the field. The Viceroy of Bengal alone could lead out 40,000 troops, and the garrison of the single town of Hughli numbered 3,300."*

The Madras Government had, in the meantime, sent round 400 soldiers; 'and had directed Mr. Charnock to raise a second company of Portuguese infantry, to be officered by the Company's servants.'

* Sir William Hunter's *History of British India*, P. 252.

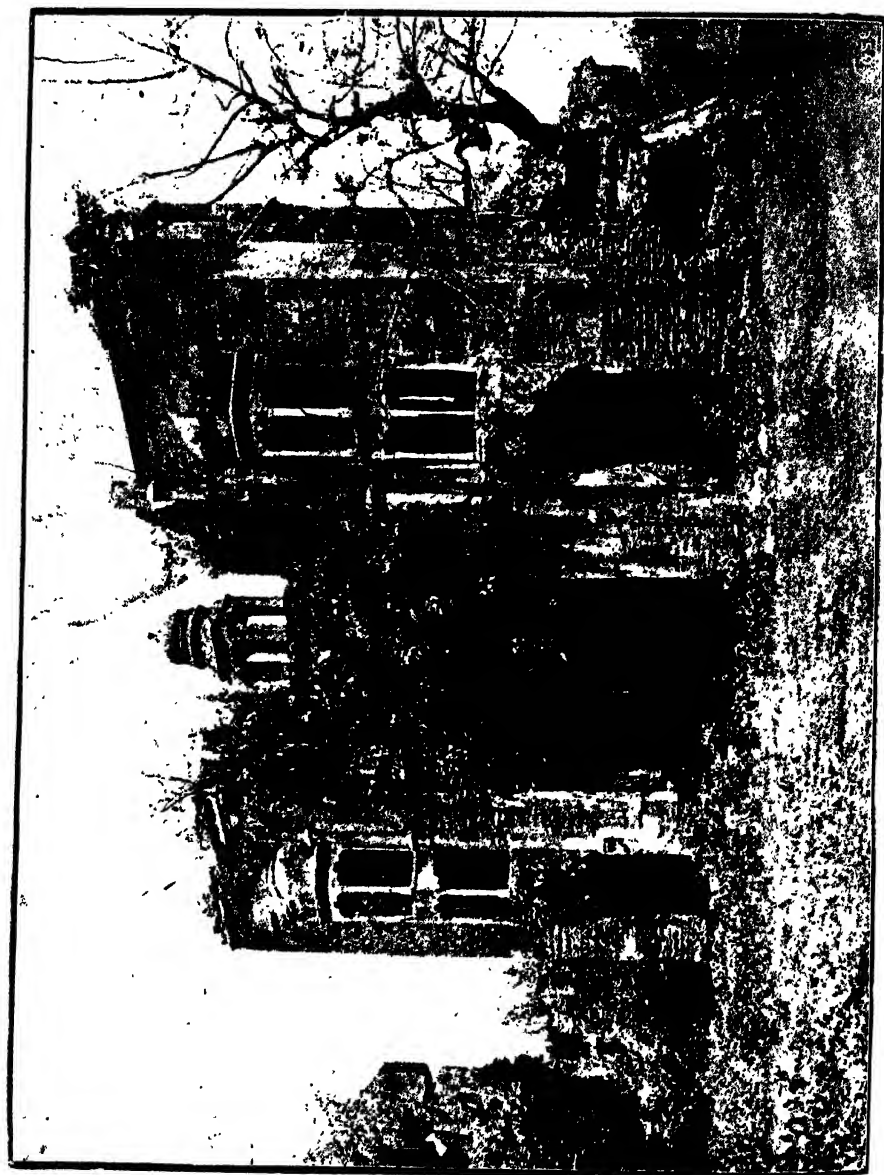
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"The arrival of such a force in the Ganges immediately roused the suspicions and fears of Shaista Khan. He offered to compromise the differences with the English, and to submit the whole of their dispute to arbitrators appointed on both sides ; but in order to be prepared against any acts of hostility, he ordered a considerable body of troops to encamp in the vicinity of Hughli."*

The negotiations, however, were prematurely cut short by a trivial affray between the troops of the two parties which unfortunately developed into a regular fight with a fairly heavy casualty and led to the bombardment of the town by Admiral Nicholson. As a result of the cannonade, 500 houses were burnt down including the Company's factory worth 300,000 with the goods stored therein. The Foujdar or Military Governor made a temporary truce, but Shaista Khan being apprised of the circumstances "directed the English factories at Patna, Malda, Dacca and Cossimbazar, to be confiscated ; and ordered a very considerable body, both of infantry and cavalry, to proceed immediately to Hughli, and to expel the English from the country." In the midst of hostilities overtures of peace were made several times only to end abruptly. At last Mr. Charnock, the agent, 'being neither in a condition to oppose the Nawab by arms, nor to appease him with money, sent two members of his council to Dacca, to try if he might be softened by submission.' While the English deputies were still at Dacca negotiating peace (1688), Captain Heath arrived with his reinforcement, and despite the protestations of Mr. Charnock decided to renew the war. He "landed with a party of soldiers and seamen on the 29th of November, attacked and took a redoubt of thirty guns, and plundered the town of Balasore. The English factory, on this occasion, was burned by the Governor ; and the Company's servants, who had been previously taken prisoners, were carried up the country, where all subsequent efforts for their release were unavailing. This outrage unfortunately was committed on the very day that the Governor of Balasore received a copy of the treaty which the Nawab had made with the two deputies at Dacca."

The aggression of Captain Heath, coupled with the fortifications of Bombay and Madras by the English, and their alliance with the Mahiatta free-booter Shambhaji, so incensed the Emperor Aurangzeb against them that he "issued orders to his commanders to extirpate the English from his dominions ; and to seize or destroy all their property, wherever it might be found. It was in obedience

* Stewart.



to these orders, that the factory at Masulipatam was seized by the Governor of that district, and that the warehouses of Vizagapatam were plundered and all the English gentlemen put to death." Shaista Khan also carried out the Emperor's commands to the extent of 'sequestering the whole of the English property in Bengal, and to place the Company's agents at Dacca in chains.' The Amir-ul-Omra finally resigned in 1689, and died a few years later at Agra. "It is related, that during his government, grain was so cheap that rice was sold at the rate of 640 lbs. weight for the rupee : to commemorate which event, as he was leaving Dacca, he ordered the western gate, through which he departed, to be built up, and an inscription to be placed thereon, interdicting any future Governor from opening it, till he had reduced the price of grain to the same rate : in consequence of which injunction, the gate remained closed till the Government of the Nawab Sarferaz Khan."* His Vice-royalty was the longest, and on the whole, the most memorable in the annals of Dacca. He erected several mosques and other public buildings, their particular style of architecture being known as the 'Shaista Khani,' whose traces are still very evident in the city.

The famous French traveller, Tavernier, visited Dacca more than once during his Governorship and has left interesting accounts of his observations and experiences. Shaista Khan was succeeded by Ibrahim Khan, whose "first act of authority, after assuming the Government, was one most congenial to his feelings, viz., the liberation of the Company's agents, who were confined at Dacca."

Sir John Child, the Director-General of the Company's settlements, had sent two English Commissioners from Bombay to negotiate a treaty of peace with the Moghul ministers, while the Emperor was encamped in the Deccan. On the treaty being formed the Emperor sent the following firman to Ibrahim Khan at Dacca under date 23rd of April, 1690 : "You must understand, that it has been the good fortune of the English to repent them of their irregular past proceedings ; and their not being in their former greatness, have, by their vacceels, petitioned for their lives, and a pardon for their faults, which out of my extraordinary favour towards them, have accordingly granted : Therefore upon receipt hereof, my Phirmaund, you must not create them any further trouble, but let them trade freely in your Government as formerly : And this order I expect you to see strictly observed." Ibrahim Khan accordingly wrote letters to Mr. Charnock at Madras inviting him to return,

* Stewart.

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and re-establish all the Company's factories ; with an assurance of a perfect oblivion of anything which had passed, and that the English should be placed on a footing with the most favoured foreign nation.' On the 24th August Mr. Charnock, with his Council and factors, and attended by an escort of thirty soldiers, returned to Chuttanutty, where Meer Ali Akbar, the Governor of Hughli, in obedience to the Nawab's orders, received them with much civility.

In 1691 Ibrahim Khan forwarded to Mr. Charnock a *Husb-ul-hoosn* from the Emperor Aurangzeb 'authorising the English to trade to Bengal without paying any other duty than an annual present of 3,000 rupees.' Five years later on the breaking out of the rebellion of Soobha Singh and Rahim Khan, the English factory at Chuttanutty, along with those of the Dutch and French at Chinsurah and Chandernagore respectively, was fortified by the implied sanction of the Nawab. These were the first three European forts 'which the Moghal Government suffered foreigners to build in any part of their Empire.'

As has been noticed, the rebellion of Soobha Singh and Rahim Khan indirectly led to the erection of the first English fortifications along with those of the Dutch and French in India. This same event was destined to have other far-reaching results on their subsequent history. The necessary precedent had been established, and from this time onward their right of military defence remained unquestioned—a concession which proved invaluable in the sequel.

The rebellion had assumed appalling proportions, and was daily becoming more and more threatening, but the Governor, Nawab Ibrahim Khan, was strangely apathetic towards it and declined to take any definite steps to nip it in the bud. To the remonstrances of his son and counsellors he replied that "a civil war was a dreadful evil, in which the lives of God's creatures were wantonly expended: that the rebels, if let alone, would shortly disperse of themselves; and the only consequence would be the loss of a small portion of his Majesty's revenue." Rahim Khan, who after the tragic death of Soobha Singh was chosen the head of the rebel army, and had assumed the royal title and style of Rahim Shah, continued his progress through the country, compelling the population to join him, and plundering whatever he could lay his hands on. The rebels marched to Murshedabad, and after defeating the royal army of 500 strong, took and plundered that town. A band of rebels, about the same time, advanced to Chuttanutty, and set the villages on fire. A third party of the rebels laid siege to the fort of Tanna (10 miles west of Calcutta on the opposite side of the

river), but as the English, at the request of the Foujdar of Hoogly, had sent a frigate to support the fort, the rebels were compelled to retreat. "In the meantime, the Europeans worked day and night in fortifying their factories at Chinsura, Chandernagore, and Chutanutty : at the latter place, the English constructed regular bastions, capable of bearing cannon ; but to avoid giving offence, the embrasures were filled up, on the outside, with a wall of single brick." In the month of March, 1697, the rebels captured Rajmahal and Malda, and plundered the Dutch and English factories at the latter place, thereby obtaining considerable property. Clearly, these were not the times for any pseudo-ethical qualms of conscience on the part of the Governor. It only remained for the rebels to enter Dacca, and depose Ibrahim Khan as a fitting end to his policy of astounding inactivity. Moreover, this was not exactly the sort of policy which would have recommended itself to the Emperor Aurangzib, who was then encamped in the Deccan. 'The first intelligence which the Emperor received of these events was through the newspaper.' As may be imagined, his indignation and astonishment at the conduct of Ibrahim Khan was great, and to mark his disapproval of the Governor's policy he forthwith appointed his grandson, Prince Azim-ul-Shan, the second son of Bahadur Shah, who was then in the Royal camp, to the United Government of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa. Orders, however, were sent to Ibrahim Khan to remain in Dacca until the arrival of his successor, but, in the meantime "to place his son, Zubberdust Khan, at the head of the Bengal forces, and send him immediately against the rebels." The Emperor also issued commands to the Governors of Oudh, Allaha-bad and Behar, 'to co-operate, by every means in their power, with the Governor of Bengal in quieting the insurrection, and extirpating the rebels.'

"On the receipt of the Imperial orders, Zubberdust Khan, who had long beheld with regret the apathy of his father, quickly equipped an army, consisting of both cavalry and infantry, with a good train of artillery, and attended by a number of war-boats. As soon as everything was in readiness, he marched from Dacca, and proceeded up the right bank of the Ganges."* In the meantime the resources of Rahim Khan had greatly increased : 'Governor Eyre, in his letter of December, 1696, says that the country in possession of the rebels was estimated at 60 lakhs of rupees per annum ; and that their force consisted of 12,000 Cavalry, and 30,000 Infantry.†

* Stewart.

† *East India Records*, Vol. XIX, p. 263.

"When informed of the approach of the imperial troops from Dacca, he encamped his army on the banks of the river, in the vicinity of Bhogwangola, resolving to risk his fate in a pitched battle." 'But during the time that Zubberdust Khan was advancing, by short marches, with his artillery and infantry, he detached the greater part of his cavalry to beat up the quarters of the rebels, who were in possession of Rajmahal and Malda. This service was ably performed; the rebels were defeated at Rajmahal; an Afghan Chief named Ghyret Khan was killed, and the greater part of their plunder retaken. That which belonged to the Dutch and English was reclaimed by the agents of those nations; but the Moghul Commander refused to restore it without the orders of the Governor.'

"Zubberdust Khan having arrived within a few miles of the rebel camp, landed his infantry and guns from the fleet; and after reconnoitering the position of the enemy, ordered his war-boats to harass them from the river, while he attacked them by land. The first day was spent in a cannonade, during which the guns of the imperial army, being served by the Portuguese in the Royal service, dismounted most of those of the enemy, and silenced the redoubts which he had thrown up along his front. The next morning, both armies being drawn out in battle array, the attack was commenced by the Imperial infantry, but in a short time the engagement became general, and continued for several hours. At length the rebels were overcome, and compelled to retreat, leaving their camp to be plundered by the Royalists."

In the meantime, no sooner had Prince Azim-ul-Shan received the investiture of his office than he marched with a select corps of 12,000 cavalry towards Allahabad. "Upon the Prince's arrival at Allahabad, he sent orders to the Governor of Oudh immediately to join him, with all his forces: he also issued his commands to all the zemindars in that neighbourhood, and to those of Benares and Bihar, to join his camp as soon as he should enter their respective territories, on his route to Bengal."*

When the Prince arrived in Patna, the reports of Zubberdust Khan's successful campaign reached him, and 'fearing that so active an officer would gather all the laurels before his arrival at the scene of action, and leave him nothing by which he might gain credit with the Emperor, he sent positive commands to the General not to risk another engagement until he should join him with his victorious

* Stewart.

Army.' Zubberdust Khan accordingly centered his army in the vicinity of Burdwan, and patiently awaited the arrival of His Royal Highness. On his approach to the city, Zubberdust Khan advanced several miles to receive and welcome the grandson and representative of the Emperor, 'but so cool and distant was the reception he met with from His Highness, that he resolved immediately to quit the army, and proceed with his father, the deposed Governor, to Court.'

"Having delivered over the command of the troops, he made known his request to His Royal Highness, who, jealous of the fame that Zubberdust Khan had so justly acquired, was 'graciously pleased to comply with his wishes, although by so doing, he greatly reduced the strength of his own army; as nearly 8,000 of the best troops were the dependants, or followers, of the General and his father, and went away with him." Thus it was that the famous, just and good Nawab Ibrahim and his gallant son left Dacca, carrying with them the good wishes of all.

The new Viceroy made Burdwan his temporary headquarters, as being the centre of disturbance, and all his energy for the next couple of years was devoted to the quelling of the insurrection which, however, was not suppressed till the death of Rahim Khan in 1698, which occurred in the following manner: in the course of negotiations for his surrender on the understanding that he would be forgiven for his past misdeeds, 'Rahim Khan ordered his troops to mount, and to make a sudden and vigorous attack on the Royal camp. This movement was executed with such rapidity, that Azim-ul-Shan had barely time to mount his elephant before he was surrounded by a party of the Afghans, headed by their chief Rahim Khan; and would certainly have been taken prisoner, had not a brave Arab officer, named Hamid Khan, called out, that he was the Prince, and challenged the Afghan to single combat; at the same time discharging an arrow, which penetrated the rebel's side: a second arrow from his hand wounded his antagonist's horse in the head, who thereupon reared up, and threw his rider on the ground: the Arab instantly dismounted, and, having cut off Rahim Khan's head, held it up on the point of his lance. The Afghans seeing the catastrophe of their chief, were struck with panic, and fled on all sides. After which they offered to submit to the Prince, provided he would take them into his service; which being agreed to, a general amnesty was passed, and peace restored to the harrassed Province.'

At this time the English secured a concession from Prince

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Azim-ul-Shan which requires to be noted, as it gave them a new status in the country, and was the first step towards territorial acquisition. "By a suitable present the English obtained a grant of the three villages of Chuttanutty, Govindpore, and Kalicotta. The importance of this grant is liable to be overlooked. It raised the English to the condition of a zemindar."*

"The Prince, after a residence of nearly three years in Burdwan, having regulated the affairs of the western part of Bengal to his satisfaction, ordered the state-boats which had been built during the Government of Sultan Shuja, to be collected in the vicinity of Hoogly; and embarking at that place, proceeded with great pomp to Dacca and took possession of the Royal palace."

Dacca now became the scene of lively incidents in which the leading part was taken by a new figure, who occasionally overshadowed the Royal governor himself. As henceforth Murshid Kuli Khan looms large in the political history of Dacca, as well as of the Province, some account of him is necessary.

"This person was the son of a poor Brahman, and, during his youth, was purchased by a Persian merchant, named Hajy Suffia, who took him to Ispahan, and, having circumcised him, changed his name to Mahomed Hady and educated him as one of his own children. Upon the death of the merchant, his heirs manumitted the youth, and permitted him to proceed to the Deccan, where, soon after his arrival, he obtained an inferior employment in the service of Hajy Abdullah, Dewan of Berar: in this situation he evinced such a knowledge of accounts, and expertness in business, that within a few years he was recommended to the Emperor Aurangzib as a fit person to fill the office of Dewan of Hyderabad, then vacant: he was in consequence appointed to that office, and dignified with the title of Kar Tulah Khan. In continuation of the same line of conduct which had recommended him to the Emperor, that monarch was induced to nominate Kar Tulab Khan, in the year 1701, to the important office of Dewan of Bengal, with the title of Murshid Kuli Khan."†

Murshid Kuli Khan, soon after his appointment, proceeded to Dacca and entered with alacrity upon the business of his office. He found that the country was rich and productive, but that the public revenue had been absorbed in improper channels. He therefore appointed his own collectors to the different districts; and in a short period ascertained that the revenue of Bengal amounted to

* *Early Records of British India* by J. Talboys Wheeler. P. 163.

† Stewart.

one crore of rupees." This official disbanded the Royal household cavalry, which were of little use in a low country like Dacca, and resumed the Jagirs assigned for their support. This and other measures of retrenchment were most distasteful to Prince Azim-ul-Shan, who strongly objected to the control thus exercised over the State expenditure. Murshid Kuli Khan soon completely overhauled the revenue administration of the province, and raised it to a level of great efficiency and prosperity, the revenue of the State being considerably increased. 'This conduct acquired for Murshid Kuli Khan great celebrity at Court; but the haughty spirit of the Prince Azim-ul-Shan could ill brook the constant interference, in all pecuniary transactions, of the Dewan, and his frequent opposition to His Royal Highness's commands. Besides these causes, the Prince was exceedingly jealous of the high favour in which Murshid Kuli stood with the Emperor; and the courtiers and favourites of the Prince, whose extravagance, or assumed powers, were constantly controlled by the Dewan, fanned the flame and added fuel to his already exasperated temper: Azim-ul-Shan was therefore extremely anxious to get rid of his rival, if it could be effected without risking the displeasure of the Emperor.' Stewart in his *History of Bengal* writes: "An officer named Abdul Vahid, commanding a long-established corps of horse, called Nukedy, who were entitled to their pay monthly from the treasury, and, therefore, looked with contempt on the other troops paid by assignments on the zemindars,—and who were, besides noted for their insolence and contempt of all authority,—proposed to the Prince to assassinate the Dewan, if he would ensure to him, or to his heirs, a large sum of money. The offer having been accepted, Abdul Vahid ordered his men to waylay the Dewan, the first time he came to pay his respects to the Prince. An opportunity soon after offered: the Dewan, who was never deficient in etiquette and respect to the Viceroy, left his house one morning to pay his obeisance at the Palace; but before he had gotten half way, his retinue was stopped in the street by a large body of the Nukedy regiment, who, in a clamorous manner, demanded their pay. The Dewan, who always went abroad well armed, and was attended by a considerable number of armed followers, immediately jumped out of his palanquin; and, drawing his sword, commanded his attendants to clear the road, and drive those fellows away. The Nukedies, seeing his resolution and firmness, shrunk back, and allowed him to proceed unmolested to the Palace; where, as soon as he entered, he loudly accused the Prince of being the author of this conspiracy. He then seated himself, in a rude

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and indecorous manner, opposite to him ; and putting his hand to his dagger, said, " If you want my life, here let us try the contest : if otherwise, take care that nothing of this kind ever again occurs." The Prince, alarmed by his threats and dreading the severe justice of the Emperor, was very much agitated ; and after protesting his innocence in the most solemn manner, sent for Abdul Vahid, and severely reprimanded him for the flagitious conduct of his men, threatening him with the severest marks of his displeasure if they were ever again guilty of such disorderly behaviour : these excuses did not, however, satisfy the Dewan ; he proceeded immediately to the Public Hall of Audience, and, having sent for Abdul Vahid, examined into the arrears due to the corps ; and after giving him an assignment for the amount on one of the zemindars, discharged him and his regiment from the imperial service."

On reaching home, Murshid Kuli drew up a complete statement of the whole incident, and after having it duly endorsed by the signatures of the public officers, forwarded it with his own representation to the Emperor. After this rupture with the Governor, in which he had acted with such rare boldness and independence, Murshid Kuli Khan did not consider it advisable to continue living in Dacca, and decided to fix his residence at Mukhsoodabad, as being nearly in the centre of the province, and equally convenient for collecting the revenues from all parts. " Having decided on this measure he left Dacca without taking leave of the Viceroy ; and carrying with him all the public officers attached to the Dewani, proceeded to Mukhsoodabad."

" When the well-authenticated statement of the disturbance at Dacca, and the attempt on the life of the Dewan, reached the Emperor, who was then in the Deccan, he sent an order to Prince Azim-ul-Shan severely reprimanding him ; and threatening him, that if the smallest injury was offered, either to the person or to the property of Murshid Kuli Khan, he, although his grand-child, should be answerable for it. He further commanded the Prince immediately to quit Bengal, and to fix his residence in the province of Behar. Azim-ul-Shan knew too well the arbitrary disposition of his grandfather to attempt any justification of his conduct or to procrastinate his departure : he, therefore, appointed his second son, Furrukh Seyer, under the superintendence of Ser Balund Khan, to be his deputy in Dacca, and embarking with the remainder of his family and all the public officers, on board the Government boats, proceeded to Rajmahal, and took possession of Sultan Shuja's palace. The air of that place, however, not agreeing with his family, he

sometime after removed to Patna, the castle and fortification of which he repaired, and, by permission of the Emperor, changed the name of the city to Azimabad"—after himself. The nobility of the place still delight to designate their city by this dignified name and the Mahomedan historians also prefer it to the un-classic "Patna." The young Deputy-Governor, Prince Furrukh Seyer, assumed charge of the administration at Dacca, and "made himself universally esteemed by his wise and liberal measures." The removal of the Dewani to Mukhsoodabad as the result of the unfortunate "fracas" between the Nawab and the unbending Murshid Kuli caused Dacca to be shorn of not a little of its dignity and importance. In fact, it was the beginning of the decay of Dacca, and in a few years the work was completed by that same agency.

In 1704, Murshid Kuli Khan personally waited upon the Emperor Aurangzib, who, as a reward for his successful administration of the Dewani, re-appointed him to the post of Dewan of Bengal and Orissa in his own right, and as Deputy-Nazim for Prince Azim-ul-Shan. It was not, however, till 1713 when Prince Furrukh Seyer had become the Emperor of Hindustan, that these offices were united, and Murshid Kuli Khan became the Nazim and Dewan of Bengal.

As soon as he had returned to Bengal from the Deccan, Murshid Kuli Khan changed the name of the city of Mukhsoodabad to Murshidabad in perpetuation of his own name. The erection of a mint, a palace, and other public offices of Government soon made Murshidabad the seat of Viceregal Government, and the capital of the Province.

Thus formally ended the Capitalship of Dacca ; its history so full of stirring vicissitudes, and, on the whole, so glorious. The eastern districts were now placed in charge of a Naib Nazim or Deputy of the Governor. The post of a Naib was "considered the highest and most lucrative appointment under the Nizamut." The jurisdiction of the Naib extended from the Garro Hills on the north to the Sunderbans on the South, and from the Tipperah Hills on the east to Jessore on the west, "thus comprising a far greater extent of country than the present Dacca District." At the height of its splendour, the limits of Dacca, including the suburbs, extended from the Buriganga in the south, to the Tungi River in the north, a distance of nearly fifteen miles ; and from Jafarabad in the west, to Postgola in the east, a distance of nearly ten miles. Its population then was estimated at about 990,000.* Mirza Lutfullah, who was appoint-

* Rahman Ali's *Tarikh-i-Dhaka Mss.*

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ed Naib in 1713 annexed the Tippera territory which had hitherto been only nominally subject to the Moghul Government, to the Province. Latterly, the Naibs began to reside at Murshidabad, and, in their turn, appointed Deputies and entrusted them with the Government of Dacca; some of these deputies administered well, but "others made it their chief object to amass wealth at the expense of the provinces committed to their charge. Among these latter may be mentioned Rajballabh Peshkar, of the Nawwara, and subsequently appointed Deputy Governor, who is said, during his short term of office, to have amassed the enormous sum of two crores of rupees. He also acquired a great quantity of land, which afterwards constituted the valuable zemindari of Rajnagar. Near a village of the same name on the south side of the Pudma are still to be seen the ruins of the splendid residence erected by this Raja Rajbullabh, whose descendants are still (1868) living, though greatly reduced in circumstances. A great portion of the money amassed by this man was conveyed out of the district by his son Kishen Dass, who was supposed to have taken it into Fort William. It was in search of this treasure, it is said, that Seraj-ud-doulah was induced to commence hostilities against the English, which ended in their obtaining possession of the country in 1757. With this date, the history of Dacca, under the native dynasties, virtually ceases.

Up to the time of the East India Company's accession to the Dewani, in 1765, the "administration of the Dacca province was carried on by two departments—Huzuri and Nizamut; the former was under the Provincial Dewan who resided at Murshidabad, and carried on the business at Dacca by Deputy. The jurisdiction of this officer extended to the charge of the crown finances, and the settlement of all disputes relating to revenue. The department of the Nizamut related chiefly to civil and criminal suits, and the collection of a portion of the revenue, which was assigned to defray the expenses of this establishment."

In 1765 Lieutenant Swinton, on behalf of the East India Company, came to Dacca and assumed charge of the Dewani from the then Naib Nazim, Nawab Jasarat Khan. From 1768, Nawab Jasarat Khan carried on the administration of the Province in conjunction with a member of Council representing the East India Company. On the death of the Nawab, the English assumed sole charge of the Government, and his five successors nominally remained Naib-Nazims, receiving a pension of Rs. 6,000 per mensem from the East India Company.

"In 1769, a Supervisor of Revenue was appointed with entire

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control over the departments of Huzuri and Nizamut. In 1772, the title was changed to that of Collector ; and in the same year, on the assumption by the Company of the office of Dewan in the place of Mahomed Reza Khan, a Court of Dewani Adalat was instituted, of which the Collector was made the superintendent. In 1774, a Provincial Council was established, and Naibs were appointed to collect the revenue and to hold the Court of *Dewani Adalat* from which an appeal lay to the Council. In 1781, the Council was abolished, Mr. Day was appointed Collector and Magistrate, and a Court of Judicature was established, of which Mr. Duncanson was the first Judge.”—(*S. H. in The Englishman*)

ARTICLES ON INDIA IN OTHER REVIEWS

1. POSITIVIST REVIEW—Burma under British Rule :
S. H. Swinny.
 2. RAILWAY MAGAZINE—The East Indian Railway :
G. Huddleston.
 3. THEOSOPHICAL REVIEW—Islamic Theosophy :
Edward E. Long.
 4. REVUE ECONOMIQUE INTERNATIONALE—
The Land question and the Agrarian classes in
India : J. Chailley.
 5. ONZE EEUW—Government Trading in the Dutch
Indian Possessions : E. V. Kielstra.
 6. MYSORE REVIEW—Scenes from Modern India : A
Malayalee Lady.
 7. CALCUTTA REVIEW—The British Exploitation of
Indian Education.
 8. EAST AND WEST—The Partition of Bengal : J. D.
Anderson.
Hinduism—Its True Inwardness : Dolatram Kripa-
ram Pandia.
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SUMMARIES OF ARTICLES

A NATIVE COUNCIL FOR INDIA

The Contemporary Review for May publishes a remarkable paper from the pen of Mr. C. Sankaran Nair of Madras on the advisability of enlarging the Legislative Council of India by adding a new Chamber to it. Mr. Sankaran Nair approaches the question from the standpoint not of the political agitator but of the jurist and social reformer and makes out a very strong case for establishing a Native Council, to be composed exclusively of Indian gentlemen, for the purpose of undertaking all sort of social and class legislations. We are told that Lord Lansdowne's efforts to purify the social evils of India met with 'a reception sufficient to deter his successors from repeating the attempt,' with the result that many defects of Hindu and Mahometan laws and many evils of those societies are still prejudicially affecting the best interests of those peoples without any body thinking of removing them. Mr. Sankaran Nair cites some vexed questions of Hindu and Mahometan law, as the *quantum* of education imposing burdens on self-acquired property among the Hindus and the *wakfs* interfering with private settlements and benefactions among the Mahometans, as cases in point. The government takes umbrage under 'religious neutrality' and exonerates itself from all responsibility in such matters. This sort of *laissez-faire* has produced a state of things, which Mr. Sankaran Nair thinks, 'is a perfect disgrace to any civilised government.' 'A government which,' he says, 'is powerless to carry out a reform which may be essential to progress stands condemned.'

But condemn it if you will, there is very little way out of the difficulty. The Government finds itself precluded by professions of 'religious neutrality' from taking in hand any reform of the social and religious laws of the different communities that go to make the Indian people. And, Mr. Sankaran Nair pertinently asks, if the government will not interfere with the 'legal' impediments to freedom of action in matters of faith and belief, who will?

The only parties who can really introduce any reform in their codes of social and religious laws are the people themselves, but as matters stand at present they are absolutely powerless to effect any such reform in view of the fact that most of the objectionable customs and laws of the various communities of people in India

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have been recognised by the British Courts of Justice and a rule of law once laid down in a Civil Court is a law for ever.

But there is one way to get rid of all objectionable customs and laws,—and that's by establishing a Native Chamber of Legislation for the purpose of dealing effectively and authoritatively with such questions as religious endowments, marriages, domestic relations and such others which the present Legislative Council donot care to meddle with.

And here is what Mr. Sankaran Nair has got to suggest in this connection :—

“An Imperial Legislative Council, such as is now suggested, would be eminently fitted to deal with such questions. It would be a concession to India of Home Rule in a very practical and at the same time, so as far as I can see, unobjectionable shape. I am aware of the objection that will at once be raised to any proposal of the kind namely, that the country is so little advanced, and at the same time the reactionary forces are so strong, that there would not be much useful legislation through the agency of such a Council. Here comes in the need for Government intervention. The Government have, or ought to have, a set of principles regulating all their legislation, and the Viceroy before he allowed the introduction of any measure into the Council, would have to satisfy himself that those principles had not been contravened. Should he discover an infringement of fundamental principles, even after a measure had actually been introduced, he would then have to exercise his power of *veto*. Such a scheme would pave the way towards a slow and healthy progress of our institutions ; we should not then be tied down to laws promulgated for the needs of a Society that ceased to exist many hundreds of years ago, while Government would not be under the necessity of inflicting on us in the alternative laws suited to a Society widely differing from our own in every respect.

“It would be premature at this stage to attempt to delineate even roughly the precise constitution of the proposed Imperial Council. Obviously it would include all the native members of the existing Councils in which there ought to be more representation of the pandits as well as the spiritual heads of the various religious communities. The National Congress and the various Social Reform Associations might also send delegates, and the more important caste Associations that already exist might, some of them at least, take part in electing members. It is essential that in such a body, the lowest castes, like the Panchamas in Southern India and the classes corres-

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ponding to them elsewhere, should be given the privilege of electing their own representatives. As the legislation entrusted to the Council would be mainly class legislation, dealing with the removal of class disabilities, there would be no harm, but, on the contrary, great good, in leaving the members to wrangle over the questions at issue to their hearts' content. The Viceroy would only have to see that no legislation of a retrograde character was placed on the Indian Statute Book as the result of the Council's deliberations. The Council would, in fact, act as a safety-valve and divert the energy of the popular leaders and representatives into admittedly useful channels. On its arena would be tested, and on its field would be brought into full relief, the capacity of the leaders of public opinion for constructive legislation ; whereas their powers are now too often wasted in attacks on the Government and its public measures. On its wide platform both the genuine Conservative and the genuine Social Reformer would meet in friendly and fruitful contest. To the latter it would furnish an invaluable instrument for educating the masses, and also a means of attaining directly his most cherished ends without incurring the odium of allying himself with Missionaries and other alien forces supposed to be unfriendly to Indian nationality : on the other hand, the genuine Conservative Hindu would use the same platform for ventilating his own slow, cautious programme of "reform on national lines," and for demonstrating the unwisdom of the Social Reformer."

ABUSE OF PATRIOTIC FEELINGS

The *Jaistha* number of our vernacular contemporary of the *Prabashi* is ably led off by Mr. Sivanath Sastri with an excellent article which deserves to be carefully read by the promoters of the *Swadeshi* propaganda. The writer begins by saying that a new vigour has entered upon the arena of Indian public life. Its origin is only perceptible now, but its development still lies in the womb of futurity. It is called a new vigour, because it had no existence whatsoever just half a century ago. Its birth and whatever growth it has attained of late are, as it were, floating upon our very organs of vision. This heavenly vigour is patriotism.

The writer then dilates upon the sentiments of patriotism in their higher aspects and observes that this noble sense of patriotic duty will be brought home to our minds if we only turn our attention for a while upon the doings of Washington, Mazzini and Garibaldi

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A foreign government has got enough to fear from the patriotism of its subject-race. This is why the British Government seems to be afraid of the patriotism of our people which is manifested in the present *Swadeshi* movement. By every political means at its disposal, the Government is throwing obstacles to this apparent growth of Indian patriotism. The actions of our rulers as perceived in hampering the progress of high education in India, checking the development of unity among the different classes of our people, trying to drive out all patriotic thoughts from the minds of our students, curtailing the liberty of the press and the platform and lastly in injuring those of our leaders who have a sincere love for their country at heart, are all indicative of the same imperial policy of autocratic repression.

The veteran writer characterises this sense of patriotism as the fire in a heap of bricks and exhorts our countrymen to go on fanning the flame till the government finds itself too feeble to extinguish it. Mr. Sastri next enumerates some of the evils that have according to his opinion, crept unfortunately in our patriotic proceedings. The first of these evils lies in the fact that whenever, during the last forty years, the idea of nationality has been predominant in ourselves, it has almost invariably assumed the form of a hatred for everything foreign. What we have is the best, and what others have the very reverse: This is an idea too mean to conceive of. If Japan were actuated by this narrow sense of patriotism, she would never have been what she is—the dread of all civilised nations. When, after 1868, the Japanese people began to adopt better administrative, military and commercial systems of other countries than those of their own, then and then only their political regeneration was ensured. Imitation and assimilation, says the writer, are as different as the poles and the former is as obnoxious as the latter is fraught with unspeakable blessings. No nation can become great without assimilating the covetable systems of others; even a proud people like the English have been led to adopt the educational system of Germany. Mr. Sastri thus puts in a strong protest against what he considers to be the unpatriotic resolution of our leaders advocating the boycott of British goods in Bengal.

The second evil in patriotism is said to be our too much devotion to the past. Of course, it is quite natural to admire and preserve what good things we had in the past, but it is folly to think that what we possessed in times gone by was best and as such needs no improvement. While admitting that the sense of duty which inspires men to attempt at preserving the relics of the past is a very

SLAVERY IN INDIA

laudable one, the writer asserts that the nation which, being over-conscious of a glorious past, neglects to effect any improvement at present, is bound to be degenerated in the near future. The third evil dwelt upon by the writer consists of wasting our time and energy after what others say and think of us, heedless of what we actually are. If half of the vigour mis-spent by our leaders in vindicating the claims of what we possess were employed in eradicating the evils of the country, a good deal of positive good would certainly have been done to our hapless mother-land. It is certain that we have got to achieve greatness by our own exertions and it is not for others to secure *our* national regeneration. We shall betray no weakness or cowardice if we are bent upon rectifying our own faults; on the contrary that would speak highly of our frankness and sincerity.

In conclusion the able writer draws our attention to the report of the last Census and asks in all seriousness if we cannot do anything to improve our deplorable social condition? Mr. Sastri regrets to say that we are sadly wanting in courage to interfere with social evil but are sufficiently able to make a name for us by crying hoarse on the platform. This he considers to be the fourth evil of the present outburst of 'patriotic' enthusiasm.

SLAVERY IN INDIA

The *Englishman* of the 10th May contains a very interesting article dealing with the past history of slavery in India. It is well-known that when the West first touched the East, slavery was a recognised social condition in India. It had formed part of the web of Hindu life from the time that the caste system had been formed, with the Sudras as bondsmen to the remaining orders. When Muhammadan invasions distracted India, captives were compelled to embrace an alien faith and were relegated to slavery. And thus it was that when European nations came to trade in this land they found that there were several accepted modes by which a man became a slave:—he might be taken in battle; he might be bought for a price; he might be born of slave parents; he might liquidate his debt by bartering his freedom; he might form part of a wedding dowry; he might change owners as part and parcel of the land which he and his forefathers had tilled. As a rule Hindu slaves were treated with consideration, and, among the Muhamedans, kindness to them was enjoined by religion.

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When the East India Company effected a footing in the country it did not interfere with existing social customs, and accordingly did not prohibit slavery. In fact so essentially did slavery form part of the warp and woof of Hindu life that any attempt to destroy it would have produced social disruption. More than this, the East India Company took over the reins of Government from Muhammadan dynasties which had legalised bondage, and in adopting the Moslem laws bodily for the administration of justice, the enactments relating to slavery were perpetuated. But more specifically, when Warren Hastings was at the head of Indian affairs, it was made a law that every dacoit on conviction was to be executed at his own village, and "that the family of the criminal shall become the slaves of the State, and shall be disposed of for the general convenience and benefit of the people according to the discretion of the Government." Further, as a means of avoiding the expense of maintaining gaols, it was ordered that persons convicted of crime, instead of being incarcerated, should be sold for slaves or transported as such to the Company's establishment at Fort Marlborough in Sumatra. Thus slavery existed under sanction of the East India Company, and slaves were regularly registered in the court house, where a duty of Rs. 4 and annas 4 a head was paid. Indeed, there was a time when the Company itself went in for the purchase of slaves.

In Bihar numbers of boys of tender age were bought by dealers, and mutilated so as to grow up as suitable servants for the harems of rich lords, and little girls were disposed of to evil characters to be brought up to lives of shame and vice. But slavery did not flourish to a greater extent in the country than in towns. Although in Europe a popular revulsion against slavery had begun to show itself in the latter part of the eighteenth century, there was no antipathy against it in India: in fact all classes of people regarded it as one of the normal conditions of peasant and domestic life.

With regard to the existence of slavery in Calcutta the writer of the article under notice cites the following statement made in 1785 by Sir William Jones, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Calcutta: "Hardly a man or woman exists in a corner of this populous town, who hath not at least one slave child either purchased at a trifling price, or saved for a life that seldom fails of being miserable. Many of you, I presume, have seen large boats filled with such children, coming down the river for open sale at Calcutta. Nor can you be ignorant that most of them were stolen from their parents, or bought perhaps for measure of rice in time of scarcity."

SLAVERY IN INDIA

In corroboration of the above account, the writer reproduces the following correspondence published in the *Bengal Chronicle* of February, 1831 : "That slavery exists in Calcutta is a fact too notorious to be denied. I am led to this remark from a thorough knowledge of its actual existence, as also from being a frequent eye-witness of the extreme cruelty practised towards the generality of that neglected class, who are kept in such an abject state of blind ignorance and dread of the police, that although suffering the greatest of hardships, hardly one would have the courage to enter the precincts of justice. Slaves of both sexes are generally purchased from indigent Hindoo or Hindoostani mothers ; a young girl will bring according to her age and usefulness, from 16 up to 100 rupees. This traffic is generally resorted to by Catholics to supply themselves with domestics ; and, I am sorry to say, a few who profess the Protestant Faith, though only in outward appearance, are also concerned in this inhuman traffic. Slave girls, for the slightest offence, and on the most trivial occasions, receive corporal punishment, entirely at the will and pleasure of their owners ; and I know many instances where punishment has been inflicted in a greater degree and by a more severe method than the criminal receives, who has offended the laws of his country. The common method of punishment resorted to is to tie them up, strip them to the skin (even grown up girls of the age of sixteen and seventeen are not exempted) before the male domestics, and flog them with a rattan in the most cruel and barbarous manner ; another method of punishment, which I conceive to be proportionate with the first, is taking them to the well, in one of December's coldest mornings, and having a number of *kulsies* of water thrown over them in quick succession, so as hardly to give the sufferer time to draw breath."

The writer next cites an instance of the fatal ill-treatment accorded to a slave girl named Nasibun by her mistress, Maria Davis in 1828. The law courts, it is said, almost always protected slaves from the cruelty of their inhuman owners, at the same time taking cognisance of their offences against their masters. Runaway slaves were apprehended and restored to their lawful possessors.

But under the rule of a free nation, observes the writer, slavery could not for ever survive, although it died hard. The exportation of slaves was prohibited by a Proclamation in 1789, and their importation from Arabia and other lands in 1811. The sale by Government officials of agrarian slaves for the recovery of revenue was put a stop to in 1819. But in Bengal the abolition of slavery was held to be ineffective, because of its sanction by Muhammadan law—the

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law which prevailed in British India. Hence, although the courts of justice ceased to sell slaves for the recovery of revenue, private masters continued to buy and sell them. Tacit sanction to slavery was given by the Charter of 1833, for, although it did not authorise or prohibit traffic in slaves, it recognised their existence.

The fact is that the British Government had in 1831 emancipated all the slaves of the Crown, and that the administration of Earl Grey had in 1833 abolished slavery with effect from the 1st August, 1845. But in order that a vast multitude of slaves might not suddenly be let loose upon the country, it was enacted that domestic slaves were to be apprenticed to their late masters for four years, and agrarian slaves for six years ; but that all children under six years of age should be immediately liberated. And so slavery was driven out of the land, and the cause of humanity at length triumphed.

It must not be supposed, observes the writer, that the lot of a slave was miserable without exception. Instances are on record of bondsmen and women receiving nothing but kindness, and of being treated with the consideration due to a member of a family. The wife of the Reverend Zachariah Kiernander, the founder of the Old Church in this city, had two slaves. They were bound to their mistress by the bonds of affection as well as of service. We sometimes come across Wills in which it is directed that the slaves of the testator were to be given a certain sum of money and freedom on his death. Among the Hindus it was the practice to feed and clothe slaves, to give them a present of money on the birth of each child, and to pay the marriage expenses of such of their slaves as contracted marriage. With the Mahomedans it was not unusual for a slave to be promoted to the seraglio, and to be allowed to establish herself as her master's favourite wife.

THE PARTITION OF BENGAL

Mr. J. D. Anderson, late of the Indian Civil Service, who was for some time Magistrate of Chittagong, strives to prove, which he has certainly failed to do, in the May number of *East and West*, that the agitation against the Partition of Bengal is short-sighted and selfish, and advises that it should be dropped with as little delay as possible, lest the agitators should give a handle to those who profess that the time has not yet come for the complete Indianising of the administration. According to Mr. Anderson, the Congress has given the agitation its support because it believes

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that some real grievance, some real sense of wrong, must underlie so widespread and so outspoken a disapproval as has been manifested. But the writer, nevertheless, thinks that the opposition to Partition is due to a misconception of its history and its objects. The writer begs his readers to rid their minds of preconceived prejudices and give him an impartial hearing. He seems also to think that the more thoughtful and the candid among his readers would no doubt admit that some of the most cogent argument on behalf of the partition have not been set forth before. In the first place, says Mr. Anderson, the province of Assam, with its five millions of inhabitants (half of them Bengalees) has been raised by the so-called Partition, from the status of a non-regulation province to the much higher constitutional position of a Lieutenant-Governorship with a Legislative Council of its own. But the improvement in the constitutional status of Assam is not the only benefit which the province derives from the Partition. The writer then gives an account of the fortunes of Assam under the British crown and says that the districts of Sylhet and Cachar, which were severed from the Dacca division and added to Assam, materially prospered after the transfer. Even more important results followed the first partition, says Mr. Anderson, in the political sense. The frontier has been reduced to order, so that it has been possible to reduce the garrison of the province to such a minimum as would have seemed foolhardy fifty years ago. But there were evidently some drawbacks in the administration ; the province being a non-regulated one belonged to an obsolete type and was not progressive. The province was, moreover, manifestly too small. It was impossible to provide for a separate provincial cadre out of so small a number of posts as was required for Assam. The opening of the Assam Bengal Railway, which made Chittagong the port of the Assam tea gardens, rendered it inevitable that the Chittagong division, if not that of Dacca, would have to be added to Assam. Chittagong was too small to justify the creation of a Lieutenant-Governorship and a Council for Assam by its addition. Long before Lord Curzon came out to India, it had become apparent that either Assam must be restored to Bengal, or else a larger area than the Chittagong division must be added to Assam. Thus it is claimed that the Partition was not a personal or individual work of Lord Curzon, intended, in some mysterious way, to annoy the Bengalee race. The expansion of Assam had been a settled policy before Lord Elgin left India. Nor can it be said that Lord Curzon adopted this policy with any indecent haste as the Partition was

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finally carried out at the very end of his *reign*. That the opposition to the Partition is largely due to misunderstanding, the writer strives to prove by his personal experience as Collector of Chittagong. The objections raised by an influential deputation of Europeans and Indians against the inclusion of Chittagong in Assam are, according to him, flimsy.

* The writer then deals with the present objections against the Partition, the first of which is that the Partition is a division of the Bengalee race, and, as it has been said, a bar to the development and progress of the Bengalee language and literature. Against this objection, he mentions that few provinces are conterminous with linguistic or ethical areas and cites the instances of Ganjam and Delhi divisions in this connection. Administrative boundaries are simply arrangements for the more convenient disposal of administrative business. The writer appears to be mortified by the agitation against the Partition and thus gives vent to his feelings : 'Those of us who are interested in the political advancement of India as a whole have noticed the remarkable growth of a feeling of Indian patriotism which overleaps not merely the artificial boundaries of administrative division, but the ancient and natural lines between the races and languages of the Peninsula. Again, at a time when we are all anxious that every possible concession should be made to the political ambitions of the people, it is indeed discouraging to find that merely local prejudices and conservatism should ignore and even resent the fact that Assam has at last received a Legislative Council of its own.'

The alternative scheme of Partition is next examined. He is loath to say anything against the scheme which has been submitted to the Secretary of State for India by Sir Henry Cotton. The argument in favour of this Partition is a sentimental one ; and if carried to its logical conclusion, would, according to him, mean the creation of new provinces all over India. The separation of Behar from Bengal was duly considered and deliberately rejected. No reasons are stated for this refusal, but the readers are referred to the official papers. Mr. Anderson regrets that the second Partition was not effected during the time of Lord Elgin, because it would then have not met with so persistent an opposition as, he thinks, is due to Lord Curzon's unpopularity with the Bengalees.

The writer then deals with the vested interests of Calcutta, of the loss to owners of house property consequent upon the removal of officials to Dacca, and of the possible competition of Chittagong and Narayangunj with the port of Calcutta. He next exhorts the Congress

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and others interested in the matter to look to the Partition question in a statesmanlike manner. If the effects of the Partition prove to be beneficial, as he hopes they will be, the continuance of the agitation will merely furnish a reason for over-ruling other and perhaps better-grounded manifestations of public feeling.

In a postscript added to the article under notice, Mr. Anderson takes exception to Mr. Morley's statement in the House of Commons that no change was ever carried with so little tact or sympathy. He supports, in his own peculiar way, the fact of Lord Curzon's not consulting the people of Rajshahi as to the cession of their division. He concludes with a vision of bright future for the port of Chittagong and the New Province before his eyes.

We are bound to say that Mr. Anderson, after all, advances no argument in favour of the partition which is altogether *new* or which has not been successfully *refuted* already. It is, on the other hand, a matter of great surprise that he should be so grossly ignorant of Bengal affairs as to declare that the carrying out of this administrative measure exhibited no 'indecent haste' or want of tact or sympathy. None, indeed, so blind as he who will *not* see.

REVIEW OF LEADING INDIAN REVIEWS

East and West

East and West for April is a dull number so far as Indian matters are concerned. Only three papers are related to India, two of which are subsequent instalments of serial articles and the third is purely personal. Mr. James Stanley Little leads off with an article entitled *South Africa In The Stew Pan*. The second article on *Father Gapon* is followed by a further instalment of *Nur Jahan*. Mr. F. Blake Crofton has an article entitled *From West to East*. Raja Prithipal Singh contributes an able biographical sketch of *Raja Sir T. Madhava Rao, K.C.S.I.* who 'first saw the light of day in 1828' and 'shuffled off his mortal coil' in 1891 and who had 'not only brought sunshine to the regions covered with perpetual darkness in India' but 'also dazzled the west by the light of his learning.' Mons. Ernest Tissot's account of *Emilie De Morsier* is to be continued. Prof. J. Nelson Fraser, M.A., writes on *Goethe's Religion*. The Rev. Father Noti's account of *Joseph Tieffentaller* is concluded in this number. The *Editorial Note* deals with the views of Sir Frederick Lely on the burning questions of Indian politics of the day. A few notes on *Current Events* bring the number to a close.

The Calcutta Review

The current quarterly number of the above Review opens with a short poem entitled *A Farewell* by 'Eumolpos.' Count de Lesdain contributes a description of his *Journey from Peking to Shikim* through Gobi and Thibet in a paper which is to be continued. In the present instalment the writer has divided his description into three parts, viz. (1) From Peking to Koei-Hoa Tehang (2) The Ordos and (3) the buried cities of Alashan. Mr. R. P. Karkaria's paper on *Lieut. Col. Thomas Best Jervis (1796-1857) and his Manuscript Studies on the State of the Marhatta People and their History*, which was read before the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, is very interesting and deserves to be read with pleasure and profit by those who are interested in the History of the Marhattas. Next we are treated to Mr. J. J. Cotton's graphic account of *General Avitabile*—'Runjat Singh's great General, the

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iron-handed governor of Peshwar, the discipliner of those Sikh gunners, who all but broke the British squares at Chilianwallah, who befriended our avenging army on their passage to Afghanistan, who succoured our sick in the hour of their distress, who was daily wont to entertain a hundred of our officers, who at his retirement from the Punjab had an almost triumphal march through our territories to Calcutta, and in London was specially received by the unapproachable Iron Duke himself.' This article is also to be continued. The next article entitled *Macaulay in Lower Bengal* is from the pen of Mr. S. C. Sanial, M.A. In this serial article the writer attempts at reconstructing Macaulay's life in Lower Bengal with the materials gathered together after years of laborious research in the old libraries of Calcutta from among a *debris* of periodical literature. The most noticeable feature in the article is that it abounds with quotations from Macaulay's letters and speeches. *The British Exploitation of Indian Education* is perhaps the most valuable contribution to the number under notice which closes with some *Critical Notices* including that of Mr. Buckland's *Dictionary of Indian Biography*.

The Hindustan Review

The place of honour in the April number of this Review has most appropriately been assigned to an excellent article entitled *Imperialism and its Dangers to India* by an 'Indian Pessimist,' who is strongly of opinion that 'a sudden rejuvenation such as has come over Japan only will save India.' According to the writer 'India's future consists of two alternatives, either complete autonomy under which she will pursue her own evolution on the basis of her past career or she will perish.' Mr. B. V. Mehta has an article on the *Conflicts Between Asia and Europe in the Past* which is followed by Mr. A. P. Smith's short account of *Social Reform In South India*. Mr. Kesri Naraian Chand dwells upon the *Effect of Religious Enthusiasm on Hindu Society* and concludes that we want a change 'from theoretical reflections to practical insight and from fatalistic contentment to confident self-help.' Mr. M. V. Kibe, M.A., has an article entitled *Swadeshi In England* which is followed by Mr. C. Tirumalayya Naidu's lucid exposition of *Music And Liberal Education*. Mr. M. Ghose's *Ode* is followed by a further instalment of *Jyotish Vadunga* which we noticed in our last. This brings the number of original articles to a close.

NOTES & NEWS

GENERAL

In the year 1904 the total money devoted to works of public utility by private individuals in Bengal amounted to Rs. 7,11,939.

* *

To sell liquor to persons of either sex below 14 has been declared penal under Akbari license rules by the Madras Government. The rule ought to be adopted everywhere.

* *

An Indian Fair is to be held in Edinburgh in the last week of November next. The object of the Fair is the raising of a sum of £5,000 to provide a habitation for Indian students attending the Edinburgh University and Colleges.

* *

The Lyon Circular of November 8 last prohibiting in Eastern Bengal the cry of *Bande Mataram* and procession through public streets has this month been withdrawn at the instance of the Secretary of State for India.

* *

According to Shri Venkateshwar of Bombay, the 'unfortunates' of Nasik formed themselves into a society of about 70 members and pledged to lead a temperate life. They promised to have nothing to do with people who drank wine.

* *

The Local Government has issued instructions to District Boards in the United Provinces for the introduction of the treatment of snake-bite with permanganate of potash and Sir Lauder Brunton's lancet, as it has been tried with encouraging results in some places.

* *

The Abridged Dictionary of Indian Economic Products on which Sir George Watt has been engaged at Kew during the past three years will, it is expected, be published in 1907. It will treat exhaustively of all the more important products and bring up to date the information contained in the earlier Dictionary published in 1893.

NOTES & NEWS

The 14th of May will be remembered as a red-letter day among the subjects of His Highness the Nizam. By an order issued through his Treasury, the rate of exchange was fixed at 96 dubs for the rupee, which had the immediate effect of sending on strike hundreds of money-changers, who, for generations, have carried on a very lucrative business, and who plead that any possibility of profit is now wrested from them.

* *

The total value of the opium exported from India in 1904-1905 was 7,082,2951, of which opium to the value of 5,541,0401, was consigned direct to ports in China. The net opium revenue of India in the same year amounted to 4,050,9991. This includes revenue from opium consumed in India or consigned to other than ports in China. That portion of the revenue which is derived from opium exported direct to China may be estimated at about 3,000,0001.

* *

The Tangail Social Gathering is an organised Association of graduates and under-graduates belonging to that important sub-division in Eastern Bengal. The Gathering has been doing useful work ever since its foundation in 1900, and it is a pleasure to note that in their seventh sitting, which met under the presidency of the Hon'ble Mr. J. Chaudhuri on the 20th instant, they passed a resolution as follows: 'That in view of the increasing number of young men going to foreign countries for education, this Gathering requests the leaders of the Hindu Community to consider the advisability of re-admitting them into their society.'

* *

It is stated in the English papers that information has been received at the India Office to the effect that the scheme for the development of Technical Education among the people of India has now assumed practical shape, and that, under the auspices of the Viceroy, a Council is being formed to superintend the carrying out of it in all its details. It is added that at a private meeting which was attended by the Prince of Wales before leaving India, very liberal promises of contributions were received from various Native princes, and it is understood that this will be supplemented by a substantial Government grant.

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A frontier correspondent writes that the advent of Lord Minto on the frontier almost synchronised with the cutting of the telegraph line between Jamrud and Landikotal by some notorious budmashes. The wire was, however, instantly repaired and no inconvenience was caused. This wire-cutting seems to have become a fashionable amusement with certain budmashes in the Yusafzai Illaqa ; also the telegraph line which connects the head of the Swat River Canal with Mardan has been cut several times during a short period. Ludicrous as it appears, it is a fact that the man who cuts the wire always leaves a paper pasted on the posts stating his name, etc., and warning the authorities of his future attacks. The police have not been able to trace the offenders so far.

* * *

Over practically the whole of India, the heat was greater than is usual for early May and on the 7th a maximum temperature of 118 degrees was reported from Jacobabad, 116 degrees from Nagpur, 115 degrees from Chanda, and 114 degrees from Akola, Amraoti, and Jhansi. Relatively to normal, the heat is greatest in Bengal, where the day temperature was 15 degrees higher than usual at Berhampore, 14 degrees at Burdwan, and 12 degrees at Bogra.

* * *

"Khus-Khus" addresses the following inquiry to *The Englishman* : Sir—In *The Calcutta Chronicle* of the 1st May, 1792, the following paragraph appears.—"As an instance of the extreme heat which at present prevails in Calcutta we need only mention that the thermometer was yesterday so high as 96 in the shade. Some gentlemen in company, as a matter of curiosity as well as astonishment, conveyed the thermometer to a situation where it had the full force of the sun, when it was so high as 139 ! An instance seldom heard of."

"In looking up the readings of the past four years I have obtained the following results :—

Year	Date	Max in Shade	Max in Sun.
1903	30th Apl.	107-4	—
1904	1st May	960	—
1905	30th Apl.	924	150
1906	1st May	100-4	147-2
	Average	99-05	148-6

"Whereas in 1792 reading at 96 and 139 were "seldom heard of" at this time of the year, higher readings seem pretty common now. Is Calcutta getting hotter ?"

There were some 89 vernacular newspapers in existence in Bengal and Assam during 1904-1905. It is a large number when the fact is taken into consideration that the vast majority of the people of the Lower Provinces are illiterate and little given to concerning themselves with daily affairs as set forth in the press. Considering how limited is the constituency to which the native paper appeals it is a matter for surprise that so many as 89 are able to obtain a circulation sufficient to keep them in existence. Considering again how very small the circulation of most of them is, it is a still greater matter for surprise that they are able to survive at all. The careers of many of them, it is true, are brief. In one year recently ten ceased to exist while no fewer than 25 new ones were started. Of the 89 in existence last year 68 were weeklies, nine fortnightlies, five monthlies, one quarterly and six dailies. The large proportion of weeklies and small number of dailies are accounted for to some extent by the fact that the former appeal to mofussil subscribers, who, unable or unwilling to bear the expense of contributing to a daily newspaper, welcome the weekly its with summary of all the most important items from the daily press.

* * *

By far the largest proportion of the vernacular newspapers are published in Bengali. It is interesting, however, to find that other often unexpected languages lay claim to representatives of their own. There is one newspaper published in Assamese—another in Persian, another in Nagri and another in Urdu. One is published in Hindi and English, and another in Urdu and English, while two are published in English and Bengali. Hindi claims six for itself while Uriya is represented by three. The vernacular press thus appeals to almost all classes in Bengal. The circulation, however, even of the largest of them appears small after the enormous figures quoted as their output by some of the more important newspapers in England. Some of the most widely-circulated of the vernacular newspapers in Bengal are the weekly "Hitabadi," the "Basumati," the "Bangabasi," the "Sanjivani," the "Hindi Bangavasi" and the "Hitavarta." Yet the reported number of subscribers of even the most widely circulated of them is less than twenty-thousand, while other lesser known ones can only boast a circulation of some two hundred. Yet many, even among those with the smallest circulation, appear to prosper. Advertisements here as elsewhere doubtless form an important source of income, many of the smaller

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journals, content with a minimum of news, sacrificing to them by far the larger portion of their space.



I understand, writes the London correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*, that the India Office has vetoed the proposal to survey the Upper Brahmaputra river, or, to speak more exactly, the unknown course of the Brahmaputra from the point where it leaves the Thibetan highlands to its junction with the great river of the Assam Valley. This seems a pity. Everything which tends to throw light on the configuration, the geology, and the hydrography of the Himalayas is of economic importance to India, and in the past Viceroys like Lord Mayo, Lord Dufferin, and Lord Curzon have shown great enlightenment in furthering the exploration and opening up of the lesser-known tracts of the Indian borderlands. And the extraordinary improvement in the relations between India and Thibet is a guarantee that travellers are now free of the obstructions and enmity formerly displayed against them. I hope that Mr. Morley's decision is not final. It would be a pity, if he were to yield too easily to the inclinations of the present permanent advisers of the Indian Department.

In the old days the Geographical Department of the India Office, under the influence especially of Sir Henry Rawlinson, Sir Henry Yule, and Sir Clements Markham, was a most efficient and useful branch. The amount of good work it turned out was something astonishing. Of late years geography has been systematically discouraged, the Department has been abolished, and even in India, the survey budget has been so starved that the recent Committee report has had to recommend a large development of the "personnel," with a view to good and reliable maps of the country being turned out. I cannot help thinking it would be better for the memorial as to the exploration of the Brahmaputra, submitted by the Royal Scottish Geographical Society, to be forwarded to the Government of India for their consideration. At all events, it would obtain expert consideration from local officers on the spot, which it cannot obtain in the India Office.

INDUSTRIAL & COMMERCIAL

A railway 22 $\frac{1}{2}$ miles in length is now under construction from a point near Jamrud on the existing line to a point on the Cabul River.

NOTES & NEWS

The final arrangements for the purchase of the Aalka-Simla Railway by the Government of India for £300,000 are now being made by the Secretary of State.

* *

With a view to promote the production of lighter and more refined forms of salt in the Madras Presidency, the authorities are causing experiments to be made to see whether lighter salt cannot be produced in the Presidency consistently with the safety of the revenue.

* *

The Madras Government have decided to establish the first Government Handloom Factory at Salem, an important weaving industry centre in the Presidency. On the success of the Salem Factory will depend the starting of similar factories at other selected centres.

* *

Timber merchants on this side of the country may be interested to learn that the authorities in the Central Provinces are disposing of timber-growth of about 2,200 acres of Reserved Forest in the Taldhi Range in the Chanda District. The timber-growth is considered to be of much value and is situated within 4 miles of a pucca road and about 60 miles from Nagpur and 45 miles from Bandara.

* *

There exists a tree, practically indigenous, at present growing in various parts of India, which produces a cotton infinitely superior both in classification and staple to American cotton, and which in classification alone cannot be equalled in Egypt. It is an astonishing fact that the value of this tree's product has not up to this time been discovered by any one in the cotton trade, notwithstanding the fact that the tree has been known to exist since the time of the Mutiny, and probably for hundreds of years previously. The only uses to which the cotton it produces has so far been put are the manufacture of wicks for lamps in Hindu temples and the stuffing of beds and pillows.

* *

With regard to the cultivation of Egyptian cotton in Sind the Secretary of State has suggested that as much land as possible should be placed under the crop, and that the Director of Agriculture in Bombay should place himself in communication with the

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British Cotton-Growing Association. The India Office has at the same time guaranteed that all Egyptian cotton grown in Sind and still remaining unsold will be purchased in England if shipped there. The Bombay Government have accordingly informed their Director of Agriculture that funds will be placed at his disposal to assist the Association in obtaining cotton still on offer, and to make arrangements for the satisfactory disposal of the coming season's crop. It is not to be understood by this that the Government desire to intervene as buyers; their desire is that the growers of Egyptian cotton in Sind should be put into proper communication with the best market, which for the present seems likely to be Lancashire.

* *

On May 1 last, Mr. Charles Schwann asked the Secretary of State for India: Whether his attention has been drawn to the resolution passed at the second All-India Temperance Conference at Benares on December 26 last, complaining of the rapid increase of the Government revenue from intoxicating liquors and drugs, which has risen from 1,250,000*l.* in 1780 to 4,076,681*l.* in 1901-1902, i.e. had quadrupled within 30 years; and whether he will do all in his power to gradually substitute other forms of revenue, and cause the Government of India to seriously contemplate the gradual abandonment of the actual system of farming out the sale of such commodities by the Government, and the more immediate reduction of such revenue by restricting the number of liquor and opium shops and dens, and by discountenancing the licensing of such places near factories and schools and at religious and civil fairs, and by giving weight to the memorials and protest of the inhabitants of localities in India averse to the drinking and drug-taking habits among its peoples of nearly every race and religion. Replying to the above, Mr. Morley said:—The revenue from the excise of liquors and drugs was 2,374,000*l.* in 1870-1871 and 4,076,000*l.* in 1901-1902 in sterling at the exchange rate of each date. As no accurate statistics of consumption exist, it is impossible to say to what extent the increase in revenue represents increased consumption. The population of British India has increased by 25 per cent., the duties on liquors and drugs have been frequently increased, and the Excise administration has been made much more efficient against smuggling. The settled policy of the Government of India, as stated by them, is to minimise temptation, and in that policy they are pledged to subordinate all considerations of revenue. A committee is now

sitting in India to consider the administration of Excise in respect of intoxicating liquors and to promote reforms. Opium and other drugs have been similarly examined, and I understand that various measures have been taken to suppress abuses.

* * *

The following is a review of the prospects of the Indian Mill Industry. Since January last there have been great changes in this trade. Prices have given way in both cloth and yarn, and stocks have been accumulating locally as well as in Far Eastern markets. *It is now computed that there are about 20,000 bales in Hongkong and Shanghai, sold and unsold.* Exchange keeps firm and is higher than when we reported in January last, Hongkong exchanges being Rs. 155 per 100 dollars and Shanghai Rs. 216 per 100 taels. On the other hand cotton to-day stands at Rs. 50 per candy higher than it did this time last year, while there has been a fall in yarn since January of about half an anna per pound in 10s. and 12s. of which large stocks have accumulated in Hongkong and Shanghai. There is, however, a steady demand for 20s. in which the fall is comparatively small, and at present it does not exceed quarter of an anna per pound from the highest point touched. Still taking the low prices of yarn and high price of cotton, there is a margin of from half to three-quarters of an anna per pound to-day. As regards cloth the position is not so bad, but it cannot be said that the market to-day is in as healthy a condition as it was in January. There has been a slight fall in prices, say about a quarter of an anna per pound, but stocks have accumulated with mills as well as with dealers and they are little difficult of sale. This is chiefly owing to famine conditions prevailing in some parts of the presidency, and it is hoped that with advent of good monsoon business will be more active. There is no disposition on the part of the mills to lower prices and force sales, but in the near future large additions which have taken place in the weaving capacity of the Bombay mills must have some effect on production and prices. A satisfactory feature of the cloth trade is that, quality for quality, it practically commands now the same price as Lancashire goods; and the Swadeshi movement, which is in full force in several parts of India is likely to help those who are interested in the manufacture of cloth. Local mills have taken to producing a better class of goods and where they have found it impossible to produce such goods out of indigenous cotton, they have taken to importing Lancashire yarn in larger quantities than ever. Profits, of course, are not so large as they were some

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time back. Stock of cloth is estimated at about 40,000 bales. There is now a great demand for staple cotton for weaving mills, and cotton stands to-day Rs. 100 per candy higher than it did this time last year for purposes of weaving. It will be impossible to maintain a high range of profits for a very long time. New mills are being extended and nearly 12,000 looms are being extended and these factors must have some effect on prices. Taking everything into consideration, however, it is considered that position is healthy and may be relied upon to continue in this state for a long time to come; there is only one main drawback and it is calculated no doubt to upset many an estimate and this is the labour question. Things appear on the surface smooth enough, but one does not know when there will be an upheaval.



The Government of India has just issued a publication dealing with the sea-borne trade of British India for the calendar year 1905. It is in comparison with the trade of the two previous year, 1903 and 1904, and, being for the calendar year, is based on the same lines as are similar publications issued by both the United Kingdom and by the United States. It may also be mentioned that the accounts are on a sterling basis, the rupee being taken at the rate of Rs. 15 to the pound. The accounts are not so satisfactory as they were in the previous year, and with the exception of an increase in the value of imports of merchandise, shew a decline in comparison with the year 1904. The total trade for the year is given as over £207¾ millions, a decrease of 5.3 per cent: this is inclusive of Government stores and treasure. Imports of merchandise were valued at £72-6-10 millions, an increase of 6 per cent, but owing to a marked falling off in the value of treasure received, the total value of imports was less by 5.6 per cent.: exports of merchandise attained a value of £105 millions, or a decline of 2.1 per cent.; treasure also was exported to a smaller extent and, as a result, the total value was lower by 5 per cent. Imports of the precious metals fell by 32.2 per cent., and exports by 27.9 per cent. No gold was received by the State but on private account over £12 millions were landed, a decrease of over 3-1-3 millions: of silver the State received £3¾ millions, and on private account nearly 4½ millions were imported, the total falling off being £6¼ millions. Gold was exported to the value of £9 millions, of which 6½ millions was sent away by Government: of silver only £723,174 was shipped nearly all of

which was on private account, and represents a decline in value of over £3 millions.

Merchandise imported privately shews an increase in value of nearly £3 millions : the high prices ruling and the great demand, which continued throughout the year caused the value of cotton piece-goods to rise by nearly £2 millions. Most of the main headings give better results for the year, but there was a falling off under metals of over £1 million owing to smaller receipts of copper, iron, and tin : the decrease in mineral oils was heavy, and under both sugar and hardware with cutlery there was a smaller trade. The export trade was distinguished by violent fluctuations. Exports of cotton yarn rose by nearly £2¾ millions ; hides and skins owing to the general scarcity of leather and consequent great demand increased by £2½ millions ; the high level of prices and greater shipments caused the value of raw jute to increase by nearly the same amount, and jute manufactures rose by £1 million. But on the other hand crops of grain and seeds were seriously curtailed by the austere weather experienced early in the year : as a consequence wheat and wheat-flour fell in value by £3½ millions, and oilseeds were worse by £2½ millions : also the smaller exports of raw cotton resulted in a fall in value of £2¾ millions. Opium and indigo were both shipped on a smaller scale.

Turning to trade with the different divisions of the world it is strange to find that, the only Continent with which we did a smaller trade was that of Europe ; the decrease was 4.55 per cent. This is largely due to a smaller trade in mineral oil, to a contracted export business in wheat and seeds, and to the high price of jute restricting the demand. With the United Kingdom there was a slight improvement, the total value rising by 56 per cent. But with Germany there was a distinct set back and the value of trade in 1905 receded by as much as 8.46 per cent. Our trade with Australasia was better by 19.42 per cent. : with America by 15.14 per cent. : and with Asia by 10.81 per cent. Trade with Japan increased in value by as much as 26.02 per cent. : with China by 17.94 per cent. : and with the United States by 14.69 per cent. (*The Englishman*)

N.B. The Summaries of the speeches delivered on the Budget Debate in the Viceregal Council on March 28 last have been crowded out from our last as well as the present number. They will, however, be published in the next number of The Indian World. Ed. I. W.

SOME NOTABLE VIEWS OF THE MONTH

THE HON. MR. GOKHALE ON 'OUR DUTY'

At the last Annual Dinner of the London Indian Society held at the Criterion Restaurant on May 5 last, the Hon. Mr. G. K. Gokhale made the following observations on our duty at the present moment :—

Though I resent as much as any man can what has taken place in Barisal, I am not sure that I am altogether sorry that events there have taken this turn. We have got to realise that the few liberties that we enjoy at present have really not been won by us, but that they have been the free and spontaneous gift of a succession of large-hearted and far-sighted statesmen, whose places, in some cases at any rate, have now been taken by unworthy successors. They have not come to us hallowed by suffering and sanctified by sacrifice and until they have been re-won by us on this basis, they must continue, as at present, dependent upon the sweet will of autocratic rulers. Another thing we have got to realise is that we are now only at the beginning of the real struggle, and as day succeeds day the character of this struggle will grow more and more, and not less, arduous.

How soon or how late this ideal of self-government on Colonial lines is realised depends really upon ourselves. Our numbers are so great that no power on earth can bar our way for any length of time, if only we are true to ourselves. But much work has to be done, and enormous sacrifices will have to be made before any real advance in this direction is secured. What we need to-day above everything else is a band of workers who will give up their all for the country, and spread the gospel of unity and patriotism far and wide throughout the land. The curse of a tendency towards disintegration which still rests upon us must be lifted. Our love of the Motherland must grow so fervent and passionate that it will turn all sacrifice for India into a pure joy. And the workers must maintain resolute discipline in their ranks. What the situation requires is not new ideas, but sacrifice—not talk, but work—work early and work late—work when it is dawn and work when it is dark. We are entitled to do such work for our country, and it is entirely in accord with the declared object of British rule in India. We are anxious to do this work without disturbing the harmonious relations that have hitherto existed between Indians and Englishmen, and if those who wield power at present in our country choose to turn their backs on solemn promises given in the name of England, and thereby make a continuance of harmonious relations impossible, the responsibility for disturbing these relations will lie on them and not on us. I do not wish to detain you longer. No one knows what the future has in store for us, or how much fulfilment our own eyes may witness before they close. But one thing is quite clear. There is nothing in this world of ours which may not be achieved by men whose lives are inspired by patriotism,

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sustained by faith, and ennobled by sacrifice. India expects that such men shall now come forward in sufficient numbers in her service. If this expectation is realised, all else will be well.

THE TIMES OF INDIA ON THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

Our main point, however, is that Government should take the public more fully and more frequently into their confidence regarding questions which directly effect them. Very often a great agitation arises regarding some act or supposed intention of Government. We are not speaking in this respect of any particular Administration ; the point holds good all over India. The agitation may be on a matter in which Government is absolutely in the right and which might be allayed by a word ; but that word is often not spoken until it is too late effectually to assuage the irritation aroused. One point suggested by the articles of the *Times*' correspondent may be noted. He remarks of the present political tendencies in India that they are mainly destructive in their tendencies and he urges the intellectual minds of India to turn their attention towards economic progress and the development of great industries. The advice is well meant but it has to be recognised that it has become impossible of realisation ; and for good or for evil, it behoves us to look the fact squarely in the face. If we ignore it, we solemnly deceive ourselves. To urge the youth of India not to crave solely for Government employment, but to seek their fortunes in industrial enterprises, is wise and right ; to urge the men of wealth in India not to lock up their scores of gold, but to devote them to developing the resources of the country is wise and right ; but though these desirable ends may in time be attained, we must not forget that side by side with them there must continue to grow that desire for participation in political influence which has become so marked in India during the last decade. It is an inevitable outcome of the system of Western education we have ourselves created. If we instil into hundreds of thousands of the young men of India the vivifying principles of Western thought we cannot by persuasive speeches dissuade them from applying those principles to themselves. We do not for a moment suggest that such aspirations are capable of realisation even in a limited degree in our time, or that developments along the lines asked for are even remotely possible ; all we say is that there is grave danger in merely scoffing at such tendencies, in flouting them, in treating them with silent contempt. To remain silent about these questions is to follow the policy of the ostrich that buries its head in the sands ; that way trouble lies. Such difficulties as are alleged to exist must be faced and discussed in the open with frankness and with sympathy and with at least an effort at understanding. Endeavour to direct these tendencies into sounder, less destructive, and more feasible channels ; even combat them, if you will ; but do not seek to ignore them, or take refuge in a policy of mere repression.

DIARY

FOR THE MONTH OF APRIL

1906

Date

1. H. E. Lord Minto pays a visit to Lucknow.
2. An Engineering College for the Punjab is settled.
3. H. E. Lord Minto visits the Moghul Fort at Agra.
4. Mr. Morley declines to make an exception to the general rule regarding privilege leave in favour of Indian officers in remote stations.
5. Viceregal visit to Ajmir.
6. The Presidency Budget was discussed in the Madras Legislative Council.
7. Budget Debate in the Bengal Legislative Council.
10. Two land notifications of great importance relating to the Famine Cess and Village Officer's Cess are published in the *Punjab Gazette*.
14. Some of the delegates of the Bengal Provincial Conference which opened at Barisal under the presidency of Mr. A. Rasul were wantonly assaulted by the Barisal Police and Mr. Surendranath Bannerjea was arrested and fined for leading the escort of the President.
15. The Barisal Conference is dispersed under orders of Mr. Magistrate Emerson.
16. The Lieutenant-Governor of Burma held a Durbar at Mojok.
19. H. E. Lord Minto arrives at Simla.
20. Serious loss of cattle due to fodder famine is reported from Central India.
23. On the motion of Sir P. M. Mehta it was resolved by the Bombay Corporation to revert to the local sun-time and give up the Standard.
24. Mr. Morley, in reply to a question, said he was unable to discover that any special feeling whatever had been created in the Indian Army by the scheme of Lord Kitchener, whatever that might signify. Lord Minto had assured him, upon the basis of reports wholly independent of Lord Kitchener, that the spirit of the Native Army was excellent, and there was no ground for any alarmist feeling about unrest in the Army.
26. A destructive fire broke out at Ahmedabad.

Reflections on Men and Things

By the Editor

Speaking at the Guildhall on May 19th last, H. R. H. the Prince of Wales is reported to have said that he "realised **'SYMPATHY'** the patience, simplicity of life, loyal devotion and religious spirit of the Indian people, and could not help thinking from all he had seen and heard that the task of governing India would be made easier if they infused therein a wider element of sympathy and he ventured to predict there would be an over-abundant and genuine response to such sympathy." There is a ring of sincerity in this pronouncement which leaves no doubt about the real *intention* of the royal speaker.

But royalty in England is a mere cipher, and the speech in question will be recorded in Indian history as a pious wish on the part of an enthusiastic and impressionable Prince to do justice to India just as the Royal Proclamation of 1858 recorded the good wishes of the sovereign of that time towards the people of this country.

Queen Victoria's Proclamation has taken a rather pretty long time in being reduced to a dead letter but Prince George's message of sympathy was twisted and stultified then and there by the ready wit of Mr. John Morley.

Replying to the Prince, Mr. Morley said that "sympathy was the keynote of our relations with India and the secret of our power. The accord between the Secretary of State and the Viceroy was never more complete than now."

Evidently Mr. Morley applies here his dialectic skill with great effect, and uses the word 'sympathy' in its narrow sense of *standing by the men on the spot*—a sympathy between the two ends of the wire. In any other interpretation of the word, Mr. Morley's allusion to being in perfect accord with Lord Minto would have not only been amiss but impertinent.

Both the Secretary of State for India and the Prince of Wales use the word 'sympathy' and admit the necessity of a wider element of it in the governing of India,—but how *wide apart* do they stand?

Sympathy, like liberty, appears to be a very vague word, and under cover of it what crimes are not being committed daily amongst us. Lord Curzon began his administration of India with 'sympathy and

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courage,' and these he kept to be his watchwords till the moment he left the shores of India. All these years Lord Curzon ruled India with 'sympathy and courage,' but what a sympathy and courage !

It were better for India, and perhaps for England too, if we had cleared ourselves of all cant and knew what 'sympathy' really meant. Bentham, the great English jurist, defined this blessed word in the following way :—

" In a good sense it is styled benevolence ; and in certain cases, philanthropy, and, in a figurative way, brotherly love ; in others, humanity ; in others, charity ; in others, pity and compassion ; in others, mercy ; in others, gratitude ; in others, tenderness ; in others, patriotism ; in others, public spirit."

Let us see what of these we Indians want from England and her people. Evidently neither 'public spirit,' nor 'patriotism,' nor 'tenderness,' nor 'gratitude,' nor 'mercy,' nor 'charity,' nor 'pity,' nor 'compassion,' nor much of 'philanthropy.' We want and expect just what we are denied,—*benevolence, humanity, and brotherly love*. Will England ever care to give us these and extend to us the only sort of 'sympathy' that she owes us ? All others are mere rot besides the question of 'humanity' and 'brotherly love.'

All Oriental peoples are quick-witted to appreciate 'sympathy' and know it from all other principles of statecraft. Call it by whatever name you please, humanity or benevolence, it will always *tell*, and there is no mistaking the response it will evoke.

However one may confound the real issue, the Government of India have *now* got to be *humanised*. Autocracy and Despotism have had their days in India and must now go the way of the Pathan and Moghul rule. Awakened and New India will have none of either and are determined to make short work of them. We have had enough of promises and good wishes ; now we *want* a little practical proof of England's 'benevolence' towards India,—a little of 'brotherly love.'

Autocracy, bureaucracy or benevolent despotism cannot go hand in hand with a spirit of 'brotherly love.' You cannot treat with 'humanity' or 'brotherly love' a people whom you regard as political helots. Nor is 'a government of secrecy and irresponsibility,' as John Bright described the Government of India half-a-century ago and as the *Times of India* thinks it still continues to be, much conducive to the growth and development of mutual trust and confidence between the rulers and the ruled. If our rulers are really sincere and want to govern us with 'sympathy,' then they must withdraw the iron hand of the despot, treat us as human beings,

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and take us into their confidence in all matters concerning the well-being of the people of India.

Thus and thus only can a wider element of 'sympathy' be infused into the administration of India and not by spacious platitudes or by sweet promises. Bureaucracy has got to be put down, personal rule to be abolished, organic changes in the constitution of the government to be effected, education to be universally diffused, the aspirations of educated Indians to be frankly recognised, and the position of the masses has to be elevated from that of mere hewers of wood and drawers of water.

Englishmen must not *prate* of 'sympathy' if they are not *prepared* to accept the above programme and go the whole hog. We do not want a bitter pill to be coated with a varnish of 'sympathy.' That is a sort of trick which the Oriental mind has at last been able to see through and will no more be deceived by. India of Lord Minto's time is quite a different country from the India of Lord Ripon's days. A mighty change has come upon the spirit of her dreams during the last quarter of a century. India feels that political swaddling-clothes fit her no more and that she needs no longer to be tied down to the apron-strings of Anglo-India.

A population that feels dissatisfaction keenly and would not be comforted with jejune promises and half-hearted performances is a population that is looking up, that has begun to hope for a better day, and, above all, to feel its strength.

And remember the words of Professor Seeley : " If the feeling of a common nationality began to exist in India *only feebly*, if, without inspiring any active desire to drive out the foreigner, it only created a notion that it was *shameful to assist him in maintaining his dominion*, from that day almost our Empire would cease to exist."

We hope Mr. John Morley, the despotic philosopher, as he has recently been described by Mr. Herbert Paul in a Eighty Club Dinner, and his advisers at the India Office will take note of the warning uttered by the greatest English historical seer of the nineteenth century.

Synchronous with the pronouncement made by the Prince of Wales at the Guildhall, there has appeared both in England and India an outburst of generous sympathy with the aspirations of the educated Indians. Some of the most pronounced and avowed enemies of Indian progress, from the oracle of Printing House Square, have all on a sudden changed their venue and have begun to profess sympathy with

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the Indian National Congress and its programme and propaganda. The *London Times*, the *Times of India* and the *Pioneer* were all one time very bitter enemies of the Congress party, and none bitterer than they, but behold, they are all to-day singing in chorus the praise of the Congress as a 'potent political force' and of its supporters as 'leaders of the Indian people.' The men that began by cursing the Congress have remained to bless it.

How this change has come upon the Anglo-Indian Press of today? Why are they manifesting such an anxiety for the welfare of the educated classes all on a sudden? If the interest and concern now-a-days shown by the organs of Anglo-Indian opinion in the movements of the Indian people be real or sincere, what does it portend? The psychology of this friendly spirit and this sudden change of front needs a little explanation.

At the earlier stage of the Congress movement, an attempt was made by some truculent writers in the British and Anglo-Indian Press to stifle it by ridicule and banter. The *Saturday Review* once wrote of the Congress people as the "cheeky, self-complacent and half-educated Baboos" and on quite another occasion called them "foolish bletherons." The *National Observer* went so far as to say: "now, your Baboo is not a gentleman, nor a man, but a hound." The *Globe* described the Congress in 1889 as 'the Babu Caucus.' After ridicule and banter came the stage of misrepresentation. Lord Dufferin fell out with Mr. Hume and abused the Congress in language which is still fresh in the memory of all educated Indians. The Lieutenant-Governor of a province went so far to abuse his office as to write out an anti-Congress pamphlet for a Talukdar of Oudh. Poor Theodore Beck kept constantly harking against every thing of the Congress. Early in 1889, Sir Edward Watkin, in the course of an interview, informed a representative of the *Pall Mall Gazette* that the agitation of the Congress was carried on by the aid of Russian gold. In a speech delivered at Northampton on the 11th May, 1890, the late Mr. Goschen was reported to have said that the Congressmen in India had put themselves into communication with officers of the Irish-American League! The late Sir William Hunter and the late Sir Richard Garth gave all such hostile critics such a severe quietus that the opposition against Congressmen shortly died away in England. In India, however, the hostility continued for sometime further, and the three wise men at Benares, Bhinga and Aligarh treated the Congress to no end of gyves, flouts and sneers. This did not succeed in putting an end to the Congress. Then came

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the stage when threats of suppressing it were freely held out, one such coming from even a staid politician like Mr Frederick Greenwood of the *Anti-Jacobin*, and the laws regulating free speech and free writings were made increasingly severe. This also failed of its object to suppress the Congress. Then came the stage of letting it severely alone and not taking its proceedings too very seriously. This no doubt was having a very insidious effect upon the vitality of that movement, and, if that stage were allowed to continue for any length of time, the Congress would have disappeared of itself of mere inanition. But at this stage of the movement, came Lord Curzon as Viceroy of India and he changed the attitude of the government towards the Congress from one of indifference to that of supreme and supercilious contempt. This happily gave the movement a great phillip and thenceforward the Congress began to show signs of renewed activity. During the whole course of his long Viceroyalty, Lord Curzon kept the Congress party and its respected leaders at arm's length and treated its resolutions and representations with no more courtesy than his great prototype, Lord Dalhousie, showed to the warnings which friendly observers gave to him of the state of things in India which culminated in the great Sepoy Revolt of 1857.

Those people who before Lord Curzon's reign kept outside the heat of political controversies and had no suspicion that the Government of India could ever do a conscious wrong at last began to realise, by the force of circumstances, the gravity of the situation and looked in wonder and amazement. Every body began to talk and dabble in politics. What were things coming to, everybody asked. Dissatisfaction and discontent spread fast and wide till the unhappy partition of Bengal put a too heavy strain upon the 'affection' of the Indian people for the Britishers.

The 'period of energy' in Indian administration over which Lord Dalhousie presided ended in the great 'active resistance' of the Native Army against British Power over the whole of Upper India. The 'period of energy' in the same administration over which Lord Curzon presided has ended in the policy of 'passive resistance' being adopted with great enthusiasm and earnestness by the Indian people all over the country. After the mutiny, *Conciliation* was the watchword of English statesmen and the Indian Viceroy: today, Mr. John Morley and Lord Minto have also made *Conciliation* their watchword.

The Anglo-Indian Press has since Lord Ripon's departure from India been persistently loyal to the Indian Viceroys. They hounded

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the Congress with Lord Dufferin and Sir Auckland Colvin; they endorsed Lord Lansdowne's indifference towards the aspirations of the Congress and supported with a whole heart Lord Elgin's persecutions against the Mahratta Brahmin. Under Lord Curzon, they declared war to the knife against all Indian aspirations and played the part of dogs of war. Now they have all changed into meek lambs and are carrying the standard of *Conciliation* under Lord Minto. The Anglo-Indian newspapers of to-day are not wearied in urging upon the Government and the Anglo-Indian community the need of dealing straight and sincerely with Indians of all classes. Discretion, they say, is always the better part of valour.

Conciliation? Yes, indeed, for we want British rule for our peace, progress, and prosperity for yet a long while, but under what terms are we to be *conciliated*? Not certainly by the government receiving our deputations or our representations with courtesy, not certainly by speaking kindly to us, nor by extending to us the privilege of audience, nor by withdrawing obnoxious circulars and proceedings, nor by administering justice fairly and squarely, nor even by recognising the devotion and patriotism of the Congress people. These are mere trifles and do not matter much. They are part of the white man's burden which he may or may not discharge according to his pleasure: they form part of his imperial responsibilities with which we are not very much concerned.

What then should really and effectively *conciliate* us? Nothing short of such organic changes in the constitution of the Government of India as will make 'personal rule' impossible and do away with 'benevolent' despotism. No more depending upon the 'benevolence' of despots or the 'sympathy' and 'good-wishes' of autocrats. No more of 'personal rule.' Nor will the appointment of either a Gokhale or a R.C. Dutt to the Council of the Secretary of State for India, or of any other capable Indian to the Executive Council of the Viceroy, or any scheme of greater representation of Indian interests in the Councils of the Empire, or the right of the members to propose amendments on the Budgets will avail us much under existing circumstances. To be always in an impotent minority, enjoying the doubtful privilege of occasionally being allowed to indulge in manuscript eloquence, and to find oneself always outvoted on questions of principle and policy may be a welcome pastime to some of our public men but is not very much edifying to the nation at large. Greater representation of the people or no representation, member in the India Council or the Viceregal Council or not,—the constitution of the Government of India *must* be

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so changed as to allow no room for, or opportunity to, any single man to lay a violent hand upon any man or woman in the land, to institute any high-handed proceedings against any person or institution, to issue any autocratic ukases, to tamper with the impartial administration of justice, to introduce or veto any bill, to impose or withdraw any taxes, to incur any expenditure and, above all, to make any difference between the white and the native population in the country before the eyes of the law. *That way real conciliation lies.* Under the *Pax Britannica* our life and property have been made secure to a very large extent, and, under the changed constitution of the Government of our country, we are anxious to see our rights and privileges and our persons made equally secure, and also to see that no harsh or unjust law disfigure our Statute-Book and no iniquitous tax is imposed upon us. In short, the rights of citizenship, freedom of speech, thought and action, the concerted and legitimate movements of the people, our purse and persons, must be brought above the reach of the whims and caprices of a District Superintendent of Police like Mr. Kemp, a District Magistrate like Mr. Emerson and a Lieutenant-Governor like Sir Bampfylde Fuller, who three between them have managed to drag the fair name of Britain through the mire, to cover the Indian administration with ridicule and to shake the confidence of the people of India in British law and justice more quickly and surely than any event in Indian history since 1857.

BILIOUSNESS

Biliousness (or bilious attack) needs little description to the unfortunate sufferer. Food cannot be retained, the tongue is furred; there is a bitter taste in the mouth, the head throbs and aches; the patient is constipated, exceedingly weak, depressed and miserable. Doan's Dinner Pills will give relief in a few hours, but the sufferer should assist the medicine by taking rest, keeping quiet, and avoiding worry. During an attack, abstinence from food and alcoholic stimulants is desirable.

Those subject to biliousness should pay careful attention to diet, and avoid fatigue, anxiety, and exposure to cold. After too heavy a meal, one Doan's Dinner Pill will ward off any ill after-effect by giving the digestive organs, the liver and bowels, the additional help they need. This medicine should always be kept handy, and a dose taken whenever you find your food "repeating" or disagreeing with you.

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OUR MOFUSSIL LAW COURTS

The paragraph that appeared in a leading law journal of Calcutta the other day, deploring the absence of any provision in the Budget of this Province for the supervision of the inferior law courts by the Calcutta High Court, offers timely comment on a subject which should attract far greater public attention than it has hitherto done. Of course, within the limited space at its command the law journal in question could not descend into details. But if the details were brought to the notice of the public, those who do not enjoy the somewhat doubtful privilege of dealing with our inferior law courts would not feel any difficulty in forming a clear idea of the deterioration that has set in amongst them.

The practice and procedure of some of the law courts of Eastern Bengal and Assam, and sometimes even the substantive law administered by them, are very much in evidence now-a-days in connection with recent events, and the public generally have drawn their own conclusions about them. But there are some people who think that these performances of the mofussil judiciary are extraordinary signs of extraordinary times. They say that things will relapse into their normal condition as soon as the disturbing influences of present-day Bengal will come to an end, and that the vagaries and errors of judgment which are now attracting public attention so much do not indicate the normal tone of our law courts and the temper of our Mofussil Magistrates and Judges. Let us see how far this is the case.

To form a correct conception of the forces that are operating on our system of administering justice, we must not lose sight of the dominant idea of our Government in matters judicial, and the attitude of that Government towards those who are entrusted with the administration of justice in the Mofussil. The salient features of that idea and attitude are more or less well known. Yet, I shall

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attempt to indicate them in this article for the benefit of those who have confidence in the present system. Before doing so, however, I shall endeavour to delineate certain common sights, which one placed like myself may witness any day in a Mofussil tribunal. It must be understood at the same time that my observations are not confined to certain members of the ruling class alone, but to some of my own kith and kin as well.

The first offensive thing in our law courts one has the misfortune to notice now-a-days is smoking from the Bench. District Judges, fortunately, are seldom found smoking while trying cases, but it will not be quite accurate on my part to say that the practice is entirely absent in their case. Among young Assistant and Joint Magistrates, and the Deputy and Sub-Deputy Magistrates who take their cue from covenanted Officers and even among Munsiffs and Subordinate Judges, one is getting more and more largely accustomed to the picture of blind Justice holding the scales with a cigarette between his lips and sometimes with a cigar or a pipe in his mouth. (I must be pardoned for not using the feminine gender for obvious reasons). It is not so very shocking perhaps to associate a young and sprightly junior Civilian, the happy possessor of a significant cane lying in front of him on the Bench, with a cigarette or pipe, the latter filled from time to time with fragrant American or English tobacco of some choice brand or other, but one absolutely feels disposed to jump out of the window or at any rate to run out of court by the nearest doorway when he is made to inhale the stuffy and semi-poisonous atmosphere of a Munsiff's or Sub-Judge's Court surcharged to a dangerous extent with the fumes of a Burmah cigar emanating from its presiding deity. Of course I am not thinking now of the dignity of our law courts. That dignity no longer consists in the thoughtful anxiety of the presiding officers to do justice between man and man, or in the halo of patient thought and grave erudition that used at one time to illuminate the countenance of such officers. It consists very often now-a-days in a consciousness of superior powers, forming a thin veneer to a lack of technical knowledge and precision of thought in the junior branch specially, in a too patent determination to cut short judicial procedure, and save trouble at any cost in the senior branch sometimes, and in an occasional tendency in both to administer an all-round snubbing to everyone within striking distance. Letting alone dignity, I am now thinking of the want of respect to their own seats which presiding officers themselves sometimes betray, as well as the personal discomfort they inflict on those who are compelled by business to appear before them.

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It would indeed have given me great pleasure if the above could exhaust the bill of complaint against the Mofussil judiciary. Some of the Mofussil Magistrates are perhaps now-a-days looking forward to having their evening pegs while doing cases on the Bench. In my experience I have witnessed a three-year old European covenanted Sub-Divisional Magistrate rather disposed to sitting in court till after candle-light, and breaking off court during the day from time to time, who, I am told, has his usual daily peg while on the Bench if present there after candle light. I am personally grateful to this officer, because he showed me some consideration when I appeared before him one day by throwing out a hint to his khansamah to disappear with the bottle and glasses on a tray with which the poor man had appeared in court after candle-light for the benefit of his master. I may add, however, that I was, comparatively speaking, a stranger to him and had appeared before him from a somewhat distant place. The consideration shown to me was due perhaps to this fact.

The High Court has lately directed District Judges to wear gowns on the Bench, probably with a view to invest the proceedings of the Chief Judicial Officer of a District with a certain amount of solemnity and, above all, perhaps, to make the officers themselves feel in their robe of office the serious and more than common-place character of their task and the grave consequences that flow from their judicial acts. But has the Hon'ble High Court inquired how many District Judges wear gowns on the Bench? In my experience I saw only a Bengali District Judge wear a gown while on the Bench. His successor, a young civilian of 8 or 9 years' standing, used to bring a gown into court which he sometimes hung up in his retiring room, and sometimes brought into the court room to be placed on the railing. But after him his successor threw off all appearance of showing any deference to the order of the High Court referred to above and he has been dealing out justice in his short but convenient lounge coats of a variety of stuffs and shades. The High Court may try its best to make young District Judges feel at heart that they are really Judges, and not Assistant Magistrates or Joint Magistrates. But that is an impossible task. How can young minds feel the gravity and the sense of responsibility which are the attributes of maturer years? It is impossible to achieve success against nature.

Most of the District Magistrates do not hold court regularly or at stated hours. They are often cooped up in their own private chambers in the court house, when not transacting office business

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at home. Parties who have to file appeals or motions or who are otherwise obliged to move him personally in matters which can not be delegated by him to his Deputies or to other Subordinate Magistrates, often find themselves in a great fix as to when and how to approach him. If a party or his pleader sends in a slip and the executive head of the District happens to be pondering over some office note, draft or letter in his private room, he is received with a cross face, at times with the colour high up in his cheeks and sometimes even up to his forehead, making things altogether uncomfortable, if not unbearable, for his visitor. The now famous Barisal Magistrate has admitted in his official correspondence with Government that his usual practice is to do official business, and even to hear cases, at home ! Apart from the question of personal disagreeableness, is not the time of those who are driven by circumstance to appear as suitors before a Magistrate of any value ? Are their trouble, and the waste of needless energy, entailed in obtaining an interview with the Magistrate at his residence or in his private room, of no consequence ? Why is it not possible for District Magistrates to regulate their procedure and movements with due regard to the convenience of the public ? Why does it become absolutely necessary for them to come to court sometimes at one, sometimes at two, sometimes at three and sometimes at twelve o'clock ? I am glad to observe that District Judges as a rule are punctual ; and owing to their punctuality the Subordinate Judges and Munsiffs at head quarters have to be punctual as well, even if some of them may betray a tendency to the contrary when in the interior. In Chowkis and Sub-Divisions, the Munsiffs more regularly than not take their own time in a remarkably leisurely manner. It is a notorious fact that in such places some Munsiffs take their seats on the Bench sometimes at 2 or 3 o'clock in the afternoon. Again, there is a great want of uniformity of procedure in the matter of rising for tiffin. Some Magistrates, Judges, Subordinate Judges and Munsiffs observe this practice, while others do not ; and those who do, do not all rise at any fixed hour of the day. It is needless to say that all this confusion makes life very troublesome to those who have anything to do with law courts. One question arises very prominently in connection with these matters. Is the administration of justice a charitable concern of Government, or do not suitors and litigants pay at every turn the proceedings take before the law courts, and altogether does not Government make a good job of it ? If the latter be the case, as it undoubtedly is, why should not Magistrates and Judges see more to the convenience of the public than they do at present ? I might

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multiply instances like the above shewing the regard in which the courts very often hold the public and the light fantastic way in which those on the Bench often behave towards them, but those referred to above are enough for my purpose.

I will now proceed to give one or two instances which will go to show how it is possible under the present system of administration for even District Judges of fairly long standing to pass through their course of duty without having to pay any attention whatever to even the rudiments of the law they have to administer or the procedure the law requires them to follow. It is perhaps known to everybody that District Judges have certain special powers which as a rule no other classes of Judges possess, and one of such powers is vested in them by their testamentary jurisdiction. It is the District Judge who grants probate in all cases in the mofussil, except where there is a District Delegate. Further, the court-fee law has laid down stringent rules of procedure with a view to prevent evasion of the fiscal demands of Government. Apart from all these considerations, even the freshest recruit in the ranks of the Civil Service ought to know that if any order or grant has to be obtained from a Court of Justice the court has to be moved by petition.

The following is a story of a District Judge, European, of course, who had put in some 17 years of service at the time, and through whose hands scores if not hundreds of cases of grant of probate or letters of administration must have passed in the ordinary course of business.

A European Railway employe died leaving behind him considerable property, and a minor grandson by a daughter as his heir. This person was then a young lad studying in a Roman Catholic College. Amongst the papers and things of the deceased, which were taken possession of by the police for safe custody after his death, was found a paper which purported to be his will, whereby he bequeathed all his property to his said grandson, with a reservation that failing him the property was to go to the Rector of that College. This will, along with the other things of the deceased, was sent to the District Judge by the Police in due course. The Roman Catholic Chaplain of the place, coming to know of this will, in all innocence of heart went over to the Judge's house and told him all about it, and requested him to grant probate of the will to the said Rector who, as he believed, was under the terms of the will entitled to probate. It was given out to his pleader by the Chaplain that the Judge had promised to grant the probate as requested.

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Shortly after this event the Chaplain mentioned in course of conversation to his pleader that the will had not been signed by any witness. On hearing this, the pleader said that the will could not be considered a valid one under the law, and suggested that, as the Reverend Father had been speaking to him (the pleader) on hearsay, it would be better if the judge could be moved to hand over the document to him (the Chaplain) in order that he might take legal opinion on it. The reverend gentleman agreed to the proposal. In due course a petition was prepared setting out the facts and was presented to the Judge, and it was prayed that the document might be handed over to the reverend gentleman upon a receipt being taken therefor, in order that legal opinion might be obtained by him in respect of it. The judge was found very affable and obliging so far as the matter of handing over the will was concerned, but to the consternation of the pleader he was told at the same time that he had already passed an order for probate on the document itself, though of course there was no application for probate before him.

Fancy an order passed on the *will itself* without there being an application for probate ! I may state for the information of those who are not lawyers that the law requires a petition containing particulars as to the different kinds of property left by a deceased person, their valuation, and different other matters, to be filed in a prescribed form and in accordance with rules laid down by Government for fiscal purposes, before any probate of a will can be granted.

On the pleader's explaining the situation with as much modesty as he could command, the Judge tried to extricate himself from it by saying that he had passed the order in question as he thought the property was of very small value. The pleader had to submit very meekly that the assets would in all likelihood come up to a lac of rupees. Then there was a sight for gods and men to see ! The Judge's hand slowly moved towards the inkstand and, before the pleader could recover from his stupefaction, he set the matter right by drawing his pen right through the lines which bore testimony to the grant of probate, and in a moment the order was cancelled ! There was nothing further for the pleader to say, for in the next moment the will in original (with such mutilations of course as could not be avoided under the trying circumstances of the case) was handed by the Judge to him. The reverend gentleman who was waiting outside then gave a receipt for the will and took it home.

I must close my narrative which has a very interesting sequel.

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The reverend gentleman subsequently had the will forwarded to the Advocate-General for opinion as to its validity, and the opinion he received from him was that the will was not worth the paper on which it was written, and that the deceased person must be taken to have died intestate under the circumstances. The Judge in due course got it back from the reverend gentleman and it must be lying now in some unknown corner of his office shelf or chest as a piece of waste paper.

Mofussilite

(To be continued)

A CONSTITUTION FOR THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

The question of a constitution for the Congress, an institution that attained its majority last year, is of vital importance to our national existence, and, as such, should be taken up in right earnest by the Press and the Public and threshed out properly till we come to a practical settlement of it. If the Committees that were appointed at Lucknow, Lahore, and, lastly, at Bombay in 1904, to draw up a constitution for the Congress, did absolutely pay no heed to the matter, it was only because the Press and the Public did not take any interest in it at all. There appears to be a conspiracy of silence over the matter and an anxiety to evade a constitution. It is a matter of great regret and shame that even the two Secretaries of the Congress should lend their support to this conspiracy.

Political education is the chief excuse for the existence of the Congress itself, and a regular and systematic all-year-round programme of action in this direction is of the utmost importance. Such organised action is only feasible if the Congress is granted a working constitution. Those that are conversant with the early history of the Congress would remember that it was desired by its sponsors to work on the same lines as the Opposition does under the British constitution. If the Congress has not yet been able to gain much influence, it is because we have failed to make it that living entity, that efficient organisation which it was once expected to be. These twenty years and more have we been working at it, but, instead of expanding its sphere of action and influence, we have on the other hand been gradually restricting them till we have come to such a stage that a leading spokesman of the Congress declared at the last Bombay session that the *only* mission of that movement was "to give voice to the public opinion of the country that may

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be taking shape and formulating throughout the year and to present Petition of Rights, &c. &c..”

Public opinion in India must needs be the opinion of the ‘microscopic minority’ so long as the present method of procedure holds sway. Justice Ranade, one of the greatest and noblest of Indian patriots, definitely recorded his view of the matter in his famous Jatara Speech of 1900 : “Politics is not merely petition and memorialising for gifts and favours. Gifts and favours are of no value unless we have deserved the concessions by our own elevations and our own struggles. These are not really ours.....” (as we are experiencing them at the present moment to our cost). His worthy disciple, the Hon’ble Prof. Gokhale, has said : “Unless education spreads in our country—by education I do not mean the mere rudiments of primary education, but a knowledge of our rights of what is due to us, of the responsibility which goes with such rights, unless this education is spread largely amongst the masses of the people,—our hopes are likely to remain hopes for an indefinite period.”

The time for idleness or indifference is now gone. Political disfranchisement, the want of any confidence in our own strength and power to help ourselves in any way,—all this has been emasculating us as a people all along the line. For the sake of our own interests and self-preservation, for the sake of all that we hold dear, for the sake of our children and our children’s children, we must be up and doing now. We would all be turned in no time into hewers of wood and drawers of water if we fail to look up now and at once. Rank Imperialism is running rampant throughout the length and breadth of the world. But with the rise of the sons of the Land of the Rising Sun, the figment of a fore-doomed Asia is dispelled, the shadow of the White Peril is checked. Now is the time for us to make a supreme effort to rise *en masse* and seek to work out our common destiny by systematic endeavours. The events of the last few years, nay of the last few months, have proved beyond doubt, if doubt there was, the necessity for concentrated action. If the leaders of the present generation and the generation to come fail to give a proper constitution to the Congress, if the chosen of the people, so to say, fail to organise action by that means, there would be no public life in India within a measurable distance of time. The country, however, expects every one to do his duty at this supreme moment of national crisis, and let it not be said of us that we failed in the right time to diffuse proper political education among the people and to fit them for the inevitable struggle for life. Sir Henry Cotton was pleased some time ago to characterise the Congress as the brain of

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the Indian people, but it is time to remember that the limbs and muscles of the nation are lying in a lethargic state, oblivious of the impulses that are emanating from the nervous centre. Perhaps the sensory portion has been somewhat aroused and the motor portion has also begun to move a little, but they may as well be put down as a natural sequence of the various external generators of energy that are imparting their stimuli to them, and not the voluntary incitement for action having for its origin the organism itself. Hence the necessity of devising ways and means to let the life-giving fluid flow from the fountain of the heart, at the bidding of the brain, to the furthest limit of the limbs. It is thus that we can ever hope to rouse the nation and prepare ourselves to follow the path of real progress and ultimate salvation. Not otherwise. For the last 21 years have we met together only to adopt resolutions and repeat them year after year, but unfortunately we have not made sufficient advances in organising and initiating any active propaganda.

There can no longer be any manner of doubt as to the fact that the Congress has hitherto failed to make its influence felt because of the absence of an effective machinery to carry out its work throughout the year. This want must be met at once and a scheme devised to make an all year-round propaganda a most essential part of the Congress organisation. We give below an outline of a scheme which appears to us to run on lines of least resistance and at the same time likely to prove immensely effective.

At the end of each session of the Congress the President of the year should be entrusted with the work of pushing its principles and propaganda and carrying on its programme till such time as the assembly meets again. To help the President in the work he should be provided with a Council. The six provinces and Central India should each form a Provincial Committee and depute two representatives to form the Council. The President should have a paid Secretary, besides the two General Secretaries, with an Assistant and an office to carry on the work systematically. The paid Secretary and Assistant Secretary must belong to the province in which the Congress is to be held. There should also be appointed six preachers, one in each province, well conversant with the questions of the day and thorough masters of the vernacular of the part of the country they would have to work in. They are to work under the guidance and control of the Provincial Committees. The President is to direct the course of action throughout India, and his mandate must be obeyed by all without demur and with a whole heart. The Council should meet him at least twice in the year, once immediately after the meeting of the Congress,

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when the elections of both the Council and the President will take place. At this meeting, the line of action should be determined. The Council will meet again every July to survey the work done and concert measures for the future. In cases of urgency, the President may call upon the members of the Council to meet as many times as he may think necessary or he may also ascertain their views by circular letters.

The Congress should have an accredited organ in the Press and its editing should be placed in the hands of its Secretary. The preachers will furnish weekly reports of their work which will all be embodied in this Journal. Small tracts dealing with important questions should be brought out by the Secretary, which should also be translated in the different dialects by the preachers and carried into every home during the course of their itineraries. The preachers should confer with the Editors of all provincial papers and explain to them points which require clearing up. These preachers should also be the advocates of the people. Cases of high-handedness should be ferreted out by these tribunes of the people and sent to the Congress Journal.

To carry out the scheme herein formulated not a very vast amount of money will be required. We compute the *monthly expenditure* of this scheme as under for the present :—

Secretary	...	...	Rs.	500
Assistant Secretary	...	...	"	300
Office	...	...	"	300
Travelling expenses of the President and the Secretary				200
Six preachers (Rs. 150 @)	...	...	"	900
Travelling allowances for the preachers (Rs. 50 @)			"	300
Loss in conducting the Journal		...	"	100
Printing of Tracts	...	...	"	250
Contingencies	...	...	"	150

Total Rs. 3000

These allowances would seem small, but we have the noble examples of the Fergusson, the D. A.-V. and the Central Hindu Colleges before us. If men can be found to devote their lives to these institutions on paltry pittances, it will not be in vain to expect men of similar stamp for the greater cause of the country. Against this outlay we can count the earnings of the weekly Congress Journal which, if well conducted, and sold for the moderate sum of Rs. 4 yearly (reducing the subscription to Rs. 2 in case of students) and made an important medium of advertisement for the trade, can not

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fail to bring in a substantial income. So the outlay may not, after all, be prohibitive. Will not the nation find this comparatively *small* sum to carry on this *great* work? A few curtailments in our expenditure and a little endeavour will soon bring in the requisite funds. The Council will be required at the beginning of each session of the Congress to publish a duly audited balance-sheet with a report of work done.

The devoted veterans who have hitherto been holding up the beaconlight of advancement in the country's cause are in themselves towers of strength. Younger men are also coming to the front, propelled by the impetus generated by the rapid succession of events.

Neither men nor money would appear to be wanting. We now appeal to our countrymen to sink all feelings of self and exert for the common cause with an honest and sincere heart. The Hand of Providence is always directing the affairs of men. If we are only true and loyal to ourselves and to our convictions, we will yet see better days dawning on our beloved motherland.

A Punjab Congressman

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Before I offer my criticism and observations on the subject, I think I have got to make my position clear. I am an out and out Congress-wallah. I am a believer in the Indian Nation; I believe in the political destiny of India and I entirely feel the justice of the claims set forth from time to time from the platform of the Congress. When I criticise its methods, therefore, I do not do so to condemn it, but that we might mend it.

Now, the first thing that strikes one about the Congress is that the most important part of its programme gets the least attention from the organisers. They prefer, and the whole nation prefers, to take things easy. There is no doubt a very large amount of worry and trouble before the Congress is held, on the part of the Reception Committee; but that relates only to the paraphernalia,—to the funds, the buildings, the entertainments, the reception and so on. The first consideration of the Reception Committee (which is all that remains of the Congress prior to the three days' sitting) is that they may not be outdone in the reception of the delegates by any other place. It must be said to the credit of Indian hospitality that this part of the business is very nobly done, and I wonder if there is any delegate to the Congress who would ever wish this part of its programme to suffer any abatement.

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But when it comes to the business part of it, it is all so indifferently done. The vital part of the whole thing is sadly uncared for. People there do not sit down to the deliberations with a becoming sense of their importance. Except on one or two questions on which the Congress has already pledged itself to a definite policy, most of the delegates who sit down to discuss the huge programme of the Congress in the Subjects Committee have scarcely any very clear idea of the thing talked about and take their cue from those who talk very long. Indeed, I am convinced that the veriest trash runs a good chance of being adopted into the Congress agenda provided that it emanates from an influential quarter and does not jar with the pre-conceived notions of the leaders. People do not care, nor have they any time to think, or to read the available literature on the subjects brought annually before the Congress.

The result is that with astonishing unanimity we go through a programme, whose magnitude would well stupefy the most learned debating assemblies of the world, in the alarmingly short time of three days. The questions are each one of them such as is well worthy of a year's attention of a specialist, and yet they are decided upon on the spur of the moment ; speakers are found to move, second and support the resolutions on those subjects, who have only a scanty acquaintance with the propositions they have to deal with and who, without the aid of any books of reference, have got to make up their speeches in 5 or 6 hours, dinner and break-fast time all told !

The fact is very much to be regretted. It is very much to be desired that questions of vital importance to the people of India should be discussed by a great national assembly with a due sense of responsibility. It is essential that the subjects talked about should be decided upon by the devoted attention of specialists with reference to all sides and with a first hand information of the people affected. The discussion should not at all proceed upon a programme set up by a Reception Committee which is expected to give more attention to other matters than the details of the programme and whose claims to special knowledge on the questions at issue are extremely questionable. When we are going to deliberate in the name of the nation on questions which affect the whole body of it, we must do it so as to be worthy of the great representative assembly of a great nation. Yet it is much to be regretted that very little attention is paid to this phase of the question. This essential part of the Congress we wholly leave to be managed in a most perfunctory manner.

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Another point equally noticeable about the Congress is that, except in a largely abstract principle based on the words of Empress Victoria, the Congress has no definite policy with reference to any matter worth mentioning. The claim to a larger share in the administration of the country is much too vague and much too abstract to do for a working principle or a policy to guide all our deliberations, and, even as it is, this principle scarcely covers everything that is laid down from the Congress platform year after year. The topics for discussion at the Congress may be classified under several heads and on each one of those heads we ought to have a definite policy clearly laid down. But to do so each subject must be thoroughly investigated into under the auspices of the Congress. What the Congress does at present is to take the prevailing cry of the newspapers and to lay it down as its own policy. Now on matters touching the most vital interests of the country this sort of haphazard decision is the last thing that should be done ; and so long as we do this, we may be sure that, though all the circumstances might favour us, the Congress would never rise to the position of power and importance which ought to be its own as the deliberative assembly of the whole country.

So far as I can remember the only matters on which the Congress has been able to take a strong position, besides greater representation of the people in the Councils of the Empire, have been the questions of the separation of the judicial and executive functions in India and of Land Revenues in India. The reason would seem to be that these questions had been very deeply considered by eminent and erudite men who had spent much of their time and attention upon them before they could formulate a definite policy on the questions. We wish we could say as much of every one of the questions on which the Congress is called upon to formulate an opinion. Some questions no doubt receive some consideration from eminent men before they are brought forward on the Congress platform, but can the Congress say that it was its own work and that it had not borrowed its idea from an individual ?

This is another of the objections to the procedure of the Congress. It always borrows and never initiates any new political idea. Thinking out the political destinies of the country is entirely left to the mercy of individuals who may stumble upon truths now and then. The whole political movement of the country is based upon haphazard suggestions of individuals some of which catch and others do not. As the year goes round, the Congress, so to say, comes in and sums up all that has been said on the various subjects during

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the year. This is not wholly becoming in such an august body as the Congress. How infinitely better it would be if it would appoint Committees who would investigate during the year certain problems with reference to the various provinces and draw up the result of their careful study into resolutions for adoption by the Congress at its annual session. No one can expect that the Subjects Committee, composed of two to three hundred men taken from all ranks and classes, should take much interest on any and every question that would be brought before them ; but it is certainly very desirable that the discussions should proceed on the basis of propositions which may be relied upon as having at least been very carefully thought out by some experts and specialists under the auspices of the Congress.

The formation of such Committees would remove a very great defect from the resolutions of the Congress. It is a common experience that on the spur of the moment we have adopted resolutions which would not be adopted if more thought were spent on them. There are absurdities and unreasonable clamour in some of the minor resolutions of the Congress. Then again we consciously permit resolutions to remain on the paper which, though harmless, we are not quite serious about. There is no doubt that perfect sincerity ought to characterise our proceedings in the Congress and if that is so we should have to eliminate all the resolutions which come under this description. It very usually happens that, after the strain imposed by the discussion of the heavier topics, absolutely no attention is devoted to these seemingly harmless resolutions. If the Congress works upon the drafts of Committees who have thought upon these subjects all through the year, such resolutions as these would cease to blot the agenda paper of the Congress.

After all that has been said about the subject of late years, I need scarcely refer to the just rebuke administered by its critics and candid friends that the Congress only talks and does no work. I do not go the whole length of this sweeping criticism. I do not agree with theorists on much about the work they suggest, but I am sure there is some truth in the suggestion. No one desires of course that the whole Congress should set about building up a tower of Babel over the pandal, but that the Congress should initiate policies which should be worked out in the whole country by affiliated institutions. That is saying as much as that the entire political activity of the country should be related to the Congress as an organism to the brain.

The fault lies at the root of the thing—in the absence of a

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policy—a definite and well-considered guiding principle for the Indian National Congress. There are some who still hold that we meet here annually simply to record our political grievances. Such a definition disarms criticism, for such an institution can scarcely be said to have any principle at all. But the majority of the people who flock to the Congress certainly think that the function of the Congress is something more than crying like the child at each pin-prick that we earn. The most ambitious of these choose to regard the Congress as the exponent of the entire national life of the country, at any rate so far as it relates to politics and economics.

If this definition is accepted, it goes without saying that it should have its branches all over the country—*i.e.* institutions carrying out its definite mandates and affiliated to it, not by the constructive filiation by which our entire political activity is sought to be connected with it, but by a conscious and definite connection. In fact it should appoint its men who will think out its problems in its name, give its opinions such utterance from time to time as may be necessary, and initiate such works as they may feel to be necessary in the interest of the Congress or in pursuance of its policy. This means the organisation and systematisation of the work of the Congress.

This has been attempted once or twice before this but without any success. The principal idea has been to have Provincial Congress Committees affiliated to the Congress and, under these, district and village Committees. There has however always been a considerable amount of haziness as to what these Committees are to do and, in the absence of any but very abstract ideas, they have languished and died or not come into existence at all.

It may be expected that Committees with definite works to do would be more successful. I therefore venture to suggest that, instead of Provincial Committees, we should have Committees appointed to discuss and report on a certain class of questions. For instance, we might have a committee for education to discuss with reference to local conditions in different parts of India, the feasibility of compulsory or free education, estimate the total expenditure and the probable contribution the State would have to make, suggest hours of study and curricula for primary education, discuss the nature and prospects of the secondary and higher education with reference to local conditions, &c. With reference to sanitation we might have a committee largely made up of medical experts to report on the state of sanitation in different parts of the

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country and suggest remedies for ill-health where it exists after a careful study of the subject. So too we might have committees on finance including taxation, on legislation (to discuss the laws of the year), on industries (or it may be left to committee of the Industrial Conference similarly appointed) and on such other subjects as we may decide upon.

The Committees will have definite work to do during the year and a report to submit at the end of the year on which resolutions of the Congress will have to be based. Moreover, they will be entrusted to initiate such undertakings in the different provinces as it is decided by the Congress to start. Thus each one of these Committees will have a definite and important work to do and it is to be expected that some amount of work may be done by them. The Committees should be constituted of the best available men in the different provinces. Each Committee may consist of say five members from each province, no one being a member of two committees if possible, and of more than two in any case. Difficulty about meeting may be suggested as an objection. But on the principles herein suggested there need be no such difficulty. The Committee consisting of members from different provinces would in reality be an aggregate of different provincial committees. The members for each province would investigate the questions in connection with the province, and so much of the questions as relates to the whole of India at large may be settled by correspondence.

The Members of the Committees for each province will be the representatives of the Congress for their particular work in the province. They may therefore associate in their work as many people as they think necessary. In any case it will perhaps be most profitable to have a man in each district. The selection of such a man may be made on such principle as may be deemed best by the Committees. The district representatives may likewise associate as many people in their work as they may consider necessary. Thus in both ways, in the collection of information with reference to a particular question and in reducing to practice such work as may be decided upon, we should have a complete system of agencies at work all over India. This system would have the additional merit that these Congress Agents will not be hampered by being required to attend to too many things at the same time.

Correspondence will make up three-fourths of the work and on an efficient office will depend the entire success of this or indeed of any scheme that may be decided upon for the reorganisation of our national activities. The Secretary of each Committee should in

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every case be a very first-rate man. For when the decisions of a Committee which never meets have got to be consolidated upon the basis of different provincial reports a most competent man is required for the work. Such men must work for love, but should be assisted by officers, varying in number according to the requirements of each Committee, who must be handsomely paid. It should never be forgotten that the entire success of the scheme would depend upon the Secretariat which will keep the Committees working all through the year and draw to a focus the results of their various labours and supplement them by its own work.

The manifold benefits of such a scheme as this need not be told. It will add seriousness and importance to the work of the Congress, give it the much desired constitution, organise its work all round the year, focus the national energy, give a principle of work and deliberations, and remove the stigma of inaction that blots the fair fame of Dame Congress. But then the all-important question of finance remains to be considered. On this point I shall content myself with the remark that we have yet to know how much money may be available for public work in our country if we employ a properly organised machinery to collect it. I am sure, the amount would be immense if the appeal is properly made.

I shall add only one word about the programme of the Congress before I conclude. It goes without saying that on the scheme above put forward the usual programme of the Congress will have to be modified. We would have on the first day as usual the Reception, the speech of the President, after which the Congress will divide itself into Committees to discuss different sets of resolutions. Instead of one subjects-committee we should have as many subjects-committees as there would be subjects. Each one of the members of these committees will be furnished with the reports of the Congress Committees of the year which they will have to discuss and on the basis of which they will frame resolutions for adoption by the Congress. The evening of the first day and the morning of the second day may be allotted to the deliberations of these various committees. In the evening of the second day a combined Subjects Committee consisting of representatives from the different Committees will draw the decisions of the several committees to a focus. The third day, and if necessary the fourth, should be devoted to the discussion of the resolutions in the Congress.

Nares Chandra Sen-Gupta

OCCASIONAL STORIES

THE WHIRLPOOL OF LIFE

(A Story told by its Hero)

Many people no doubt have vivid recollection of the many incidents and episodes of the great panic which overtook the people of Calcutta at the first outbreak of plague in that city in the year 1898, when a large number of its inhabitants fled like birds before a thunder-storm. Any one who was residing in Calcutta at that time cannot now have forgotten it. For days together continuous streams of scared human beings—man, woman, child—flowed impetuously towards and beyond the several out-lets of the city—the two Railway Stations to the East and the West and the Steamer-Ghats on the Ganges. Oh ! how the ladies fled for dear life—some in hackney carriages when darling jehus made the fortune of their lifetime—some in droning palanquins which still pass for respectable conveyances side by side with electric trams, but most on foot—the tender foot, never meant for walking, bleeding over the cruel stones in the streets. And the sweet faces were deadly pale on which the sun feasted his incontinent eyes, perhaps, in many cases, for the first time ; and the leaden atmosphere of the city dulled their spirits as their senses had been paralysed by the panic. With babies in the lap or arm and toddling children caught by the hand, the mother trudged along and the father who walked ahead falteringly took a trunk or a bundle on his shoulders, for porters or coolies could not be had in Calcutta at that time for love or money. When they met with a party of mourners—as they did with many—making the old echoes noisy with their funeral cries, they, the fugitives, shuddered and with averted eyes and bated breath scudded along the farther side of the thoroughfare as if they feared lest the dead on the bier should rise on a closer vicinity and claim the passers-by for company. Traffic was almost suspended in the metropolitan streets which were so inconveniently crowded before the panic, for merchants, cartmen and coolies had run away from them and the offices were well-nigh deserted ; a few alone who had nowhere else to go to or held appointments which gave them the only opportunity to support the ‘dear ones’ made light of the pestilence—the ‘segregation camp’ and the attendant brutalities of “the special service” myrmidons—and still stuck to Calcutta. The arms of the municipality seemed

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paralysed, for the filth and rubbish of several days' accumulation lay heaped up in the streets and no scavengers' carts were to be seen in any part of the city : no bhisties carried the mowshak to sprinkle water and lay the dust in the public thoroughfares. With the doors and shutters of more than half the houses closed, the many-mouthed noise of life in abeyance in the streets, Calcutta assumed the desolate air of a city in the clutches of an Atilla, "the scourge of God."

It was in the afternoon of one of these days of panic that I was elbowing my way through a dense crowd on a platform in the Howrah Railway Station and was thrown by an unceremonious push from behind into the very centre of a little group of persons composed of two women, two children and a domestic pet with a few trunks and bundles about them. I fell over a trunk, upsetting it and struck my head violently against the pavement. Yet I tried hastily to regain my feet to apologise, for two faint screams had answered my unchivalrous fall and some whispers not at all complimentary to my self-respect. But when I stood up, I could hardly speak, for blood was flowing in a small stream from a cut in my forehead and wetted my lips. The sight of blood at once frightened the women and drew their pity upon me ; and the older one quickly dipped a corner of her *Sari* in a mug of water which stood by and held it softly to the wound to stanch the flow. Was not that very generous ? I was a perfect stranger to the party, for we had not as yet had time to look each other in the face and some of us, for aught I know, might be characters of the worst type ; but the abundant sympathy of a true woman's heart overcame all fears and shyness and called forth my sincerest gratitude.

She was Nirmala Sundari, the elder woman of the party, one whom I now quickly recognised as a known face ; the other one too I did not there see for the first time—but that is another story. They too recognised me in a moment and we (Nirmala and myself) had a short talk about what had brought them there and where they were going to, while between ourselves we bandaged up my wound with my handkerchief and the younger woman—a mere girl—shrank behind her companion.

I was told that they were fleeing from Calcutta to their native village of Gopalpur in the district of Birbhum and were under the escort of Babu Ramdas Bose, the interlocutor's husband, whom, however, she did not mention by name as Hindu women will never do under any circumstances. I told her in my turn that I was bound for Hugli on some urgent business.

I had purchased my ticket but Ramdas Babu who had long

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gone for theirs had not yet returned with them. The elder lady begged of me to give her party the protection of my company till her husband returned. To this I readily assented not only because I knew that it was extremely unsafe for the party to have been left all to themselves in a surging sea of passengers of all ranks and classes but also because there was one among them to be near to whom how much I would have given or staked. So, I took up a position in front of the ladies with a stick in hand in order to keep them from any annoyance or molestation greater than what was inseparable or unavoidable from their situation. Though I affected, while there mounting guard, to look straight ahead, my eyes would unaccountably turn and seek a face behind me on which, I thought, they could look and look and lose themselves in looking. It was a face that I used to dream of—a face that charmed me with a world of lonely expressions lighted up with a pair of soft, dark eyes—

“And oh ! that eye was in itself a soul !”

But no more of rhapsody to break the continuity of my story.

We waited and waited and yet Ramdas Babu did not make his appearance. In the meantime there was only a quarter of an hour—10 minutes—5 minutes to the starting of the train ; the first and the second bell had been rung and echoed from end to end of the platform. “Would you,” I now asked my older acquaintance without any form of address for, I had, for the purpose of common parlance, none for her—“would you let me go for a minute and see what the matter is with Ram Babu ?” I went out straight with a quickened pace to the thick of the crowd which had gathered about the place where tickets for passengers are sold and where people were jostling and shoving each other for dear life but there I found him not ; I searched for him here, there and everywhere and shouted his name till the iron horse whiffed vapour preparatory to going off, but no sound or sight of the man yet. I then got back to my charge and had scarcely reported my failure when the train puffed again and steamed out of the station. I missed it ; but I thought it was a small matter under the circumstances, although Nirmala gracefully expressed her regret that I had done so for their sake.

We waited still—our anxiety for Ram Babu growing—and in a while the multitude grew sparse or divided themselves into groups and lay out of the way to wait for the next train. I inquired about Ram Babu again and again of the railway people but they could not or would not give me any information.

By the light of what we subsequently learnt I may as well tell

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you here, gentle reader, that Ram Babu had got into a scrape. In the scramble at the Ticket Babu's window he had unwittingly clutched at another man's ticket and money, and that man raising a hue and cry he was taken into the custody of the railway police and there carried into the station lock-up. His cries for help, his shoutings after his wife by name, and his passionate protestations of innocence met with heartless derision from those who were immediately about him; those at any distance did not hear him at all, so great was the babel of noise in the place. He was carried off in a hurry and shut out of public gaze.

It was now growing late and we anxiously deliberated as to what could be done in that stage. Nirmala would not move from the spot until I had found out her husband, and, complying with her very natural wish, I was going off for another search after the missing man when a railway dandy with two or three villainous-looking underlings came swaggering up the platform to the spot where we sat and with many a critical glance at the two women, as if he had been a connoisseur of beauty commissioned to mark well the points of their excellence, bade them off into the native woman's waiting room and clear the platform; he ignored me altogether. He cast furtive glances at them, under their veils; and kept on muttering to them his *peremptory* request to leave the platform at once, and then moved a little off, still watching, but not before I expressed my strong disapproval of his manners which evidently threw him off his temper.

"Would you," I now asked the ladies, "let me take you back to your house in Calcutta? You may wait there while I can see what has happened to Ram Babu." Nirmala said: "we lived there in a hired house which we have vacated for good—we cannot return to it." "In that case," said I, "would you grace my lodgings at Howrah with your stay for a few hours? My rooms are poor but they shall afford you safer and more honourable shelter than this place." To which the gentle women consenting, I got a hackney carriage and escorted the whole party with their luggage to my small house which was situated in the eastern side of the town. For some mysterious reasons, my house appeared to me for some time since that day as a *sanctuary*.

I stopped at my house for a quarter of an hour or so—only long enough to arrange the rooms for my guests and to order the servant to get some refreshments ready for them. I hastened back to the Station and in the way I met with a friend who knew Ram Babu as well and cleared the mystery about his sudden disappear-

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ance from the railway station. After narrating what, the reader already knows, had happened to that gentleman at the station, he told me that Ram Babu managed to escape from police custody by virtue, of course, of the generous distribution of something good enough to grease the custodians' dirty palms. Ram Babu had run back to Calcutta and seen my friend and begged him to take charge of the women and children left behind at the Howrah Station and about whom he was worrying himself to frenzy, as he well might. He must avoid the station for some time, he said. "But, Sachi Babu," said my friend to me, "I have neither time nor am strong enough to go upon a journey now to Gopalpur; you know I have hardly got up from a bed of sickness. Now that you have, by a fortunate chance, put your hand to it, do you please see them safe at their village home. I hope," added he, "there will be no objection to your escort as there is none to mine; and, if I remember aright, you are nearer to Ram Babu than I am." I at once seized this opportunity and said: "It may be as you say, and, having some leisure upon my hands just now, a trip to dear old Gopalpur may not interfere with any of my present engagements: but I should have, notwithstanding my relationship, some sort of authority from Ram Babu to warrant my guardianship of his family." To this my friend answered by saying that he would send me the necessary authority on the morrow.

I now turned my steps homewards, inwardly very happy that chance had thrown into my hands, though for a short while, one who was sweet to me as inspiration. I was burning with a desire to be of some service to *her*—to somehow draw her heart close to me. As I passed along the street, I was so absorbed in building castles in the air and in thoughts of felicity that I ran my head against a lamp-post once, and twice collided with the passers-by. At a vendor's on the way-side I purchased the most delectable sweets I could find, and at a fruiterer's as many of the luscious fruits as he had for sale, regardless of expense. Would my young reader be shocked to hear that with all my sentiment I had not a superfluity of cash? But I could sell the shirt on my back to provide a feast for my beloved.

Returning home I found the young girl, Sailabala, sitting upon a bed beside Nirmala who seemed to be shivering with cold. Much troubled at this, I looked inquiringly at Sailabala but instead of answering me, she only bent her head and kept quiet. I and Sailabala had not hitherto exchanged a word, and though in days gone by her voice had rung familiarly in my ears, I had of late grown almost a

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stranger to it—only the memory and music of it lingered. Was it like the sound of ripples over a pebbly bed, I wondered, or of a soft southern breeze disporting in a leafy bower? "Sailabala," said I, slowly relishing the sound of her sweet name—"Sailabala, is it a sudden attack of fever?" She seemed to try to clear her throat for a vocal answer but ended with only an affirmative nod.

Those people who are sated with the clarion voice of their woman-folk, bound by no custom or laws of modesty to limit their sphere of interlocution, can hardly conceive the thrilling joys of drinking in the soft accents of a girl's murmur whom we have coaxed with infinite pains to open her mouth to us; and if, while she speaks, she may be persuaded to unveil her face and look up at us, revealing thereby the blushing cheeks, the pink lips quivering with unwonted emotion, and the large blue eyes opening a bright vista to a world of bliss within—then, oh then, our joys know no bounds and we feel overwhelmed and overpowered by an unseen agency!

"Yes, I feel unwell; but what news have you to give to us" were the words which escaped Nirmala's lips in addressing to me. I begged her not to feel troubled either on her husband's sake or her own, and the account I gave her of her husband's escape reassured her. After a while she asked: "If you are asked to accompany us to Gopalpur, can you go to-morrow?" "I would, but I fear you cannot travel until you have recovered from your illness: shall I call in a doctor?" "No, what need of a doctor for a poor woman? I shall pull through in a short while." The self-disregard of our women-folk is sometimes wonderful. Nevertheless, I procured medical aid before long, for I was afraid she had imbibed the plague-poison, having lived in an infected atmosphere so long. The doctor informed me that it was simple fever and there were no alarming symptoms. We, however, kept a watch over her illness.

I sat up a great part of the night—three hours or so along with Sailabala, who had taken up her position at the farthest end of the bed. With young impressionable people, nursing together a common patient is a strong cement of love. These three blessed hours made Sailabala love me—if, indeed, she could not heretofore confess to any tenderness—which I very much doubt. To understand the situation, I have since asked her several times: "Did you only love me then or before?" to which, with two sweet dimples on her dainty cheeks, she had invariably answered—"Go to, I don't know"—which sort of coy answer, as old lovers all know, generally set such questions at rest.

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Nirmala's fever which, happily, did not turn out to be plague lasted one full week and took her about five more days to be fit to travel. We had already lived in the same house for nine whole days and nights—I within the halo of her beauty and the fragrance of her sweetness, hardly watched by a third person. I respected Nirmala and nursed her through her illness tenderly, and more tenderly, perhaps, than I might in other circumstances, because by her illness she kept me and Sailabala together for a time—time enough to foster our attachment for each other; I was sincerely grateful to her fever.

On the second day of her illness, I had received a letter from Ram Babu thanking me for my services and begging me to escort his family home to their village. In a postscript he added that he did not want a reply to his letter as he was anxious not to make his whereabouts known and adjured me and the family not to talk of the affair at the station to anyone.

CHAPTER II

It is time that I should now pause to give the reader some account of our past lives. Kisorilal Ray, a village Shylock, was Sailabala's uncle—her mother's brother. I shall not, if I can help it, call him hard names spite his character. Kisorilal and Ramdas are co-villagers; there is a slight relationship between them, but the tie which brought them into closer contact was of an unpleasant character. Ramdas was heavily in Kisorilal's debt and at the time I am writing of was living a wretched life in the grip of his creditor. The userer had, by several decrees of the court, taken possession of most of his lands and what little still remained was under mortgage to him and as good as gone. Ramdas had quietly yielded himself body and soul to Kisorilal and lived, as it were, as his bond-slave. He had, of late, been appointed in some nondescript capacity at Kisorilal's banking firm in Calcutta with duties ranging from filling Kisorilal's *chillum* to running after his debtors. He had the privilege, however, of boarding at his master's expense and of receiving an undetermined salary which, whatever might be its amount, was always more than swallowed up by the interest on the debt Ramdas still owed to his employer. Nirmala acted as a sort of governess and maid-of-all-work in Kisorilal's family which consisted of his two little boys aged 7 and 5 and Sailabala, aged 16, his niece; the gentleman was a heart-whole widower. The situation was certainly degrading both to Nirmala and her husband who, by right

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of birth and connections, held their heads as high as Kisori, but had been content to make a virtue of necessity ; nay, more ; having no children herself (her only baby having died in the cradle) Nirmala had taken kindly to the foster-mothership. Ram Babu had the wreck of a cottage at Gopalpur but she spent the most part of her time at Kisori's house. The children called her "aunt"—a comprehensive term which generally confers many an advantage both on the caller and the called. I myself was distantly related to Ram Babu—was a cousin to him at a long remove and, having in days gone by spent much time every year at my maternal uncle's in the same village, had grown to be upon intimate terms with him and his wife. About 5 years ago my uncle having built a house at Hugli, where he was in service, my visit to Gopalpur had been discontinued and we had seen one another but rarely in Calcutta.

As to Sailabala, she was an orphan ; her father had died of fever when she was a baby, and her mother at her eleventh year—under very tragic circumstances. Theron hangs a tale in which I figure as one of the principal parties. But of that, later on. Upon the death of her husband, Sailabala's mother had passed into the guardianship of her brother, Kishori Babu, with the remnant of her little fortune and devoted herself to the bringing-up of the sole pledge her husband had given her of his love and to serving her brother's wife in capacities which varied from honourable companionship to dishonourable compliances with her whims and wishes. She had converted under her brother's advice all her landed property into cash, and this she had placed as a sacred trust in his hands under the distinct and oft-repeated stipulation that it should all go, if necessary, as dowry to Sailabala when it would be time for her to be given away in marriage. The heart-sick widow's *beau ideal* of happiness was to see her dear child wedded to a well-connected, well-educated and handsome young man in easy circumstances. When this consummation was attained, with a blessing on her lips for the young couple, she might close her eyes on this earth in perfect felicity. And as Sailabala grew up and year after year unfolded the natural graces of her mind and person, the mother sought by all available means to improve them by an education in the various branches of art and learning suitable to the softer sex ; so that at 10 she could read and write her vernacular with the greatest ease—was even reported to be capable of writing verses—and could knit and sew and cook a curry as well as your own darling daughter whose settlement in life is now the principal topic of conversation between you and your good lady. During these years of her

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sweet girlhood she used to be much in my society, when I, a boy in the early teens, used to pay long visits to her village during school and college vacations ; in fact, she was a pupil of mine in a way, receiving lessons from me in story-telling and Bengali literature in all manner of places and odd hours. And I made many a present to her of pretty things from Calcutta—nicely bound books, scents, wool, carpet, pictures and all that. Even before Sailabala completed her ninth year, her mother had begun to press upon Kisori Babu the supreme necessity of his being on a sharp look-out for a bridegroom for the girl, a request which the gentleman had treated with an equally supreme indifference, for, having devoured the sister's cash, it was not convenient—if it should be ever necessary—to discharge it in full or in part. The brother and sister had not been living on very affectionate terms for years for three plain reasons—the first : the matter of the deposit about which the Babu's conscience used at times to be rather rebellious ; the second : the mother and the girl were such a charge on him ; and the third : the girl was made so much of by the mother and the neighbours. Well, was that girl such a rarity in Bengal that all people who knew her should go into ecstasies over her ? Kisori's wife was a good soul who was never in anybody's way nor had anything to say in any matter so long as it did not immediately concern her personal comforts, but the old Shylock made such wry faces at the budding charms of his niece and refused her all the little conveniences her mother wanted for her ! The poor widow's life was embittered by the heartlessness of her brother and she wept secret tears and sometimes complained to my uncle, Haripada Babu, who deeply and openly sympathised with her. This was the head and front of my uncle's offending and much ill will gradually sprang up between him and Kisori. Let me mention here that my uncle, an elderly man, having no issue of his own, looked upon me as his heir and had assumed charge of me since I was an infant.

It was, I believe, Sailabala's mother who first proposed a match between myself and the girl to my uncle. He was not unwilling, nay, he positively longed to receive her in his household as my little bride, but Kisori, from spite against him, would for sometime have none of the alliance. He used to abuse my uncle behind his back and make scurrilous insinuations against his character, sparing not even the honour of his sister. Nevertheless, about six months after the match was first mooted, one fine morning he himself came to my uncle with the proposal he had so spurned at ; and the gaping people thought it a miracle. But those who knew winked

over their *hookas* saying that Kisorl Lal counted upon the known partiality of my uncle to the girl and being a miserly thief trusted to be rid of her with a nominal dowry. The girl being disposed of, the question of her patrimony might remain open for an indefinite period without any one being the richer for it besides himself. But he was destined to be sadly disappointed. My uncle, as was expected, accepted the offer with ardour and, what delighted Kisorl more, omitted to put and discuss the subject of the portion the girl should bring. It was no business of Kisorl's to push it to the front. For days and weeks the two talked at intervals about the graces and accomplishments of the bride and the prospects of the promising bride-groom, while the match was regarded as settled by the neighbours. Sailabala had also begun to keep away from my presence and hide herself before me. But still, like people unwilling to tread on dangerous grounds, my uncle and Kisorl avoided the topic of dowry and the patrimony of the girl. It may, however, be taken for certain that as the one was in his heart determined to get all, the other was resolved to give as little as possible. At last the question could no longer be deferred on the day of the formal *Asirbad* (that is, the day on which some elder relatives of the bride-groom make presents to the bride and bless her), and this raised a storm which laid our three heads low—mine, Sailabala's and her mother's. The quarrel between Kisorl Babu and my uncle over Sailabala's dowry was scandalous in the extreme and the tumult was awful. Rancorous abuse swelled and surged between the two and wofully fouled the reputation of Sailabala's mother so that she could wash it only with her life blood. She was libelled and dishonoured by a brother's evil tongue before an assembly of half the village-people, and this threw her into a swoon on the carpet from which she never recovered in this world.

The horror of the event may be conceived. Needless to say that this at once broke off the negotiation of marriage without the remotest chance of its being renewed and poor Sailabala and myself retired in utter despair from the threshold of bliss. But what a brute am I to couple my sorrow with hers? Though but a girl, what agonies must she have not suffered in that tragic hour and afterwards!

Days passed by and with them I passed out into a sphere where marriage-contracts, disappointments and dying of a broken heart did not form our themes of conversation; but though I plunged into the activities of an undergraduate's life with commendable ardour, away from the scene of the tragedy, the thoughts of Sailabala, my intended bride, and her mother's sad end never forsook me for a day.

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The consequences of the rupture as far as Sailabala's prospects were concerned seemed little better than what they were to her mother. The child of a woman openly branded with infamy by her own brother no respectable family would receive, though she were—as she was—a paragon of beauty and accomplishments. The rumour had also gone abroad—but it was not true—that she had been formally betrothed to me and could not, therefore, be mated with another husband while I lived.

Thus had Sailabala grown to be a girl of 16 and had yet remained unmarried.

CHAPTER III

Calcutta, Hugli and Gopalpur figure as the three important centres of my story. But how different are they from one another. Painted on the same canvas how would the village pale into insignificance beside the majesty of the City of Palaces and the city of the Imambarah ! But yet I love Gopalpur dearly—much more dearly than any other spot on earth for its sights and sounds and the incidents of my life with which they are inseparably associated. O, for a Miss Mitford's pen to describe the charms of my beloved Gopalpur !

A considerable village on the bank of a rivulet—the Beni—Gopalpur sits almost hidden behind a long range of the feathery palm, betel-nut, mango, tamarind and other trees which have grown and prospered about and within it in wild luxuriance. The green fields of *rabi* crops, generally quadrilateral in form and divided from one another by the narrowest of footpaths, lie beyond the fallow lands. Here the cattle pasture by the day and the villagers meet in the evening to discuss the politics of the neighbourhood. You might ask your way to anybody's house of the husbandmen who, wicker-parasol on head, may be weeding or ploughing or harrowing the fields or smoking the *hookah* at intervals of repose ; or you might apply to the cow-boys who sport in the shade of the trees neglectful of their bovine charge or mindful of them only when any of the animals stray into a planted field when they run after them with loud halloos and up-lifted stick. If you approach the village by water, lovelier objects would greet your inquisitive eyes, for at the *ghats* there assemble the village beauties at their gossiping sessions under the excuse of bathing or fetching water or washing things. For sweet scandal and character-painting commend me to these dear ladies who seem to know the secrets and motives of every man

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and woman in the village and can hit them off in terms much more expressive and emphatic than any ever found in your vocabularies. Who ever said that our women are dull? As your boat draws near you might perceive—if you watch—a lull in the conversation and the modest creatures draw their veils down—but not down enough to inconvenience them in taking a comprehensive view of your boat, your boatmen, and of yourself if you are out upon the deck. Would you believe that the eyes under the shade of a veil generally see more quickly, clearly and truly than ours?

Gopalpur is essentially a Hindu village inhabited on the outskirts by only a few Mussalmans of the poorest class. The major part of the population are Kayasthas and Brahmans without whom the other Hindu castes would not make up a village; and there are the potters, the barbers, the fishers, the *goulas* and others, inhabiting localities specially assigned to them and named after them. The well-to-do have brick-built houses—a few of them two-storied—but the tenements of most have only mud walls and thatched roofs. The village clusters along two main streets neither very straight nor very even, but wide enough for a wheeled carriage to pass without much difficulty (of which the inhabitants are not a little proud) and along numerous lanes and by-paths branching off from them. These are all shaded mostly with mango, jack, *bel*, palm and tamarind, with *bakul*, *kadamba*, *champaka*, *palasa* and other flowering trees intervening here and there; so that whatever may be the month of the year some fruits and flowers are always in season and birds and bees haunt them and fill the air with their glad chirpings and hummings. Most of the domiciles lie ensconced, each behind its thin or thick line of fruit and flower trees, and some have the grounds in front of them laid out in roses, *bela*, *rajanigandha*, marigold, lily, *juti*, *mallica*, and the creeping *apara-jita*, *kunjulata*, *madhavi*, and a few others delighting alike the eye and the sense of smell. If you may get a peep at the inner divisions of the houses, you will find in a corner of the yard or behind the buildings trellises of pumpkin and cucumber and varieties of pea and, may be, a few lemon or pomegranate trees. Many of the thatched roofs of the houses of the poorer people are covered with the useful creepers and the heavy fruits lie embedded in them. In front of some of these habitations are stacks of hay and a cow or two and the calves tied to stakes beside them. There are thirteen fish-ponds and three small tanks in Gopalpur with lonely ghats to which women resort and the banks of which are covered with clumps of the bending and whispering bamboo and

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the broad-leaved plantain. The water of none of these tanks is good enough to drink or to bathe in.

The Sub-Post Office and the Middle English School which stand face to face across the street in the centre of the village are institutions betokening the civilization of the inhabitants and are, at the present time, presided over—the one by a Dāk-Babu of severe mien who could be polite and affable when he chose—and the other by a half-starved Ichabod Crane very fond of half and quarter holidays. The potentate who commanded the channel of communication with the outside world and the dread wielder of the rod were unhappily at war with each other when I knew them ; but the cause or causes of the feud have not yet been satisfactorily ascertained although various ingenious surmises have been examined, found untenable and rejected. The two men used to have no other intercourse from month's end to month's end than staring each other angrily in the face across the street.

The greensward before the school bungalow, dotted with a few large *bakula* and bounded by a neatly constructed palisade, is a delightful place. Under the shadow of the largest of these—when it is fine—or in the verandah when the weather is wet—sits the council of the village-elders every afternoon and there is discussed over the *hookah* or the dice social and political questions affecting the interests of our country. It behoves government to have a resident stationed at Gopalpur if it will correctly feel the political pulse of our people.

The village also boasts of three grocers' shops wherein are sold in siderooms some books of the lower school course and paper, pens, ink, slates, pencils and such other things as well as many ambitious nick-nicky of European manufacture. Some of the villagers have run up heavy accounts of arrears at these shops and you may see any morning the masters of the shops or their *sircars* loitering about the sitting rooms or the outer yards of the village folk with the dread *khero* bound bill-book doubled up under their arm. Gopalpur holds a bazar of vegetables, fish, milk, curd and other articles of daily consumption every morning and a *hat* or market every Wednesday which lasts the whole afternoon. They are worth a visit—this bazar and market, in which the open stalls, some with, and some without, thatched coverings over them, run in parallel lines and do roaring business. The stall-keeper sits cross-legged amidst his wares arranged on bamboo-mats with a small wooden box having a small hole in the lid before him ; and how wonderfully quick is he at serving so many clamorous customers almost at the same time—he has an

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endearing word or a polite smile for all excepting those who impertinently higggle. Then the honest man behind the box (not counter) appraises a half anna worth of thing at two, can imprudence go farther than in grumbling that it was too much? The bazar sirens show off their tinsel charms as they saunter about under pretence of shopping. The fishes are in charge mostly of women—beauties of a sort—dark and glossy as their own *magurs*, heavy as their heaviest front, and with a mouth as large as that of the *boal* they sell; I would not be a fishmonger if only for fear of mating with one of these. The fishmarket is the noisiest quarter in the whole place, not that the fishes cry but their mistresses have such glib tongues, such a loud way of articulation and such a complete mastery of the vocabulary of abuse. As you make your way along the narrow lanes amongst moving and stationary waggons and lumber, you rub your shoulders very red with those of others hurrying to and fro and perchance you just escape the horns of a prancing bullock facetiously disposed.

It cannot be said that the village is over-tidy or that there are no pools of discoloured water under the trees by the way-side or behind people's houses. There are hot-beds of malaria—the curse of the Bengal village—and that it makes sad wrecks of the physiques of its inhabitants is evidenced by the emaciated frames of many whom you may meet on the village-paths and the sleekness and rotundity of the two allopaths, the one homœopath, and the two *Kabirajes* who practise as doctors at Gopalpur. The village-paths are almost wholly arched over with foliage and, therefore, cool; and flowers fall on them frequently from over head. They are solitary too, and when at noon-day doves coo among the branches, it is delicious to make love in them to a shy girl whom you not infrequently meet tripping along from one house to another. This does not, however, necessarily imply that I ever made love to any in these umbrageous walks but what I say is that you may, if you are amorously inclined.

Now, by the soul of my *swadeshi* reed pen, how far have I strayed from my story! Let me hasten to resume its thread.

CHAPTER IV

On the tenth day of her stay at my lodgings, I took an opportunity to ask Nirmala what she knew to be Kisori's present feelings towards my uncle. She simply answered by fearing that they were as bitter as ever. I had not expected, to tell you my mind, a more hopeful answer. There are hearts in which spite

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strikes deeper roots as they grow older; time effects no cure in them. A few hours afterwards I contrived to be alone with Sailabala in a room of my house. Do not be shocked, dear reader, at my taking advantage of the circumstances in which chance had placed the girl. I had scrupulously avoided her unless it was beside Nirmala's sick-bed, and I had not talked to her excepting only once or twice while she was under my roof; who can say what amount of strength of character this self-denial demanded of me? But this particular day I had made a serious resolve to speak to her, and my feeling, always perfectly honourable, ran too high to be put down.

As soon as I could steady my thoughts and find words, I thus addressed Sailabala: "suppose I offer to marry you, in spite of your uncle and mine, if need be, would you consent to be mine?" She did not for a few seconds seem to have heard me—she was standing with her back half turned towards me and was looking out of a window. So, I repeated my query twice and every time more and still more earnestly,—“Saila, would you?” “Would you, Saila, darling?” This broke her down completely; she burst into an amazing flood of tears and losing all control over herself sank upon the ground almost at my feet. Could I look upon this with calmness? I caught her up in my arms and covered her face with a thousand kisses. “Know, my dearest,” cried I, “we are man and wife hence-forth though worlds may stand between us; your betrothal was interrupted five years ago, death alone can separate us now.” I now blush at my raving of that moment, but if you would confess the truth, beloved reader, how much more poetry have you not been guilty of when days were young and blood was hot!

Scarcely the last words of my vow had got out of my mouth, when bang went the door behind me and who tore into the room?—The dreaded Kisori Lal Roy himself. He glowered on our splendid stage-attitude for a minute at the end of which—the first shock of surprise being over—I stared back as defiantly as I could and the girl loosened from my embrace cowered at my feet and shook all over like a small leaf in a strong breeze. I greatly feared she might go into a fit. Gathering up all my indignation I asked Kisori in a deep whisper—“Will you kill this girl as you killed her mother?”

This short sentence seemed to call him back to his senses. He left the room without a word but only to stride into the next, where Nirmala lay on her bed of convalescence. There he burst into a storm of vituperation—“Woman, it is all your work. Vile that you are, you have pandered to the lust of this profligate youngman;

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you have sullied the reputation of a house that has afforded you refuge in your wretchedness, slave ! I will turn you out into the streets, I will, base, jade you and your vagabond husband, I will—" But all this was more than I could bear ; indeed, I could bear much less just then. I flew into the room and taking the man by his shirt-collar cried in a fury—"Leave my house this instant or I will kick you out"—and gave him a thrust with my right hand which sent him reeling back on the door-sill crying for help. Nirmala, who had sat up with her veil drawn down at Kisori's entrance and borne all the abuse with the patience of an Indian woman—poor, dear Nirmala—sprang down distracted from the couch with loud cries of " don't " " don't " and threw herself between us. The uproar collected a crowd about my door, for my house stood in a main street and I reflected that the scandal would soon spread and might roll into the courts of law. A friend of mine, a next door neighbour, now interfered, and taking Kisori by the hand set him on his legs in the street. He stopped not to abuse us again, as I was afraid, but went his way at a round rate—to the police station.

For about two hours after his departure we all lay in a sort of stupor in vague fear of what would follow—as something was bound to—shaping it to forms as hideous as our knowledge and imagination suggested. Nirmala's thoughts must have been the gloomiest and her fears the greatest. Sailabala's may have been of a lighter complexion as her face, to which I stole many a loving glance, indicated. She said to me some weeks afterwards that even in her great anxiety she had not forgotten the vow I had taken that nothing short of death could separate us ; that had borne her up.

Now for it ! At the stroke of eight in the evening a hackney carriage with one constable on the coach-box, two behind, and I could not see how many more within, rattled up to my door. I heard Kisori's voice crying "there's the rascal !" while one of the policemen jumping down was opening the coach-door. The Sub-Inspector (a Sub-Inspector was within) stepping out angrily reported—"call no names, if you please !" and turning towards me said—"Whose house is this ?" and then without waiting for an answer—"Have you under your protection two ladies in this house and children ? Who are they ?" "I have taken this house on rent," answered I, "the children are his (pointing to Kisori) ; the younger lady is his niece and the other, the wife of a gentleman in his service ; they all are at present under my protection."

At this point the officer desired to be shown into a quiet place where we might have a talk ; he asked Kisori to wait in the carriage.

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I took him into my little sitting room ; the constables sat on the steps.

"How came the ladies to be here?" resumed the Sub-Inspector who, it should be noted, behaved and spoke to me like a gentleman. I told him the whole story beginning with my meeting with the ladies at the station to my fracas with Kisorí, garbling nothing, distorting nothing, and withholding nothing except that I slurred over my romantic passage with Sailabala.

He took down my words almost *verbatim*.

"How old are the two ladies?" asked he.

"One might be 35 and the other 16."

"The latter unmarried?"

"Yes"—but I was tempted to say 'no'; it was painful to think that I could not yet call her my 'own.'

"Are you related to them?" "I am a cousin, though distant, to the older lady; we have been long known to each other. My acquaintance with the other is also of over 10 years' standing."

"So far good, Sachi Babu," said the officer finishing an entry, "but I have a more delicate duty to do; there can be no objection, I trust, to my learning what the ladies have to say?" "How can you?" said I in reply, "they won't appear before you."

"But they can speak so that I may hear."

"That may be arranged," I conceded, "but I must first give them notice of your intention and prepare them to face an examination."

"No preparation, please," observed he dryly, "they shall say what they know or think best. You will excuse me also if I ask you not to see or converse with them while I am here. Remember, it is our duty, no offence is meant."

My servant unbarred the door between the room in which we sat and an adjacent one and put up a bed-sheet by way of a screen. Nirmala and Sailabala came into it by a side door so that we did not see them. Reader, you may conceive their feelings better than I can describe them and they were so fragile—so nervous; was there ever anything on earth requiring more tender care and gentler handling than a pure-hearted and highly sensitive Bengali woman?

But the examination was short.

"I ask you both, ladies, did you come with Sachi Babu to his house of your own free will?" asked the Sub-Inspector. To my astonishment, it was Sailabala who answered to this in clear silvery tones in the following way—"Yes, we came with him to his house

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of our own free will and at his kind invitation when he found us without a protector at the Railway Station."

"Who speaks?" asked the officer of me. "The younger lady," said Sailabala.

"Hem! why not the older? Would she kindly answer? Why have you been so long here?" This time Nirmala answered: "I was taken ill and was very unwell for a week; I was waiting to recover strength enough to travel. The girl and the children were to go with me and Sachi Babu was to accompany us to our village; for this he had my husband's permission." Questioned as to the cause and nature of my scuffle with Kisori, Nirmala said—"Kisori Babu abused me at which Sachi Babu gave him a push and he fell on the door-sill."

The officer did not choose to make further inquiries. He rose and desired me to come with him into the street. We walked out. The doors and front windows of the nearest houses on either side of the street were lined with their inmates curious to learn the event or the issue. We did not mind them except that the Sub-Inspector hailed an elderly gentleman who stood at the next door and seemed glad that he was at hand. Let me tell you that he was head clerk to the District Superintendent of Police and father of my friend.

The Sub-Inspector said to Kisori—"Until your case is disposed of, Kisori Babu, I cannot, I fear, place the ladies under your charge. You must make up your mind upon this point. You may, however, take away the children if you like."

Then turning to me—"You too, Sachi Babu, must surrender your present custody of these ladies."

"Then where, in the name of goodness, are they to go and live?"

"That shall be *my* look out," promptly answered the officer. "In the meantime would you please tell the ladies through some one that for a time they will have to live in the house, and under the guardianship, of some respectable old gentleman with a family who may kindly undertake to look after them? Kisori Babu, of course, bears the cost."

Within a short time it was so arranged that the ladies, who stoutly refused to remove to any unknown gentleman's house, from feelings of delicacy which may be easily appreciated, should continue to reside where they were and I should go to a friend's in another part of the town. This was no hardship on me as I was all alone and had the merest apology of an establishment. The elderly gentleman, my friend's father was, with his consent, appointed to look after the ladies and the children (who could not be separated from them) while both

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Kisori and myself were warned under a veiled threat against holding any communication with them. Furthermore, I had to furnish a bail which was immediately done by my uncle turning up from Hugli just at that time.

CHAPTER V

I was deceived in the hope that, after the clear story I had told, the police officer and the testimony of the two ladies and the manner in which they had been received by him, no charges would be framed against me. But mysterious are the ways of the police, and the resources of a villain like Kisori are exhaustless. I was told within a couple of days that I was to be brought on for trial under several sections of the Penal Code, to wit, 365, 366, 497, 323 and goodness knows how many more. But I was perfectly easy in mind about myself ; my only concern—and extremely painful it was—was for Sailabala and Nirmala.

As soon as I had made a clean breast of it to my uncle, the care passed entirely out of my hands into his. I did not conceal from him my vow to Sailabala and her feelings towards me as told by many a speechless message from her eyes and as proved by her sweet disposition towards me. I finished with an exclamation fully worthy of a love-sick hero of a romance which, however, did not take my uncle's breath out of him as he had long known where my heart lay and he seemed delighted at my fervour. "Dear uncle," said I "I love her as man ever loved woman and she returns my feelings ; and even though she did not, I would cherish and worship no other image but hers in my heart. For my sake, dearest uncle, and for hers do arrange that we may be united. You can—I know, you can, if you will." Love and vows and cherishing of images, &c. &c. fall flat upon the taste of the people in this latter-day world—in life as well as in tale, eh reader ? They are so old and so much has been said or sung about them ; but, dear reader, you should put up with them nevertheless. As long as there will be young people on earth so long will they rave about them and their aiders and abettors, the poets, will celebrate them—there's no help. If you still turn up your nose, your crabbed heart, I should say, must be hopelessly beyond redemption.

Let me go back a little to tell how it came about. Kisori had gone far afield in the country hounding a debtor of his and had left orders with Ram Babu to take Sailabala and the children as also his own wife home to Gopalpur. On the completion of his business

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he took home on his way back to Calcutta hoping to see the women and children there. He did not find them at Gopalpur as may be easily guessed and the villagers could give him no information. He hastened to the metropolis thinking they were still there and may not have yet left for the village, but no trace of them could be found there ; the house in which they had lived was closed and there was a placard over the door with "To Let" on it in large capitals. Thence he ran to his office in another street. Here the servant told him that he had been instructed to refer his master for information to the gentleman who had been sent by Ram Babu to Howrah. To him, accordingly, Kisori went and had from him an account of the circumstances which had placed the family in my hands. But he could not account for their not having reached the village as yet ; he did not know anything about Nirmala's illness—I had neither time nor opportunity to inform him. He, however, gave Kisori my address which brought him to my house that memorable evening. He also gave him to know where Ram Babu was in hiding.

Before coming upon us in the manner he did, Kisori had first ascertained from a safe lurking place that the family was really with me and had then run back to Calcutta. Extremely wicked though he was and burning to wreak his vengeance on my uncle through me, he was yet unwilling to drag his niece into a scandalous case which he intended to get up. He wished to feed his grudge through Nirmala's disgrace—scoundrel ! His influence over Ram Babu was so great that he hoped that by holding out a threat he might persuade him to bring a case of kidnapping against me in which his wife, Nirmala, should figure as heroine. "Well," said he, by way of consoling the husband, "the case is, as we both know, entirely false ; your wife's character remains as undefiled as ever ; only my purpose, which I have cherished so long, is accomplished through you and your good wife's services to which, you both know, I have a claim." This was demanding too much even from a humble dependant, for, though a most obedient servant, he was not dead, nor even dull, to the sense of his wife's honour. He was a simple, lazy, thoughtless, careless sort of fellow who through his foolishness had lost his all to the sharper, Kisori ; but he was a gentleman and his devotion to his wife was profound. It would be a sight to see how the meek-spirited and humble man sprang to his feet, as stung by a viper, at Kisori's atrocious proposal, and, drawing himself up to his full height, kicked his master, yes, actually kicked him in the face—he did not feel that

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the *chilum* he had just filled for Kisori had fallen from his hand and the glowing char-coal was burning over his toes.

But revenge was too sweet and its prospect too alluring to Kisori to be given up at the failure of his first project. Foiled and exasperated, he now determined to sacrifice his niece to his lust for vengeance. Accordingly, in the complaint he afterwards lodged at the *thana* at Howrah it was Sailabala's name which appeared as that of the injured, *not* Nirmala's.

The plot thickened. Kisori arrayed a phalanx of witnesses, the chief of whom were the petty railway officer whom I had noticed at the Howrah station staring at Nirmala and Sailabala and some two or three underlings of the railway police; he also bribed some disreputable women of the working class in my quarter of the town to depose against me. The whole body was thoroughly tutored, as we strongly suspected, by past masters of the art—the police whose pockets jingled merrily all the time at Kisori's expense. Kisori confidently reckoned upon successfully intimidating Nirmala and Sailabala to play into his dirty hands. On the other hand, Ram Babu, whom utter despair now seemed to rouse from his habitual lethargy and who now hated Kisori with a bitter hatred, joined our party. And so did his friend and the doctor, a gentleman of high social standing at Howrah, who had treated Nirmala in her illness, and my friend, the next door neighbour, with the sympathy of the whole family at his back.

But the case did not come up for trial at all to the great disappointment of the police and some of the land-sharks of the Howrah bar. The object of my uncle from the beginning was to avoid proceedings in a court of law. He was, as I might tell you before now, Sheristadar to the District and Sessions Judge at Hugli, a trusted and capable member of the Indian Civil Service and much liked, nay loved, by his master, Mr. X. who was an elderly man with a warm heart and obliging ways. My uncle's relations with him had grown more friendly than the mere official connection and was strictly honourable to both parties. They used to confide to each other and private personal matters and take counsel together upon them. To him my uncle confided the whole story—not only the story of the present trouble but also, by way of elucidation, all those incidents in the lives of the parties concerned which had led up to it. He also disclosed to him my love to Sailabala and her devotion to me and how I had made vows to her and how she had received them—everything, in short, which could rouse, sustain and raise the gentleman's interest in my affairs and his zeal to serve

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me and my beloved by any means consistent with his position in service and his society. "Don't worry yourself any more about it, Haripoda," said he to my uncle, "I shall save the young persons, if I may, from the disgrace of this scandalous case ; but will you unite them when the storm has blown over ?" "With all my heart," answered my uncle.

I too had an interview with Mr. X. at his own desire and he got out of me everything that he had learnt from my uncle. Then with half suppressed mirth in his eyes he said—"suppose your uncle refuses to make an alliance with Kisori by having his niece married to you and he knows that you cannot but suffer in your pocket by marrying the girl ; she is dowerless. Your uncle has in his eye a match every way more desirable—the girl is very handsome and the dowry ample." For a minute I did not speak, scarcely able to gather my thoughts : then I spoke with an ardour of sentiment which must have met with his approval for, as soon as I had stopped to take breath, he grasped my hand and shook it warmly. "Sir," said I, "I should certainly be very sorry to act contrary to the wishes of my uncle who has been a father to me ever since my early boyhood, but I love this girl and am loved in return, and I am pledged to marry her ; I shall do so in spite of anything short of death or imprisonment for life ; she is equally ready to brave the darkest frowns of fortune for my sake. Indeed, sir," continued I, "we are united already in a way, as our vows have been exchanged and whoever stands between us now is guilty of separating the husband from the wife of his choice. After this I need hardly tell you that the thought of a dowry does not weigh at all with me ; a mintful of money is as nothing in my estimation compared with the possession of and the love of my chosen bride."

I do not know how it happened—my uncle perhaps knows but he has not chosen to tell me—that the police did not send up the curried case at all—the *curried case*, that phrase is my manufacture and I am proud of it. And what was more mysterious to me was that on the very day on which we expected to be summoned to court, we—that is, Sailabala, Nirmala and the children, on the one hand, and myself, on the other,—were sent by my uncle at Hugli and my friend, the police Sub-Inspector, came smiling to greet us and see us off at the station.

On our arrival at my uncle's home we found it *enfete*—decorated with arches and garlands ; clean swept, scoured, re-painted and white-washed. Several bands of music were playing and people bustling about getting things up as if for a festival. A little bird whispered

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into my ear what it was all about ; dear little bird, there was no need ; the thrilling of the nerves in the right half of my body augured, as it did to Dusmanta, that bliss was at hand. But Sailabala did not understand anything, and her dullness, for I chose to call it dullness, seemed mysterious.

The nuptials were celebrated in the evening and among the guests (very select party) one of the happiest seemed Mr. X. who graced the ceremony with his presence and watched it from beginning to end with a pleased interest. I trust he has since written a learned account of the Hindu wedding rites in some of the home magazines. Kisori gave away the bride and in no sulky mood—nay, he was positively cheerful and acted his part to perfection. What magic had changed that villain into a gentleman all on a sudden ?

Upon a silver salver near where the few gifts to the bridegroom were arranged was a silken purse and some jewellery to which my uncle, in course of some remarks, drew Mr. X's attention. "This jewellery belonged to the bride's mother and this purse holds the Rs. 7,545 and odd, principal and interest in gold and silver which she has inherited from her father and which lay invested in Kisori Babu's hands since his death." My uncle also showed to the other guests Mr. X's gifts of three gold hair-pins to my wife and a watch and a gold chain to me.

The ceremony over, Mr. X. rose and shook hands with me saying softly while he did so—"Well, young gentleman, I hope you are happy." I could only bow my head in acknowledgment—my heart was too full. He did not also overlook Sailabala but repeatedly bowed before her veiled face in a rather comic fashion ; she responded (without instructions from any one) by joining the palms of her little hands and raising them to her fore-head !

The strain of the ceremony had barely passed away when Kisori came to pour his blessings upon us. Sailabala approached him and bowed down at his feet. She seemed to remain in that position for a pretty long time,—longer than such a ceremony usually takes. Curiosity began to give way to anxiety, till at last it was found that Sailabala had swooned away. Medical aid was hastily summoned but to no avail. She did not recover her consciousness since that moment, and expired a week later, under circumstances very different from, but much more tragic than which her mother died several years ago under Kisori's roof.

Dvijendra Nath Neogi

REVIEWS & NOTICES

KRISHNA LEGEND

DESTRUCTION OF DVARAVATI AND OF THE YADAVAS

A literal translation of the Jaina text of Devendra, the commentator, on the destruction of Dvaravati and of the Yadavas is given below. It has been kindly revised by Professor H. Jacobi, who published the text in the *Journal* of the German Oriental Society (Vol. 42.) The account has all the flavour of a Jaina story and may be compared with the latter part of the Buddhistic Ghata Jataka and with the Brahmanical version in the Mausalya Parva of the Mahabharata.

There was once a town by the name of Dvaravati which was built by the gods, entirely of gold and rich in every kind of splendour, in which lived the king Vasudeva, emperor over the half of Bharata. His brothers were Baladeva and Jarakumar both older than he ; their father was Vasudeva. One of his wives was queen Jara, after whom was her son Jara Kumar named. These three princes, together with Samba, Pradyumna and others—in the whole 35 millions princes—and in company with many hundred thousand beautiful women, enjoyed the delight of dominion and other pleasures in connection with which every scarcely conceivable wish was fulfilled.

Now once our Lord Arishtanemi—the venerable Arhat, the Omniscient—came to that place to enlighten the elect.* The gods prepared his reception, and to the gathering came the Caturthikya gods, the Yadavas and Vasudeva. The venerable Arishtanemi taught religion. The sermon being ended Vasudeva enquired of him through whom and at whose instigation Dvaravati (the city built by the gods and rich in treasures, gold, jewels, inhabitants, equipages and horses), the race of the Yadavas as well as he would meet with their destruction. To which the venerable one replied : “Hear, O King ! there lives an ascetic by the name of Dvipayana whom the princes Samba, while intoxicated from spirituous liquors, will deride, and who therefore will destroy Dvaravati and bring about the destruction of the race of Yadavas. He formerly lived as a brahmanical ascetic by the name of Paracara in an ascetic hermitage

* *Bhavya* are those who may reach Nirvana ; they are therefore the *elect* ; for many souls will never be liberated.

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outside the town of Caurinagara. His name was Dvipayana (islander)—from the circumstances that he once became acquainted with a frolicsome maiden and withdrew with her to an island in Yamuna river. He now lived there practising penances, maintaining the vow of chastity and partaking of only one meal every three days. He came to hear that our Lord Aristanemi, the venerable, omniscient and all-seeing seer has declared that from him the destruction of Dvaravati and of the Yadavas would proceed ; upon this he went into another forest thinking to himself—this is bad, how shall I bring it about ?

What concerns thy question as to the cause of thine own death, so understand that thou shalt meet thy death through thine elder brother, Jarakumara, the son of Vasudeva and Jaradevi.

Hearing this the looks of the Yadavas fell full of sorrow and sadness upon Jarakumar. But he thought to himself : “frightful, shocking, how shall I myself—the son of Vasudeva—kill my younger brother? O great sin !” With such thoughts did Jarakumar take leave of the Yadavas and said farewell to them. In order to save the Janardana he chose a forest (junge life).

When Jarakumara had departed, Hari and the other Yadavas thought themselves to be worthless. Every Yadava bowed to the venerable Arishtanemi and they returned to the town thinking of the transitoriness of the world but specially of that of Dvaravati and of the race of Yadava.

After their return to the town, Vasudeva caused to be proclaimed to the city. ‘ Hide quickly all spirituous liquors as wine &c. and outside the town in the cave of the Kadamba park ; because our Lord the venerable Arishtanemi has said that the princes in a state of intoxication will grossly abuse the seer Dvipayana and then the latter will in his wrath destroy Dvaravati. Upon this the servants did all that they were told to do, all spirituous liquors as wine &c. were poured into the stone tanks in the Kadamba park. Now therefore because the cave in the Kadamba park was concealed from view, it received the name of Kadambari, and the wine the same name Kadambari.

Now it happened that at the time, a brother of Baladeva named Siddhartha who, from love for his brother, served as his charioteer began thus friendly to address him : “The venerable one has taught us that owing to birth, age and death life upon earth specially for us mankind is full of hardship and of very short duration. Therefore permit me to live as an ascetic near the venerable one.” When Baladeva found him firmly resolved in his determination he said :

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be it so; but if any kind of misfortune happens, grant me pious instruction. Siddhartha agreed to this, took leave of all his relations and went to the venerable one where he took the vows. He performed severe penances and already after six months entered heaven.

Now the wine in those stone tanks in the Kadamba Cave had during the winter half of the year become thoroughly matured, clear, of a sweet taste, quite excellent, invigorating and of a nice brown colour. Now a huntsman belonging to Prince Samba came there while on an excursion. He found the wine and tasted gladly thereof. As he found the taste of the wine very sweet he relished several cupfuls. He then saw a herd of gazelles which intoxicated with cool, clear and delicious wine, were gamboling about without fear. Thereupon he reported everything to Prince Samba who himself went there and saw the wine. He drank of it and thought : "Is it indeed proper for me to enjoy any kind of pleasure without the remaining princes ? I will therefore conduct the princes here tomorrow." He brought the high-spirited princes to the Kadamba Cave—they saw the wine was good ; and ordered their servants to take some of it with them which then they did. They then proceeded to a delightful wood full of many kinds of trees and fragrance of flowers. Then said Samba : "You princes, by an accident we have found this wine after half a year. Therefore drink to your heart's content ;" and they drank of it. Intoxicated by the wine they sang, danced, and embraced each other. By every kind of game they reached a certain place in the hills where during their wanderings they observed the Seer Dvipayana engaged in his exercise of penance. They said : "Ay that is indeed the friend whom the venerable one our Lord Arishtanemi the Jina has pointed out as the future destroyer of Dvaravati. Now why should we not so soundly beat this miscreant who without provocation shows us enmity ? And in their anger, biting their lips, they belaboured the innocent Seer Dvipayana with kicks, fisticuffs, boxing his ears until he fell almost breathless to the ground. Thereupon they returned to Dvaravati.

At a secret conference everything, as it had happened, was communicated to Vasudeva. Then exclaimed he in thought :—"Oh the licentiousness of the princes ! Oh the short-sightedness of youth ! what shall now happen to those who have incurred death ?" He went with Baladeva to Muni Dvipayana to appease his anger and saw him with lips trembling with wrath. He honoured him with proper marks of esteem and said : "Oh, mighty penitent, anger destroy all

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virtue. Noble one ! those who practise self-restraint do not allow themselves to be carried away by anger. So noble natures therefore do not take cognisance when fools out of ignorance and in a state of intoxication do them harm. Therefore pardon us the unwarrantable conduct of the princes." When Dvipayana in spite of his entreaties maintained his anger then Baladeva said : " Prince ! desist from the vain endeavour ; what he has in mind, that let him carry out. Is it possible to undo anything of the Jina's prophecy ? " Then said Dvipayana : " Oh Prince ! when these beat me I took a great oath that both you, excepted not one not even a dog, should be saved at the destruction of the Dvaravati. Therefore Jina's prophecy will not be untrue and my oath also not otherwise. Therefore leave me ; why do you hesitate ? " Thereupon, bowed down with sorrow, Vasudeva and Baladeva returned quite dejected to the town. But Dvipayana's declamation became known to the whole town. Now on the succeeding day the following appeal was made : " citizens, fast and do penance ; with alms, flowers, pleasing odours and perfumes in your hands, incessantly bring veneration, sacrifice and adoration to Jina. Men ! A sudden end of the town has he prophesied."

About this time came the venerable one, our Lord Arishtanemi, to that place and established himself on the Raivat, a mountain. The Yadavas also came to that place, adored the venerable one and then seated themselves each one in his place. After the sermon Pradyumna, Nisatha, Suka, Sarana, Samba and the other princes were deeply affected by reason of the transitoriness of the world and took the vow in presence of the venerable one. Also Rukmini, filled with fear, on account of her former sins, said to Vasudeva : " Oh, great king ! such a termination does the world take but specially the race of Jadavas. Therefore permit me to become a nun." Then Krishna with tearful eyes gave her, although reluctantly, his permission. Together with her, other princesses took the vows. The remaining Yadavas adored our lord Arishtanemi and returned to Dvaravati, filled with fervent grief ; and Vasudeva, separated from Rukmini, thought himself deprived of every happiness. But the venerable one, the omniscient one, went to another place to enlighten the elect. But Vasudeva's son caused a second time to be proclaimed in the town :—" Oh, Ye Yadavas ! Oh Ye citizens whom fortune has spoiled ! The great doom because of Dvipayana's affair is eminent. Therefore practise zealously pious works ; avoid as much as you can the killing of living beings, falsehood, theft, adultery, avarice. Do penance in that you only eat once in 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, or several days.

Honour zealously the deities and saints." They promised to follow Hari's exhortations.

But Dvipayana practised severe penances after the ways of heretics and died with the resolve to destroy Dvaravati. He was then reborn again as a Bhuvanavasingod among the Agnikumaras. Remembering the events with the Yadavas he came to the place to destroy Dvaravati. In the meantime he accomplished nothing. For the whole population was devoting itself to penances, honoured and implored jealously the gods, incessantly repeated mantras and prayers and in consequence of all this Dvipayana had no power over them. He therefore lay hidden a whole twelve years in wait for an opportunity. The people then thought that they had conquered Dvipayana (through their devotion,) deprived him of his splendour and rendered his penance powerless. Without any further apprehension the population now again gave itself up to its enjoyment, became intoxicated with wine, and abandoned itself to debauchery. Thus the wicked Agnikumar found an opportunity and began his work of destruction. Then appeared several omens of ill augury. Then Agnikumara by magic power called forth an all-destructive hurricane as occurs at the destruction of the world. While during the flight of the inhabitants with frightful noise he heaped up in the interior of the town, enormous quantities of wood and grass and leaves. Then the malicious god lighted a great frightful fire, and again, from gardens and other places, brought there trees, wood, twigs, plants, leaves, etc. Owing to the frightful smoking fire the people were no longer able to go from house to house. And the fire burnt all the points of the town where it had been applied by Dvipayana. Everywhere the palaces, adorned with pearls, precious stones, and gold, cracked and came crashing down to the ground. The burning rams, elephants, bulls, horses, asses, camels, domestic animals and birds set up a great terrific uproar. The Yadavas were burnt to death in the arms of their ladyloves, their wives weeping and setting up a pitiable lamentation.

Now when Baladeva and Vasudeva saw the burning of Dvaravati* they proceeded calling and crying out to the house of their father. Quickly they put Rohini, Devaki and their father into the chariot and yoked horses and oxen thereto. But these were soon singed by the fire and could not draw the chariot. Then Vasudeva and Baladeva put themselves to drawing the chariot. All this time lamentations of 'Oh Krishna ! Oh Rama ! Oh son, most beloved one !' were sounded from all the houses. Baladeva and Krishna had now

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both brought their chariot up to the gate of the city but found the same barred by a beam of wood.

While now Baladeva demolished with his foot the beam, the gate began to burn. Now spoke Dvipayana : " I formerly said that I had taken an oath that excepting you two none should escape. Upon this Vasudeva threw down with a kick one of the valve's posts, Rama the other one which already were in flames." Upon this Vasudeva, Rohini and Devaki said to them : " children, if you remain alive, you will again raise the race of the Yadavas ; therefore, flee with all speed." At these words of their parents the two chief of the Yadavas crying bitterly, fled away. Outside the town they halted in the ruined park and saw how the burning city was reduced to ashes. But Dvipayana by divine power blocked all the gates, and completely laid the town under conflagration.

Rama's inmost beloved son, the young prince by the name of Kubjavaraka, was in his last bodily (corporal) existence before his nirvana. The same mounted to the pinnacle of his place and called out : "Ho there ! Hear me, Ye gods ! Ye that are near me ! I am the pupil of the Jina Arishtanemi, a monk unselfish, controlling myself, filled with pity for all beings. Therefore if the prophecy of the venerable one be true that I am in my last corporal existence and shall attain to final liberation, now what is that ? " He had proceeded so far in his address when the Jrimbaka gods hastened hither, took him up from the burning palace and brought him to Jina in the country of the Palavas.

Krishna's 16,000 wives elected death by starvation in a state of devout attention and after their example also all the wives of the Yadavas, afraid of the fire, abstained from all good, wholly given to religious thoughts, and thus owing to Dvipayana 60 and 72 crores of families met their death in the flames. And thus Dvaravati was in the space of half a year burnt down, and was then again submerged by the western ocean.

But the two others Baladeva and Vasudeva witnessed with sorrowful heart the burning of Dvaravati, and looked at each other with tearful eyes. Ah !, thought they, " how vain and perishable is this world, life so transitory, and so hard what destiny brings to us !"

It is indeed possible to stem the course of the sea whose waves rend the lofty mountains but not the decree of the destiny which has been ordained on account of one's own deeds in previous state of existence.

" By the will of destiny everything that is dreadful in the world comes to pass, such as cannot be told, nor endured, nor avoided.

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“Not by means of prudence, nor by one's own actions, nor by means of texts or magic, even the hosts of gods nor any one here on earth can escape the decree of the destiny.”

Krishna said : “Where shall we, like the gazelles, with bewildered eyes, go to,—filled with grief, robbed of our relations, acquaintances, and wives ?” Rama said : “our relations remain always the sons of Pandu who abound in every kind of heroism. Let us go to their town Mathura which is situated on the southern ocean.” Krishna replied : “At the time that we fetched Draupadi they had crossed the big Ganges before us without sending me the chariot. Annoyed at this I took all their possessions and abandoned them. How can we go to their town ?” Baladeva replied : “They are noble-minded men, faithful relations, (and) belong to our race ; they will not allow themselves to be dictated by a wish of revenge. Even an humble workman does not act harshly towards his guests.” Then Krishna gave his consent, and they started on foot taking always easterly course, concealing the appearance of their splendour. After wandering through Surashtra they arrived, sorrowing over the fate of Dvaravati and their relations, before the town of Hastikalpa. Then said Krishna to Baladeva that he was tortured by hunger and thirst. Then Baladeva replied : “I will myself go quickly and bring thee food and drink ; wait for me undismayed. Should any kind of misfortune happen to me in the town, then if thou hearest a loud shout come quickly to the place.” After these words he went away thinking in his heart of Vasudeva, and arrived at the town of Hastikalpa where Ruhadanta the son of Dhritarastra was king. When Baladeva entered, he however covered the mark of Srivatsa with his garment. In the town the people were relating to each other that Dvaravati, together with Baladeva, Krishna and other relations, through a fire sent by the gods, had been burnt to the ground. When they now beheld the imposing figure and beauty of Baladeva they became greatly astonished and exclaimed : ‘how imposing he is of perfect beauty, how lordly his splendour like that of the moon.’ Acclaimed by this expression of praise, Bala went to the bazar ; giving his ring he took the best dishes and giving his breastlet he took clear wine. Then he left the town. The gatekeepers then reported to the king that a man (brilliant) like Baladeva was like a thief giving stolen goods in exchange for food and drink by leaving his ring and breastlet and was now departing. The king Ruhadanta, dismayed, had his troops assembled and began the combat against Rama. Rama made a great noise in order to inform Krishna of the fight. He put the

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food and drink away from himself, mounted on an elephant that happened to be near and began to slay the troops of Ruhadanta. Then came also Janardana at full speed to the place. He burst the doors of the gate, seized a large rafter, slew the troops of the king and took him prisoner. Then both said to him : "Thou miserable one ! Dost thou believe that our arms had no longer any strength ? But go on enjoying thy lordship in quiet. We do not want to have anything more to do with this business." After these words they went into a park with beautiful groves of trees. There they shed abundant tears ; and then began, after having prayed 'adoration to Jina,' to consume meat, food, and drink. And they thought to themselves : formerly we ate quite differently and now we are eating in this manner. But there is no combating with hunger and thirst. But why should we be sad ? Has not the venerable one taught that everything on this earth was transitory ? " After they had now eaten some thing and having cleansed their mouths, they started towards the south and reached the so-called Kausumba forest. Now the spirituous beverage, the salted food, the summer heat, the great exertion, the heavily weighing grief, the labour and loss of his merits had produced a great thirst in Vasudeva. He said : "brother, thou who lovest a brother, thirst is drying up my mouth ; I am no longer able to go as far as the cool forest." Then said Baladeva : "Dear one, whom I love more than my life, rest here in the shade of this tree until I bring thee water." Then Janardana enveloped himself in his silk garment, laid his foot across his knee and made to sleep. Baladeva said to him : "Dearly beloved one, wait here undismayed." And he called out to the deities of the forest : "This is my brother who is dear unto all men, but specially to me whose heart is distressed. Watch over him who has placed himself under your protection." After these words Halin went away to get water.

Meanwhile Jarakumara came dressed as a huntsman, in his hand a bow, with a long flowing beard, enveloped in a tiger's skin, to that place to kill antelopes. He bent the bow, applied a pointed arrow, and taking Janardana from a distance to be a young antelope, struck him in a dangerous part of the sole of his foot. Excited, hurried the latter up and exclaimed : "who has without provocation wounded me in the sole of my foot ? never have I killed any man without knowing his descent. Therefore let him quickly name from whom he is descended." Jarakumara who was standing behind a bush, then thought to himself : "That is not an antelope but some noble person ; and he enquires after my family, so I will name it to him." Then said he : "I descend from the race of Hari, and am

the son of Vasudeva and Jaradevi, the eldest brother of Hari, the greatest hero on earth, by name Jarakumar. I have heard from the venerable Jina that I should be the cause of the death of Janardana ; therefore have I left my relations and have been wandering about the forest during twelve years. But tell me also who thou art." Then said Krishna : "Come ! Oh come, dear brother ! I am thy and Baladeva's younger brother. In order to save me thou didst come here ; but thy trouble has been unavailing. Therefore come quickly here." Then went Jarakumara to Janardana and saw him in his desperate condition. Then grieved Jarakumara with tears in his eyes : "Alas ! Oh, I am beaten, I miserable one ! Oh how didst thou come here ? Has Dvipayana burnt Dvaravati and have the Yadavas perished ?" Then Krishna related everything as he had seen it and heard about it. Now Jarakumara began to lament. " Ah, I sinner committed a fatal act towards Krishna ; where shall I now go ? Where now shall I find happiness ? who will be able to look upon me—a fratricide ? As long as this world and thy name last, I will be cursed as an evil-doer. For thy benefit did I enter the forest, and I heartless one have just brought about the reverse. Where are those kings now ? Where the thousands of frolicsome women and where, Oh Janardana, the host of princes ?" Then said Krishna : "Oh prince, son of Jara, the venerable one, our lord Arishtanemi, the Jina, has said that here below all kings in consequence of their own acts hundreds and thousands of sufferings have to endure. Because whatever anyone has done, good or bad, in a former state of existence, that will be adjudged him even if he reaches another continent."

"What deed anyone has done in another life or in this one, good or bad, that must be endured by him ; another person (does not cause but) is but instrumental to this result.

"Therefore do not excite thyself. It is not thy fault, but fate is to be blamed for it. Jina's prophecy can also not be rendered untrue. Therefore take the Kaustubha jewel from my heart and go to the Pandavas. Relate to them this occurrence and speak to them in my name in the following manner. At the time that we fetched Draupadi you had preceded us and had in order to test my supernatural power not sent the chariot for me. Annoyed at this I deprived you of all your goods and abandoned you. Pardon me this treatment because forgiveness is in the nature of noble-minded men, specially towards a relative." Now as Jarakumara did not at all want to go, Krishna again resumed : "Noble one, go quickly. Thou knowest how much Baladeva loves me. To procure

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alleviation for my thirst he has gone to fetch water. Now if he returned and saw me near death, he would slay thee. Therefore flee with speedy steps." Upon this Jarakumara extracted the arrow from the sole of Krishna's feet and departed thence.

When Vasudeva's pains increased, he began to pray happiness to the Arhats who merit the highest veneration, to the Siddhas who are rich in bliss, to the masters who comply with the five-fold ways (of living), to the teachers who devote themselves to the studies, to the monks who strive after liberation, to Jina Arishtanemi who renouncing all worldly ties like a great sage became a monk. After having made a bed of straw for himself and having enveloped his body in his garment, he laid himself down on the hero-bed and thus reflected : " Highly blessed are Samba, Pradyumna, Niruddha, Sarana and the other princes and men of the Yadava race, also Rukmini and the other women who renouncing all worldly ties took the vows in the presence of the venerable one. But I unhappy one must die without having done penance." As his life was nearing its close, he forgot this pious frame of mind and thought : " Misfortune upon that causelessly enraged Dvipayana who has destroyed by one stroke the city and the race of Yadavas. Therefore the evil-doer should be killed." While in this sinful frame of mind, his death occurred after a life of 1000 years, and he got in the third hell.

Baladeva who had quickly brought some water into a hollow lotus leaf now returned to Krishna while the adverse flight of bird betokened evil. In the belief that Krishna was sleeping he placed the water by his side and thought : " Let the beloved of my heart sleep ; afterwards when he will awake, I will hand him the water." He did not notice, led astray in his thoughts by his love for him, that Krishna was dead. Baladeva thus waited for a time, until he observed him closer and then found him covered with black flies. Terrified upon this he removed the cloth from his face ; and with a scream saying 'he is dead' he fell to the earth in a swoon. Upon recovering his senses he screamed out aloud like a lion, so that the forest and all the animals began to tremble. He said : " The heartless miscreant who has murdered the brother of my heart, the greatest hero on earth, shall show himself to me if in truth he be a knight. How can any one slay one who is sleeping, heedless or otherwise occupied ? Therefore that one is surely a low man, not a noble one." Thus Baladeva exclaimed in a loud voice, searched round about the forest and then returned to the side of Govinda. Then he began again to lament : " Oh, brother Janardana, King of kings ;

what shall I first mourn over—thy splendour, thy courage, thy power, thy beauty, or thy figure ? Thou (used to) say ‘ Bala is my beloved brother.’ Why then now the change that thou dost not answer me once ? What shall I, unhappy one, now begin to do without thee ? Where shall I go where remain—to whom talk—whom ask—whom ask for protection, whom blame, whom anger ? With the world of the living I am completely at an end. O ye deities of the forest, how could you desert Janardanad who was confided to your care ? Come, come Janardana why pretendest thou to be deaf ? What have I done to you ? O ye venerable gods of the forest, come and in your compassion regain for me the favour of my enraged brother—Vasudeva’s son. The sun is already declining towards the western horizon. Therefore arise. Vesper time has come. Good men do not sleep at evening twilight.” After a while he said : “Night with its black darkness has come. Ugly monsters prowl all around ; the jackals set up a frightful howl.” With such talk the night came to an end. And he again began to speak : “Brother, arise ! the sun has arisen.” But as Krishna would not rise, Baladeva took then the corpse on his shoulder, as his mind was through love completely disordered. He rambled about on the mountains and in the forests. Now the rainy season approached.

In the meantime Siddhartha the charioteer had become a deity. When he, by means of his avadhi knowledge, observed Bala, he became sorrowful and thought to himself : “Oh, is it possible for Baladeva in his love and attachment to carry the corpse of Krishna ? I will therefore make the faithful Baladeva sensible of this.” He then conjured forth a man who was driving a chariot over a mountain. The jolting chariot suffered no injury while being driven over the mountain, but on the level ground it fell into a hundred pieces. And the man set to put it again together. Then said Baladeva : Oh, thou fool ! how canst thou want to put together the chariot which on the steep mountain did not break, but on the level ground the pieces fell, now that it is in fragments. The god said : when Krishna, who in 100,000 battles did not fall, now without fighting at all has died, should again come to life, then will the chariot again become whole and sound. And again, a man planted lotus plants on rocky cliffs. Bala said : “How are these lotus plants planted on rocky cliffs to grow ?” The god replied : “When thy brother here again will come to life, then will the lotus plants take root.” After a little while he saw a man watering an ebony-tree which had been burnt down to a stump, and he said to him : “How can such a completely burnt down tree again put forth leaves though it be ever so much

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watered?" The god replied: "When the corpse now on thy shoulder again comes to life." After a short time he observed a shepherd who was proffering a cow-skull grass and hay; and he said: "When will this cow of which only bones now remain, by means of the grass, again come to life." The god replied: "When this thy brother Krishna again comes to life." Then came Baladeva to know and thought to himself: Is my brother dead who has hitherto been invincible, that some one in the forest should thus speak to me? Now the god assumed the form of Siddhartha and said: "Noble one! I am Siddhartha who, during my last human existence, was thy charioteer. I have become a god through the mercy of our lord Arishtanemi. Thou hast formerly besought me to instruct thee in misfortune. I have therefore come to instruct thee. Therefore relinquish thy grief and take courage. Because if even men like thyself succumb to severe grief, how can lauded resoluteness have a firm stand on the earth? Yes, death penetrates everywhere! because.

Bala and Kesava who had defeated by their bravery great kings have departed; mighty emperors are overthrown; the friends of the world, the immensely mighty Jina princes, have been destroyed by the hard destiny; The god, the Danavas, the lords of the spirits, of the air, are submerged like the planets moon and sun. No one in the three world escapes the lion, the wicked Kritanta.

"Not one is to be found in the world who can overthrow the power of that despotic-dealing, inimical, and wicked Kritanta.

"All weapons (or arts) wink before him, text and magic are powerless; what can bravery accomplish towards him who unseen delivers his stroke?

"Therefore, pacify thyself. The prophecy of our Lord that Jarakumara would be the cause of Janardana's death has now been verified."

Bala said: "when then has Jarakumara killed Kesava?" Then the god related the whole story until when Jarakumar was sent to the Pandavas. Then Balaram longingly embraced Siddhartha and inquired of him as to what he should now do. The god replied: "Free thyself from all earthly bonds and become an ascetic. Remember the words of the Jina Arishtanemi." Baladeva replied: "I will readily do what thou sayest, I remember the words of the venerable one. But where shall we convey the corpse of Hari?" The god said: "On the sands between two rivers will we burn it. This honour must be done to Tirthakaras, Sagaras, Cakravartins, Baladevas and Vasudevas. We will therefore accord him a funeral pageant." Upon this they put down Hari's corpse on the sands at the confluence of

two rivers. They honoured the dead with flowers, fragrant herbs, and perfume and cremated it.

When the venerable Arishtanemi the Lord had been informed of Baladeva's promise to take the vow, he sent a Vidyadhara monk. By him Rama was in due form ordained. And he then began to practise severe penances on the summit of mount Tunjika. Siddhartha also remained there from old attachment in order to protect him.

The other, namely Jarakumara, had in the meantime reached the southern Mathura, and saw the Pandavas. He handed over to them the jewel Kaustubha, and related to them the destruction of Dvaravati &c. &c., up to his arrival. The Pandavas raised loud lamentations and celebrated for a whole year ceremonies of mourning. They delivered over to Jarakumara the government and then set out for the venerable one. In the meantime the venerable one had despatched a monk, by name Dhammaghosha, who was possessed of the first four degrees of knowledge, together with a host of ascetics, to the Pandavas to ordain them. The Pandavas were ordained and then continued their journey to the venerable one. As they now only ate once in three, four, five, six days, in half, in a whole month, in half a year, they reached so far that they were only twelve Jojanas distant from the venerable one ; and they thought ! "Tomorrow we shall behold our Lord Arishtanemi." They spent the night there and then it became light. They were then informed by the people that the venerable one had reached final liberation on Mount Ujjanta.

Then great sorrow took possession of them. On mount Pundarik they waited fasting in expectation for the last things ; and then reached final liberation. Already earlier the nine dasaras, Samudravijaya &c. and the mother of the venerable one who had been ordained at the same time with Gajasukumala had entered heaven. Rukmini and the remaining women had reached final liberation. Draupadi who had been ordained by Rajimati was reborn in A. K. At the conflagration of Dvaravati, Vasudeva, Rohini and Devaki had attained heaven.

In the meanwhile the venerable seer Baladeva sojourned on the summit of Mount Tunjika, practising extremely severe penances, the seven times seven days works of penance ; during the first seven days one receives only one bounty of food and one bounty of drink daily ; during the second seven days one receives daily only two bounties of food and two bounties of drink ; during the third seven days one receives only three bounties of food and three bounties of drink

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daily, and so on until one in the seven the seven days receives bounties each of food and drink. Thus the seven times seven days work of penance of the monks is brought to a close, as regulated in forty-nine days with one hundred ninety six bounties. Now the eight times eight days of penance ; during the first eight days one receives daily one bounty of food and one bounty of drink ; during the second eight days one only takes daily two bounties of drink, and so on until one in the last eight days receives eight bounties each of food and of drink. Thus this eight days' penance of the monks is carried out, as regulated in sixty-four days with two hundred eighty eight bounties. In the same way is the nine days' ten days' as well as half month's penance is carried out.

The people gathered hay and firewood ; woodcutters as well gave him clear acceptable alms so that he could carry out his vow. The people who gathered the firewood related to the inhabitants and the princes that a certain man of lofty and god-like appearance was performing penance in the forest. Then thought the angry princes that someone out of desire for their dominion was practising asceticism, or was performing magic ; that they would therefore go to that place and kill him. They put on their armour, provided themselves with many divers kinds of weapons, mounted different chariots and vehicles, and they came into the neighbourhood where Rama was. Upon this the god Siddhartha conjured forth at the feet of the seer Rama, a number of lions, who were extremely horrible and terrible to behold, who raised their sharp claws ready to tear to pieces, and who shook their mighty manes and hair. Alarm then fell upon the princes ; at a distance they reverently saluted the mighty seer, Baladeva and then hurriedly turned back. All returned home. But Baladeva received in the world the name of ' the man-lion.'

Thus the venerable one performed in constant inward peace his penances. Attracted by his studies, meditations, and sermons, many tigers, lions, panthers, wild boars, sarabhas, antelopes, gazelles and other beasts obtained peace of mind. Some became laymen, others teachers—some abstained from food, others remained motionless in the same posture. They approached him as his attendants ; and abstaining from animal food, they waited upon the seer Rama. Among them was also one young gazelle which in a former state of existence had stood in near relation to the venerable sage Rama. She received the recollection of this and was at all times affected. Wherever the venerable Rama went to gather alms she always hurried on in front of him. Once while Baladeva at the close of his month's fast had gone into the town to collect alms, he was seen

by a young woman—who was standing at the mouth of a well to draw water from it. Her heart was so much affected by Baladeva's noble beauty and he thoughts so much occupied with him that she by mistake instead of putting the rope round the neck of the vessel put it round that of her little son whom she was carrying riding on her hip, and lowered him into the well. Baladeva saw this and fell into dismay. 'Alas ! even owing to my body living beings are ruined'—so he thought and out of compassion released the little boy. Therefore if I can unseen obtain alms from the women, then will I accept them, otherwise not. This oath he took and from there returned again to the forest.

Once the cartwrights came to that forest to fetch good wood and they felled some trees. Then also came B. at the end of his month's fast to them as they were just at their meal to gather alms. But the gazelle followed him. Then the master of the cartwrights observed Baladeva and thought:—Fortune will befall us because we meet in the desert with a wishing tree. Behold the sum of his fine qualities : his beauty, his calmness, his strength, etc. My purpose is attained, my wish realised, as the seer is coming to me for alms. I will therefore purify my soul of my sins by giving him alms." "With such words he placed his folded hand to his forehead, bent his knee to the earth and bowed. He then raised himself and brought food and drink. The sage accepted the alms as he knew of its purity as regards substance, place, time and tendency. As a reward for the alms the cartwright, acquired for himself the right to an existence as a god. The eyes of the gazelle filled with tears owing to her great love for the sage, and her looks rested softly and long on him and on the cartwright and she thought. "It is fortunate for the woodcutter that he is a human being, and he has made the most of it in entertaining the sage. But I, unfortunate one, am on account of my sins born as a beast and am therefore unable to entertain such an ascetic. Alas ! that I am born a beast." Just at that moment fell on the woodcutter, Baladeva, and the gazelle a half-felled tree shaken by a strong wind. All three perished and were born again in Brahmaloaka Kappa in Padmottara Vimana as gods.

To Baladeva was granted, because he had lived 100 years as a strict ascetic, a remarkable beauty, happiness, pleasure, and power. From love for Kesava he began by means of his Avadhi knowledge to look about for him, and he saw him in the third hell suffering great agony. Promptly he assumed his magical form and went down

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to Kesava, There he produced a great brightness by the splendour of his godly jewels and caught sight of Janakana.

Bala said :—" Oh Kesava ! Thou who art faithful to thy brother, what shall I do for thee ? " Kesava replied :— ' suffer this agony as punishment for former sins. No one can do anything against that.' Then Baladeva seized him with both arms but Kesava thus raised up on high melted like butter in the sun. But Kesava exclaimed : " let me go ; I am only suffering great pain. Therefore go to Bharatavarsha and there exhibit me everywhere with club, sword, shell and discus in a white garment with the garuda banner ; but thyself with a plough and club, in a blue garment, and with a palm as a sign. Baladeva promised to do so. He came on a chariot of the gods conjured up the forms of B. and D., exhibited them everywhere, specially to enemies. Baladeva said : " Make at all places and at all junctions of streets pictures of us. We create and destroy the world. We came from heaven and return thither. We carry on our game in various ways. We built Dvaravati, we have destroyed it, we have submerged it in the ocean. We are hence the propelling powers." Bewildered, the people promised to do all. Thus through unbroken tradition has come the present custom. But Baladeva upon this returned to Heaven ; descending thence he will attain emancipation as the twelfth Amama when the soul of Krishna will be incorporated as the Tirthakara. With wealthy families in town, the matter of collecting alms is not such a difficult task as it is with wood and straw-gatherers in the forest. Therefore the burden of begging should be endured as Baladeva endured them.

Monemohan Chakravarti

SELECTIONS

13.

THE PROVINCE OF BEHAR

A certain glamour of romance hangs round the name Behar. Though the great and stirring times of its kings and viceroys have long since passed and the more recent prosperity of its planting days has suffered eclipse it still remains one of the most interesting divisions of Bengal. With its memories of good times past and the attractions that it offers to-day, it is still a name to conjure with. The full tale of its good old days, of good men and true, who have lived their lives in its midst and of great deeds done has not yet been told, and the wonderful romance of Behar still merits its historian. It is strange that a province which has so long held pride of place should have gone so long with its story unrecorded. Though much has been written here and there, the threads have never yet been gathered up and the full story concisely told.

Some thirty miles north-east of Gaya, at Rajagriha, stood the first known capital of Behar, south of the Ganges, a stretch of country then known as the Kingdom of Magadha. This ancient kingdom included the lands now comprised in the three districts of Patna, Gaya and Shahabad. Across the Ganges, lay the smaller kingdom of Baisali, corresponding with the southern portion of the Muzaffarpur district, while further north lay the larger and more important kingdom of Bideha, including Durbhanga, Saran, Champaran and North Muzaffarpur. It was in the famous kingdom of Magadha, mentioned in the Rig Veda and the Mahabharata, that Buddha evolved that wonderful religion, which was destined to such world-wide fame. It was here also that Mahavira founded the creed of the Jains which, though not destined for such wide-reaching effects, has yet survived no less tenaciously through all the centuries that have passed. Near the confluence of the Sone and the Ganges, where the modern city of Patna now stands, a new capital was founded soon after Buddha's death by a Sudra, named Nanda, whose family was overthrown by Chandra Gupta, grand-father of the great Asoka, in the time of Alexander the Great. It was at Chandra Gupta's Court that Megasthenes compiled his great work on India, and from here that Asoka, the great protagonist of Buddhism, sent out his missionaries to every known country of the world. Yet Buddhism was destined to disappear completely from the capital, where it had

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once held universal sway and the beginning of the end came with the fall of the last of the long line of Buddhist kings, before the oncoming tide of Mussulman invasion with the famous Pathan General, Bukhtyar Khiliji at its head. Under the Moghuls the headquarters of the Province were at Bihar, to the south of the Patna district, and it was from this town that the whole district eventually took its name.

It is a huge division as constituted to-day under the rule of the Commissioner of Patna. Within it are included the seven districts of Gaya, Shahabad, Saran, Champaran, Muzaffarpur, Durbhanga and Patna. From the confines of Chota Nagpur in the south it stretches away north across the Ganges right up to the boundary of Nepal. To the north of the river, it is one vast unbroken expanse of plain rising scarcely perceptibly as it nears the foot of the Himalayas. Here are the great planting districts, the home of the once prosperous indigo industry. But, though of great natural fertility, it is peculiarly liable to failure of crops in case of deficient rainfall and here famine has been a frequent visitant. South of the river the land is less dependant on the rainfall, protected as it is to some extent by the Sone Canal System, and the small reservoirs, which the undulating nature of the land enable the ryots to construct for the irrigation of their fields. Next to Eastern and Central Bengal, North Behar is the most thickly populated portion of the Province with 636 inhabitants on the average to the square mile. South Behar follows not far behind with some 500 inhabitants to the square mile, which thus corresponds very closely so far as the density of population is concerned with England and Wales. Patna as well as many other of the larger towns has suffered severely from the plague, the figures for both the 1891 and the 1901 census showing a considerable decline. In Dinapore, the population has decreased by nearly 32 per cent. since 1891, while Monghyr showed the still more striking decrease by 37 per cent. Chupra, Gaya and Muzaffarpur have all suffered in the same way and from the same cause. Nothing could show more clearly than the figures of the last census how great the havoc wrought by the plague has been. Of all the larger Behar towns, Bhagalpur alone shows a steady increase since 1872. This increase is chiefly attributable to the growing export trade in agricultural produce, which has led to the opening of a second railway station, and to a great extension of the accommodation provided for goods. It is to be sincerely hoped that the plague, which has gradually strengthened its hold in the district, will not put an end to this steady development and prosperity.

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Yet in spite of the havoc wrought by the plague and the decline of its most important industry, the Quinquennial Report of the Patna Division shows steady progress in general material prosperity. India in compensation for the plague, pestilence and famine, which periodically lay heavy hands upon it, has been blest with remarkable recuperative powers, of which the Patna division possesses its full share. Famine during the preceding quinquennium, and plague during the one under review, combined with the rapid decline of indigo, have failed to check its progress. Good harvests have succeeded years of famine with the result that the price of all the food-grains ruled considerably lower at the end than at the beginning of the quinquennium. The division being almost a purely agricultural one, its material prosperity is very largely dependent upon the outturn of the crops and good harvests compensate for many of the evils that otherwise befall. It is to them alone the cultivator can look to lessen the burden of indebtedness to the money-lender that lies heavily upon him or to celebrate with fitting ceremony the great social and religious events of the year. There are few among the agricultural classes, who have escaped the mahajan's grip, and improvidence and wanton extravagance are as characteristic of the people to-day as they have always been. How best to cope with their spirit of improvidence has been fruitful of much discussion, and Government has closely and carefully considered what action can best be taken to inculcate a spirit of thrift and economy among the people throughout the Province. In connection with the scheme of Agricultural Banks, an attempt to solve the problem has been made and experimental Banks have been opened in most districts of the division. But, though it is hoped that these will prove an incentive to thrift and economy, it is recognised that reform can only come from the people themselves by the gradual growth among them of a spirit of foresight and care for the future, which at present are so completely absent. It is to the rising generation that one must look for improvement in this direction and with the spread of education fostered by the numerous schools that are to be found all over the division, there is every hope that new and higher principles of life and conduct will be evolved, of which freedom from the paralysing grasp of the money-lender will be the first essential.

One of the most interesting undertakings in recent years in Behar has been the attempt to revive the sugar growing industry on a large scale. It is a fact often forgotten that a large number of the Tirthut indigo concerns were originally started as sugar factories, sugar being given up for indigo when the latter was found to be more

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profitable. Now the changes of time have once more reversed conditions, and many of the factories are returning to the cultivation of sugar, which indigo has so long ousted. How necessary it was for some of the factories to find a substitute for indigo, if they were not to disappear completely, is obvious from a glance at the extraordinarily rapid fall in the price of indigo. From 1895 to 1900 the average price was Rs. 187 per maund. In 1900-01 it fell to Rs. 144 and by 1904-05 it had fallen as low as Rs. 96. The outturn has seen a corresponding decline from 50,758 maunds valued at Rs. 96,68,269 to 1895-1900 to 29,718 maunds valued at Rs. 28,62,054 in 1904-05. This rapid fall of the long-established industry is attributable to the competition of the German synthetic dye, and the price per maund is now scarcely adequate to cover the cost of production. It was thus that, forced by the danger of total extinction, many of the indigo factories turned their attention to the manufacture of refined sugar in the hope of at least tiding over an evil day. The resuscitation of the sugar industry has been pioneered by the Indian Development Company with their head factory at Ottur in the Muzaffarpur district and branch factories at Seeraha in Champaran, and Barhoga in Saran. Equipped with the most up-to-date crushing and refining machinery the Ottur factory was started in 1902-03. The first year's operations were hampered by the lack of a sufficient quantity of cane, but this was remedied by more extensive cultivation in the following year, and the year's working showed a total of 21,550 tons of cane crushed with 1,812 tons of sugar and 588 tons of molasses (gur) in the head factory at Ottur. Government, after giving every assistance to the declining indigo industry by endeavouring to ascertain by scientific research the possibility of increasing the outturn and quality of the dye at cheaper cost, has come to the help of the new industry in the matter of irrigation and by making experiments as to the most suitable varieties of seed. Native refineries are also at work in Saran and Champaran and the industry holds out much promise of future success. The enterprise shown is worthy of every encouragement. The Patna division is not well provided with other industries on a large scale save opium and saltpetre while mines there are none save the mica mine in Nawada in the Gaya district, and it is to be hoped that sugar may in future compensate to some extent for the loss which the division has suffered through the ruin of its foremost industry.

(The Englishman)

THE NATIVE STATES OF INDIA

[BY H. F. PREVOST BATTERSBY]

The Native Rulers of India are in a somewhat curious position. They are, politically, a sort of hothouse plant. Over their secluded heads the British Empire has been raised as an inviolable protection which acts not only as a shield from the rough weather out of which their beginnings were evolved, but a forcing house which stimulates them to a growth not inherent in their unassisted development. We have made them what they are, by freeing them in a quite unnatural way from the national struggle for existence, and we insist, as a sort of return for that unnatural position, that they shall strive to be what they neither find desirable nor without our assistance could possibly have conceived. The situation is alert on either side with delicate considerations, and there is occasionally a tendency on our part to regard only the benefits conferred and not the implicated obligations. No doubt the benefits are many and exceptional. An Indian Prince is beset by none of those cases to which independent rulers are liable. He is guaranteed against trouble from within and without. The tribute which he renders to his suzerain repays him over and again as a mere insurance policy. It saves him not only from all anxiety as to his position, but from all expense in safeguarding it. Apart from the Imperial Service Troops which his loyalty may lead him to maintain, he need make no show of force and keep up only such troops as it may please him to have for ceremonial purposes.

Though his dominions be like those of Hyderabad's Nizam, as large as France, he can entrust the maintenance of good order throughout them to mere force of police. His revenues are more completely his own than the taxed income of an English gentleman. He can choose his fiscal policy and levy what duties he may please on everything that enters his domain. He may have his own mint and issue his own coinage, putting his own pretty rupees in competition with the hideous silver of "John Company," as the Imperial currency is still called. When drought and famine assail him and his revenues dwindle, he can draw at moderate charges on the credit of the Sirkar; and he knows that he can not only trust the pledges given by the Government to himself, but the certainty of their being extended to his successor, whose rights and security that Government has guaranteed. To his own people he is incarnate power.

To these advantages there are certain countervailing limitations. A native Ruler can have no external relations save with the Govern-

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ment of India. He cannot increase his military forces to indefinite dimensions. He must submit to restrictions on the importation of arms. He must maintain, as has been hinted, a reasonable standard of government. He must submit to British jurisdiction over such lines of railway as pass through his territory. He must allow the appeal to the suzerain authority of any of its subjects condemned within his boundaries. But none of these matters can be regarded as a serious depreciation from the privileges of his position, and they are by no means those which he dislikes the most. It is really in mere trifles that he is made to feel, and resents being made to feel, the power above him, and his resentment might with tact and a more consistent procedure be quite easily avoided.

It has been suggested by a writer having much acquaintance with the matter that, with the Government's increasing frontier and Asiatic responsibilities, there would be many advantages in entrusting the care and the claims of the Native States to a special department. But even without that it should be possible to contrive what one may call a more continuous attitude in dealing with native rulers: and, indeed, in that direction already a good deal has undoubtedly been done, and the worst errors of the past are unlikely to be repeated. There are those, but one hopes they are few, who would like to see the Native States absorbed into the Empire, and the whole of India coloured with humdrum British red. One trusts that such a consummation may be far distant. The Native State serves many useful purposes. It may be valuable even as a solemn warning, an object-lesson in how a people should not be ruled. Its office in that particular is unfortunately not as conspicuous as it might be, since the native fails to find any compensating advantages in the monotonous and calculable effects of justice. But the Native State does at present, and may increasingly become a trial plot where the seeds of new ideas can be given a far better chance of germinating and bearing fruit than they could hope for in British India.

Measures which would ensure inveterate opposition if promulgated by the Government might be introduced without clamour and almost without comment in a tributary State; and their success there, after some years' trial, would be the strongest argument for their introduction on a larger scale. Thus the experiment of compulsory primary education has possibilities in Travancore, but would be quite out of the question if engineered from Calcutta. Likewise the State, so long as it remains a State, has a certain collective interest in its own progress which it would never retain as part of a province,

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and there are signs this wholesome sort of rivalry will be even more in evidence in the near future. There will thus be considerable opportunity for the experimental introduction of reforms, which have much more likelihood of being acceptable to the people when presented as a *hukm* by a ruler of their own race. These States serve, too, as a valuable safety-valve for native ambitions ; they offer a career to Indians with a capacity for statesmanship which at present the British Dominions do not afford.

Finally, and it is by no means the least important consideration, the Native States may be regarded and do in a measure act as the groynes driven across pebbly beaches to resist the encroaching energies of the sea.

They serve to keep within their boundaries some remnants of the illuminated East from the efforts, or perhaps one should say the tendency, of British rule to civilise everything it acquires into a depressing and unimaginative monotony. There is a real charm in Anglo-India, where it is still what one may call "in opposition," that is, to circumstances and climate and isolation and the powers of darkness. Under happier auspices it develops a concentrated and triumphant littleness which has all the importunities and very few of the resources of social life at home. From its further encroachments one cannot help desiring that what is left of ancient India may be delivered, and that there shall always remain within its boundaries some remnant of the old spacious, thriftless, prodigal spirit to offer at least the consolation of contrast to our own immaculate conformity.

THE MURDER OF AFZAL KHAN

(ONE VERSION)

Veritas writes to *The Englishman* :—The only reliable history of Sivaji written in Bengalee is from the pen of Pandit Satya Charan Shastri which is compiled from Marhatta State papers. There we find the meeting of Sivaji with Afzal Khan thus described : Sivaji, fearing treachery, wore under his clothes an armour of mail and armed himself with tiger's claws. He was himself a small man, while Afzal was of huge stature. The erstwhile combatants, now friends, embraced one another, when Afzal Khan suddenly unsheathed his sword and struck Sivaji which, however, proved ineffectual on account of the armour with which the latter had protected himself, suspecting treachery on Afzal's part. Sivaji being thus attacked laid open the entrails of Afzal Khan with his steel claws. It is quite possible that

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the Mussalman historians attribute treachery to Sivaji and not to Afzal Khan. Anyhow it is impossible to ascertain from whom the treachery came first. It is however a noteworthy fact that the incident happened not in Sivaji's but Afzal's camp, where Sivaji had gone attended with only three of his followers, whereas Afzal had a number of adherents to help him. It is not reasonable to suppose that, under these unfavourable circumstances, Sivaji attacked Afzal unless he was compelled to do so to save his own life.

ANOTHER VERSION

The most authoritative account of the life of Sivaji is to be found in Duff's "*History of the Mahrattas*," published in 1826. Captain Duff was for some time Political Resident at Satara and had a great admiration for the Mahrattas. He was on terms of intimate friendship with many of the Mahratta chiefs and with several of the great Brahmin families of the country, some of whom were the descendants of actors in the events described, and had in their possession many valuable documents, which they of their own accord presented to Captain Duff. Not only this, but Captain Duff had made over to him, at the suggestion of Hastings, the most important of the State Papers of the Peishwas and was given free access to all the records of the Bombay Government. Agents employed by him examined the papers in the Peishwa's palaces. The Political Agent at Surat sent him an important history in the Persian language. The Viceroy of Goa furnished him with extracts from the records of the Portuguese Government, and the Court of Directors allowed him to examine a variety of correspondence in the East India House. Further, the records of temples and private repositories were searched, and bulky manuscripts of every description in Persian and Mahratta were bought and translated for the special purpose of the history.

It is now-a-days asserted that Sivaji was inspired by the idea of Hindu unity. But nowhere in Duff's pages does it appear that Sivaji had any other idea than that of obtaining power for himself. He fought indifferently against his own co-religionists and the Mohamedans. He was privy to the assassination of the Raja of Jowlee, and as we all know, raided time and again the Konkan and the Carnatic country occupied by his co-religionists. As an indication of what little part the idea of national unity played in the politics of those days it may be mentioned that Sivaji employed a body of Pathan horse to terrorize his own countrymen with, and Sivaji's own son, Sumbhujee, deserted to the Mohamedans because he was punished for attempting to violate the wife of a Brahmin.

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To come, however, to the murder of Afzool Khan. In 1659 the Emperor Aurangzebe despatched a force under Afzool Khan, to bring to submission the Mahratta who had for so long defied his authority. Sivaji, on the approach of the army, took up his residence at Pertapgarh and sent the most humble messages to Afzool Khan, pretending that he had no thought of opposition. "He affected the utmost sorrow for his conduct, which he could hardly persuade himself would be forgiven by the King, even if the Khan should receive him under the shadow of his protection ; but he would surrender the whole of his country to the Khan, were it possible to assure himself of his favour."

On the receipt of these assurances, Afzool Khan despatched an envoy, a Brahmin in his own service, to Pertabgarh. This Brahmin was suborned by Sivaji, and went back to his superior with the statement that the Mahratta was in a state of great alarm, but, if his fears could be overcome, he might easily be prevailed upon to give himself up. An interview was agreed upon, and Sivaji laid his plans for ambuscading the Mohamedan army and for murdering their commander.

"Fifteen hundred of Afzool Khan's troops accompanied him to within a few hundred yards of Pertabgarh, where, for fear of alarming Sivaji, they were, at Puntjee Gopinath's suggestion, desired to halt. Afzool Khan, dressed in a thin muslin garment, armed only with his sword, and attended, as had been agreed, by a single armed follower, advanced in his palanquin to an open bungalow prepared for the occasion."

Sivaji came to the interview in a "steel chain cap and chain armour under his turban and cotton gown." He had concealed a crooked dagger or *beechna* in his right sleeve, and on the fingers of his left hand he fixed a *wagnuck*." This weapon is a small steel instrument made to fit on the fore and little finger. It has three crooked blades which are easily 'concealed in a half-closed hand. Sivaji was attended by only one armed follower, and frequently stopped while advancing to meet Afzool Khan as if in hesitation and alarm.

"Afzool Khan made no objection to Sivaji's follower, although he carried two swords in his waistband, a circumstance which might pass unnoticed, being common among Mahrattas ; he advanced two or three paces to meet Sivaji ; they were introduced, and in the midst of the customary embrace, the treacherous Mahratta struck the *wagnuck* into the bowels of Afzool Khan, who quickly disengaged himself, clapped his hand on his sword, exclaiming

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treachery and murder, but Sivaji instantly followed up the blow with his dagger. The Khan had drawn his sword and made a cut at Sivaji but the concealed armour was proof against the blow ; the whole was the work of a moment, and Sivaji was wresting the weapon from the hands of his victim before their attendants could run towards them. Syud Bundoo, the follower of the Khan, whose name deserves to be recorded, refused his life on condition of surrender, and against two such swordsmen as Sivaji and his companion, maintained an unequal combat for some time before he fell. The bearers had lifted the Khan into his palanquin during the scuffle, but by the time it was over, Bhundoo Mally, and some other followers of Sivaji, had come up, when they cut off the head of the dying man and carried it to Pertabgurh. The signals agreed on were now made ; the Mawalees rushed from their concealment and beset the nearest part of the Beejapoor troops on all sides, few of whom had time to mount their horses or stand to their arms. Netajee Palkur gave no quarter ; but orders were sent to Moro Punt to spare all who submitted ; and Sivaji's humanity to his prisoners was conspicuous on this, as well as on most occasions."

Such is Duff's story of this historical incident. It differs, it will be seen, very materially from the version supplied us by a correspondent in another column on the word of a Bengali historian. Indeed, the other version is improbable on the face of it, for had Afzool Khan been killed in his own camp it is hardly possible that Sivaji would have escaped with his life. Besides, unless we presuppose an ambuscade and deliberate treachery on the part of the Mahrattas, how are we to account for the destruction of the Beejapoor horse, and the subsequent retreat of the whole Mahomedan army ? However, as the accuracy of the generally accepted version of the story is disputed by the Bengalis, it would be interesting to discover exactly what the State Papers consulted by Duff say. Certainly the latter's narrative is not from Mahomedan sources which might be prejudiced.— (*The Englishman.*)

FIRE-WALKING IN INDIA

SOME WEIRD CEREMONIES AND GODS

Writing about fire-walking as observed in the worship of village deities in South India, the Bishop of Madras, in the *Madras Diocesan Magazine* for May, says :—"A large trench is dug in front of the shrine, about thirty or forty feet long and ten feet broad and two or three feet deep. During the morning, this is filled with logs

FIRE-WALKING IN INDIA

of wood and faggots, which are set on fire, and, by the evening, become a mass of glowing, red-hot embers. After dark, the people assemble with torches and tom-toms and music, and then some thirty or forty people prepare to walk lengthwise over the embers. They are worked up to great state of excitement by the tom-toms and shouts of the crowd, and then the whole thirty or forty walk over bare-footed, quite slowly and deliberately, in single file, headed by one of the 'pujaris'. This custom of fire-walking is quite common in Malabar. Kooriche, three miles from Tellichery, in the direction of the French Settlement of Mahe, is a locality reputed for fire-walking. Here a famous 'pujari' by the name of Oochatta dwells. He actually sits on a heap of fire at an annual festival, but is said to be protected by the bark of the areca nut, which is known to be a bad conductor of heat. At the village of Putnam, thirty-two miles from Tellichery in the Kaval Taluq, North Malabar, a weird ceremony is performed annually, at midnight, in connection with the worship of the village deity, when the 'pujari,' who goes by the name of Chamandy, throws himself incessantly on a heap of fire, about six feet high and fifteen feet broad, until he is able to knock every faggot down and level the whole heap with the ground. One end of a rope is fastened to his arms, while the other end is seized by two Malayali low caste men, who pull the 'pujari' away each time he rushes on the heap of fire. Two women, at the same time, with brooms bring the faggots together as they are knocked down by the 'pujari' and endeavour to restore the heap of fire as it is being dismantled by him. The wood is the 'puum,' a hard jungle wood of the Malabar forests. When the whole heap is levelled with the ground, the 'pujari' brings this ceremony to a close.

"Khaza Prabhu, a pepper merchant of Tellichery, who died a few years ago and whose memory is still green, had a great name here for curing people who were possessed of the devil, and was a great fire-eater to boot. He believed he was often summoned to the Sri Lakshmi Narasimha temple by the deity of this shrine to cure people troubled with the devil. Here he was wont to incarcerate many devils that were troubling the people of Tellichery, and every loose stone one notices in the temple precincts represents one such devil driven out of the human body and imprisoned by him. These stones or granite slabs are generally three to five feet long and rest against a wall or tree. In the temples of Malabar there are several deities, but the number must never exceed thirty-nine in each. At Audaloor village, three and a half miles from Tellichery, one of the village deities, Davatha Issuran by name, committed atrocious sins

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and the other deities pulled out his tongue, and Angarakaram and Bappuran, two warrior deities, drove out the other deities from the temple, allowing only any number less than forty to dwell in any one shrine. From this date Angarakaran, the warrior, carries a long sword, whilst Bappuran bears a sword and a shield as well, and they are the principal deities worshipped during the ceremony of fire-walking. Some of the minor deities are Muthupendaivayam, Khandhakarnan and Kuttichathan, but all such are not propitiated excepting Vassurymara, the smallpox god ; Chamandy, who puts devils into human bodies, and Illi and Makal—the mother and her two children of the jungles—who smite people with jungle fever. These three minor village-deities are ferquently propitiated like the two warriors, Angarakaran and Bappuran, during the festival of fire-walking, and the dress of the small-pox god and of the fever-god, and of Makal and the two children of the deity of the jungles, if fantastic, is not uninteresting.”

THE GROWTH OF NEW POLITICAL FORCES IN INDIA

The agitation of which Bengal has been the scene during the last six months has no doubt been largely artificial and quite disproportionate to the real importance of the issue which gave rise to it. It would probably never have assumed the dimensions which it reached last autumn but for the blow dealt to the authority and prestige of the Government of India by the manner at least in which, entirely apart from the merits of the case, the decision of the Imperial Government on the question of Army administration was made public. Mr. Brodrick's gratuitous reference to the "partition" of Bengal in the despatches published after Lord Curzon's resignation created moreover the impression that the late Viceroy's policy with regard to Bengal has been only reluctantly sanctioned by the Imperial Government, and might, therefore, easily be involved in its author's downfall. But, artificial as the agitation has been, and rapidly as it has yielded to the firmness of the new Viceroy and the new Secretary of State—though by no means, as I shall presently show, to their firmness alone—it would be foolish to ignore the symptomatic gravity of that agitation. For it has revealed, as never before, the growth, for better or for worse, of organized political forces with which Anglo-Indian statesmanship will have seriously to reckon.

NEW POLITICAL FORCES IN INDIA

THE NATIONAL CONGRESS AND PARTITION

I propose, for the sake of convenience, to take the National Congress party as the chief representative of those political forces, though they have not, perhaps, all been drawn as yet within the orbit of its influence or rendered entirely amenable to its discipline. Had they been so, the agitation in Bengal itself would probably not have been carried to the length which have ultimately estranged from it the sympathies of many intelligent Indians. I said just now that the agitation had not yielded to Lord Minto's or Mr. Morley's firmness alone. Its collapse was, I think, in no slight degree assisted by the action of the National Congress at its last session in Benares. In the course of its proceedings which received less attention than they perhaps deserved, great enthusiasm was naturally displayed in support of the Swadeshi movement—a movement for the promotion of Indian native industries, which is in itself perfectly legitimate, and indeed, commendable, and, within reasonable limits, coincides with the settled policy of the Government of India. Resolutions were brought forward in favour of Swadeshi, which in principle met with unanimous approval. But when the representatives of Bengal attempted to tie up the question of the “partition” of Bengal with Swadeshi, some of the wiser heads in the Congress saw the danger of mixing up what may well be regarded as a national issue with a merely local issue. There ensued a hot struggle, and in the end the Congress declined to identify itself with the Bengalis to the extent which the latter desired. From that moment the Bengali agitation lost ground, but the reputation of the National Congress for statesmanship was enhanced. This incident is worth bearing in mind, if only in order that we may not draw exaggerated conclusions from the facility with which the agitation in Bengal has been ultimately overcome. For, whilst that agitation has disclosed the existence of a highly developed political machinery, its failure in this instance must not be taken as a criterion of what would happen in the event of a fresh agitation on an issue which would enlist not merely, as in this case, the partial, but the full and whole-hearted, support of the forces behind the National Congress party.

THE FIRST-FRUIITS OF WESTERN EDUCATION

It is time for those concerned with the future of our Indian Empire to look those forces fairly and squarely in the face. How have they grown up? How have they come to develop an activity so antagonistic to British authority? This undeniable antagonism is all the more perplexing in that it proceeds largely, and, indeed,

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almost exclusively, from the classes which we have specially applied ourselves to familiarize by Western processes of education with our own conception of civilization. The National Congress party, in its best and worst aspects, is essentially a product of our own making. We have been engaged for nearly a century in expanding the area of English education in India, and in every successive generation an increasing number of young Indians have been initiated through our language and our literature into a new world of thought. Yet, so far, the main result has been to breed in them a spirit of revolt against the political ascendancy of the race to whose superiority in the realm of knowledge their eagerness to share in the benefits of the education which it imparts is an abiding tribute. How is this puzzling phenomenon to be explained? I cannot do better than quote the words in which Dr. Theodore Morison, the late Principal of Aligarh College, and an unrivalled expert in Indian education, goes to the root of the matter :—

The answer which almost all Indians give to the question, "What has English Literature taught you?" is that it has taught them liberty to think for themselves; it has freed them from slavery to authority. This, perhaps, is not the lesson which a German or a Spaniard would extract from English literature, for the value and suggestiveness of any new idea depend largely upon the previously existing stock to which it is conjoined; but the intellectual antecedents of the Indian were such that this idea more than any other appeared to him novel and suggestive. The characteristic of all Indian teaching in the past, whether Hindu or Mahomedan, has been reverence for authority. The young scholar has been taught to justify his view by citing a great Pandit or Maulvi, and when he had elected to follow a certain school of thought, it was sheer blasphemy to question the teaching of any of its great masters. With such antecedents it is not surprising that the most wonderful and illuminating idea in English literature should have been the freedom and independence to which it introduced them. They found themselves suddenly introduced into a world in which independent private judgment was a duty, and the conscious exercise of it a virtue.

Now, although this new spirit has been called into existence by the Indian Government [*i. e.* by the system of education which it has provided], we have never, strange as such neglect may seem, attempted to direct or control it. We have thrown the pages of English literature open to the people of India, and left them to take from it what they pleased. English education, which was the direct

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creation of the Indian Government, has not hitherto arrived at guiding the development of Indian thought or at the training of character. Theoretically, that is left to the boy's guardians; in practice it is neglected altogether.

SOCIAL BARRIERS

The Indian Education Act of 1904, one of the greatest achievements of Lord Curzon's administration, aims, amongst other purposes, at remedying this neglect by creating facilities for closer association between masters and scholars, but we must wait for the future to mature the fruits of that new departure. For the present we have to do with the results of the past system. Nor is it possible to feel very sanguine as to the future, when one considers how difficult it is for either Europeans or natives to overcome the many barriers which keep them apart throughout life. The schoolboy and the student may be brought into closer touch with his European teacher: but how is the Indian when he has left school or college to be brought into closer touch with his English fellow subject? Europeans and natives in Government employ come into contact in the discharge of their official duties, just as European and native merchants or barristers or doctors come into contact in the pursuit of business or in their professional vocations. But beyond that how rarely is the gulf bridged over which separates the two races! Neither race can be held alone responsible for this estrangement. The Englishman may offer sin consciously through pride of colour, or unconsciously through the lack of flexibility which is characteristic of the British temperament. Possibly, too, owing to the greater facilities of communication with England, the Englishman in India, official or unofficial, seeks less frequently than he used to do to familiarize and identify himself with the ideas and interests of people amongst whom he lives, and in the case of officials the constantly growing burden of routine-work goes far to defeat his best intentions in that direction. But Indian social institutions, which preclude intimate relations even between Indians of different castes, are themselves a very serious obstacle to the easy intercourse through which the various units of Western society act and react upon each other. Remember also the very powerful and beneficent leaven which the feminine element represents in Western society, and its almost complete elimination from Indian society as far as all contact with Europeans is concerned. If Englishmen are apt to regard themselves as a caste apart in India, is it not also the case that the Indians themselves are apt to regard Englishmen as a caste, in whose favour they are no more inclined to relax the rigid laws

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which separate caste from caste than in favour of any of their own castes? The Prince and Princess of Wales were sumptuously entertained at State banquets by the greatest and most enlightened among the native princes of India. But neither Udaipur nor Jaipur nor even Scindia would have dreamed of violating their own caste laws as to commensality, by taking a seat at the banqueting table and breaking bread with them.

THE SOCIAL REFORM MOVEMENT

Up to within the last 20 years, and even perhaps later than that, it seemed not unlikely that the new spirit of intellectual emancipation would find its chief vent in a movement towards social reform in an effort to adjust the domestic life and social institutions and religious outlook of Young India to Western standards, or at least to bridge over to some extent the gulf which separates them. Many educated Indians seemed to recognize that the Englishman's conquest of political rights and liberties represents only one phase in the history of our national evolution, and is merely the crowning achievement of the same progressive forces which have, in the course of centuries, moulded our social and religious organism. The reformers who founded the Brahmo Somaj and the Arya Somaj and initiated the Social Conference were not concerned with politics. Their immediate aim was to bring the religious and social conceptions of their people into harmony with Western thought, to purge Hinduism of its grosser accretions of idolatry and superstition, to encourage a healthy individualism by loosening the rigid bonds of caste, and to broaden the foundations of family life by raising the position of woman. They looked forward, no doubt, to a day when Indians would be in a position to claim a larger measure of political liberty, a larger share in the government of the country, but they believed that the best and surest way to hasten the advent of that day was to renovate the moral and spiritual life of India.

It is one of the most discouraging features of the present situation that the social reform movement has been thrust completely into the background by the political movement. Even the National Congress, though from its inception an essentially political organization, did not in its earlier days exclude social reform from its programme, and for some time a certain outward connexion at least was maintained between the two movements. Gradually, however, the social reform movement slackened in the same ratio as the political movement gained in intensity. To-day not only does Mr. Gokhale, probably the most influential leader of the political movement and a man of unblemished character and undeniably lofty aspirations,

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ignore altogether in the great political oration with which he opened the proceedings of the last National Congress, the need of social reform which he used to advocate with so much eloquence ; but amongst the Bengalis, who certainly form the most clamorous section of the Congress party, there is a distinct reaction in favour of the more extreme forms of Hindu orthodoxy, religious and social. It is a very significant feature that nowhere are infant marriages and the disabilities of virgin widowhood, with all the social evils which they admittedly entail, so jealously upheld as in Bengal, the province which of all others claims to lead the van of political progress.

Apart from the defects hitherto inherent in our educational system in India, to which I have already alluded, this deplorable change of front must, in part at least, be ascribed to the want of perseverance and steadfastness which Indians themselves recognize to be one of the weaknesses of native character. Evidence of it is to be found in a remarkable pronouncement, delivered as far back as 20 years ago, in favour of giving priority to the political over the social movement. In a speech, addressed to a students' literary and scientific society, Mr. Justice Telang, himself a zealous reformer, declared quite frankly that "reform ought to go along the line of least resistance," and he proceeded to develop this argument in a singularly suggestive passage :—

"What are the forces opposed to us, if I may use that compendious expression? On the one side we have a government by a progressive nation, which is the benign mother of free nations—a nation which by its constituted authorities has solemnly and repeatedly declared, and in some measure practically shown, the sincerity of its declaration, that it is ready to admit us to full political rights when we show that we deserve them and shall use them well. On the other side, we have an ancient nation, subject to strong prejudices ; not in anything like full sympathy with the new conditions now existing in this country ; attached, perhaps not wisely but too well, to its own religious notions with which the proposed social reforms are closely intertwined, loving all its own genuine hoary traditions—and some of its very modern ones also which it supposes to be hoary—yet often failing to understand the true meanings and significance of both classes of traditions. As between these two groups of what I have called, only for convenience's sake, opposing forces, can there be any reasonable doubt how the line of least resistance runs? If we compare the Government and the Hindu population to two forts facing the army of reform, can there be any doubt that the wisest course for that army is to turn its energies

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first towards the fort represented by the Government, where we have numerous and powerful friends among the garrison and which is held against us only in order to test whether we shall be able to use properly any larger powers that may be conceded there? As to the other fort, the case is as far as possible one of *veni, vidi, vici*. The soldiers of the old garrison are not in the least ready to "give up" and in some respects we have yet got even to forge, and to learn to wield, the weapons by which we have to fight them."

I shall now show how Mr. Telang's counsels have prevailed, and from his point of view prevailed triumphantly, even to the stress which he laid upon the importance of the Press as an invaluable weapon for political agitation, but of little use for social reform.

However much we may deplore that so much of the Westernized intelligence and energy of India should be devoted to a purely political propaganda, nothing can be gained by blinking that fact. The spirit of revolt against authority which, as I said previously, Western education has itself produced has taken the shape of a revolt against British political authority—not against the supreme authority of the British Crown, but against the form in which its supremacy is exercised. The National Congress party controls almost the whole of the Vernacular Press and not a few English papers in India ; it controls a large section of the native teachers and professors who are moulding the minds of the rising generation ; it reckons among its staunchest supporters the vast majority of members of the liberal professions, and notably the large and influential army of pleaders and barristers ; to borrow Mr. Telang's *simile*, it has friends in the fort in more senses than one ; there is scarcely a branch of the Administration or a public office in which it has not its allies amongst the native staff ; still larger is its following amongst those who have failed to obtain Government employment—the chief aspiration of far too many Indians who look upon European education mainly as the "open sesame" of Government service. These are powerful forces which it is unwise, as well as unfair, to underrate. For if they comprise many unworthy elements of prejudice, jealousy, and ignorance, they comprise also a great deal of unselfish devotion and patriotism, however misguided and misapplied these qualities may seem to us. There are men amongst the leaders of the National Congress party whose single-mindedness and blamelessness of life must command the respect of Englishmen as fully as they command the admiration of their fellow-countrymen.

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DESTRUCTIVE METHODS

The real misfortune for India and for us is not that a National Congress party exists, but that such a party should have drifted to rapidly and, to our thinking, with so little cause into such acute antagonism to the British administrators of India, who, as a class, are not a whit less honestly devoted to the interests of the people of India than the best men in the ranks of the Congress party. This antagonism is partly the result of an almost inevitable conflict between two opposite types of character. The emotional temperament of the Indian is as pronounced as his intellectual love of abstract conceptions. Both have been conspicuous in the almost hysterical violence and in the uncompromising dogmatism with which he has rushed into the political arena. These idiosyncrasies have naturally come into sharp collision with the outwardly frigid reserve and the sober opportunism which characterize British methods of government. The two types have been mutually repellent ; and the result has been certainly most unfortunate. No Government, however well-intentioned, is infallible, least of all when, like the Government of India, it has to deal with a vast alien population whose ways of life and habits of thought are inconceivably different. There might well have been room for honest and intelligent criticism. But, unhappily, honest and intelligent criticism plays but a small part in the methods of the Congress party, which cannot be judged merely by the more decorous proceedings of its formal assemblies. In the columns of its Press and on public platforms, criticism degenerates more and more into mere invective. Facts are grossly exaggerated, distorted, and misrepresented. Individuals are assailed with almost indescribable rancour, and obnoxious officials are denounced straight away as Neros and Caligulas. Government can do no right. Every act of its agents, from the highest to the lowest, is subjected to equal contumely ; and much more than mere passive resistance is not infrequently preached, with or without the " don't nail his ear to the pump " saving clause. All this, however, is at least done in the open. But an underground propaganda is being carried on at the same time by the extreme elements of the party, amongst much lower social *strata* than its public manifest actions of activity can reach. The most serious feature, perhaps, of all is that, whilst there are unquestionably many moderate men of high principle and undoubted loyalty in the Congress party to whom all excesses must be and are known to be repugnant, few, if any, have the courage to dissociate themselves from them openly and to brave the charge of subserviency to the

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Government with which the Vernacular Press taunts any such display of independence.

It thus becomes very difficult even for those who have no little sympathy with the legitimate aspirations of educated Indians to discriminate between the authorised programme of the Congress, as expounded, for instance, by Mr. Gokhale, and the unauthorised programme of the extremists. We may or may not agree with the former. Demands for an increased representation of native opinion on the counsels of Government, for a larger share in the administration and for more effective control over public expenditure are, at any rate, not in themselves unreasonable demands, and certainly need not be taken to imply disloyalty. They amount, in fact, to little more than a quickening of the pace at which Government has for a long time past been moving in the proposed direction. But when we find at the back of that authorized programme an unauthorized programme of scarcely disguised lawlessness and intimidation, we are entitled to ask that, before we take the former into consideration, its authors should show some disposition to repudiate and discountenance the latter. Constructive work might be possible on the basis of the former. The latter can bear no fruits save for destructive purposes, which must be equally prejudicial to the best interests of Indians and of Britons.

THE POLITICAL AGITATOR

Herein lies, perhaps, the *crux* of the difficulty. The ablest and most upright amongst the leaders of the Congress party are, as I have already said, essentially the products of Western education. Their modes of thought, their intellectual equipment, their political outlook are in many ways much more closely akin to ours than to those of the great bulk of their fellow-countrymen. They claim, it is true, to represent the people of India, as if men whose whole *Weltanschauung* is essentially Western could represent the countless millions of people of different castes and creeds and languages and races, whose horizon for the vast majority does not extend beyond the village in which they are born and live their life of patient toil and die. For those millions their experience of the mysterious power which rules India is limited to their relation with a subdivisional officer, generally himself a native, who represents the Sarkar in their midst, or at most with the European commissioner and magistrate who administer the district, and occasionally visits them "on tour"—just as, in the domain of religion, their village god looms much larger and nearer than the major deities of the vast Hindu pantheon. To reach and stir even a small portion of those

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masses, the Indian agitator has to descend from the high and dry platform of Western political shibboleths to a much lower plane. He has to appeal to prejudice, to exploit ignorance, to stimulate fear by reckless misrepresentation and downright falsehood—as he did recently in Eastern Bengal—by instilling into the minds of the people that “partition” meant disturbance of Land Settlement, the imposition of fresh taxes on land, and the wholesale deportation of the ryot to the plantations of Assam. Thus the political doctrinaire, whose theories are reasonable and moderate enough from the Western standpoint, is largely dependent for such popular support as he can command upon the political agitator whose methods he cannot afford to repudiate; and unfortunately the political agitator is often just as much a product of our system of education as the political doctrinaire. For whilst the output of our schools and colleges is represented by not a few thoughtful and enlightened men of high character and acute intelligence, too often perhaps prematurely estranged from their own world by the world of Western ideas which we have opened up to them, its output is represented also by a much large number of soured mediocrities, who have sought only in a smattering of Western knowledge a key to lucrative employment and enhanced social position, which they have proved themselves unfitted to achieve, or, to put it more mildly, have never reconciled themselves to the fact that University failures are necessarily a drug in the market. Jealousy and chagrin drive these “intellectual” unemployed into the ranks of the disaffected; and, whilst they have caught just enough of the veneer of the West to acquire proficiency in the baser arts of the politics, they have remained sufficiently in touch with their own people to adapt those arts to their Eastern environment. Here again we have to thank ourselves very largely for this result. Let me once more quote an Indian authority, Mr. Protap Chunder Mozoomdar :—

“In a country where the common castes were rigidly excluded from the possession of higher knowledge, the builders of the British Indian Empire have created a revolution by throwing open the gates of education to every comer. The sons of fishermen and watermen and oilmen have been admitted without question into the new aristocracy of intellect thus created and into all the offices and influences which it brings. . . . But free education has not been an unmixed blessing anywhere. Liberal ideas do not mean liberal remuneration—just the reverse. The result has been in many instances a harder struggle for life, a carping discontent and critical attitude not at all pleasant or profitable. Men of knowledge

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and observation are always hard to please, and when to that is added almost unlimited freedom of speech and opinion and organization, well may those responsible for the Empire reflect with concern on the movements of the creature which the Frankensteins have produced, and his future doings."

There lies the rub. The failures of our educational system as well as its successful products are to be found nowadays amongst all classes and all castes ; and those whom the bitterness of failure drives into disaffection and political agitation become the agents for communicating, each to his own social stratum, the virus of his discontent. Thus the area of discontent is constantly spreading and spreading, it is to be feared, with increasing rapidity not only amongst the Hindus, but also amongst the Mahomedans who at first stood for the most part aloof from the political movement.

SOME LEGITIMATE GRIEVANCES

I have set forth these facts plainly and fully, not because I see in them as yet any cause for serious alarm or for despondency. The only cause for alarm would be that with our natural tendency to facile optimism we should disregard them. The tares were bound to sprout up with the wheat. Let us recognize that the tares are there and do our best to pluck them out and to prevent their further growth. In the first place let us not dismiss as a negligible quantity this Indian public opinion, which, even if often misinformed and misguided and representative only of a small minority of the vast population of India, is the only Indian public opinion that has become articulate ; and let us be careful to give it as few grounds as possible for the misunderstandings and misrepresentations to which it is only too prone to give expression. In this connexion I have been struck with the part played in the creation of prejudice against the British connexion by questions which have very little to do with Indian administration, and for which at any rate the Government of India cannot be held primarily responsible. They are really Imperial questions. For instance, few questions have been so widely exploited against us as the treatment to which Indian immigrants are exposed in certain British colonies and the disabilities to which they are subjected there. For this is a very real grievance amongst the lower middle classes, which send out petty traders and artisans ; and, though the indentured coolies have not themselves substantial grounds of complaint, they are not impervious to the colonial prejudice which assimilates them to "niggers." Another question of a similar order is that of the excise duties imposed upon Indian industry for the selfish protection, it is contended, of Lancashire.

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Yet another and a very important one is that of military expenditure. The way in which the Imperial Government, a few years ago, threw upon India, as far as the British garrison of India was concerned, the whole burden of the increase in the pay of the British Army, necessitated by the conditions of the British labour market against the protest of the Government of India, caused deep resentment amongst the more thoughtful Indians ; and much has occurred since then to widen the area within which the growth of military burdens stimulates discontent. If more attention were given to such causes of irritation as I have just instanced, we should hear much less of such agitations against local Government measures as we have witnessed lately in Bengal, for there would be less room for the leaven of honest sentiment which has enlisted so much unreasoning sympathy with the opposition to "partition."

I said before that the authorized programme of the Congress party does not really amount to much more than an endeavour to quicken the pace of government on the lines on which it began long ago to move. On those lines it will, no doubt, continue to move without precipitation, but without fear. The number of Indians employed in the public service must gradually increase, for the great majority of those who have been already admitted to it, especially of those who have obtained promotion to positions of special trust, have shown themselves worthy of the confidence reposed in them. It is amongst the best European officials in India that one finds the greatest disposition to favour an extension of the share given to natives in the higher administration of the country, especially in a consultative capacity. To their employment in the higher executive positions there are grave objections, which for the present would seem insuperable. The foundation of British rule is its impartiality towards all castes and creeds and races. The Englishman stands outside them all, whereas the day has not yet come when, with the best will in the world, the Indian can always, and in all circumstances, be relied upon to ignore the ties of a cast-iron social system. The demand for a complete separation of judicial and executive functions, though it may sound natural enough to Western ideas, will hardly impress those familiar with the East, for it is an essentially Western conception, altogether alien to the Eastern mind, which has invariably associated the dispensation of justice with rulership. With regard to a greater voice in the control of public expenditure there are certain branches of Indian expenditure—aud unfortunately the largest—which even the Government of India can only control within certain limits, for

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they arise out of the special circumstances of the relations between India and the Empire. But not a few Anglo-Indians would, I believe, be willing to see larger opportunities given for the discussion by native members of the Legislative Council of those branches of Indian expenditure which affect more exclusively the local interests of the people, such as education, public works, etc.

THE PERILS OF ESTRANGEMENT

If, however, Englishmen and Indians are to co-operate cordially in any such direction, the leaders of the political movement in India should bear in mind the test which Mr. Justice Telang himself proposed—namely, that the Indians should show themselves “able to use properly any larger powers that may be conceded to them.” Can they honestly contend that our confidence in their capacity to do so can be strengthened by the form which the political activities of many of their followers have assumed, with their knowledge if not at their instigation, and certainly without any word of disapproval from them? Their object, it is alleged, is to weary us into concessions by persistent agitation. But, pushed to its logical consequences, such a policy which can be achieved only by undermining British authority would be absolutely suicidal for the very class of Indians who are chiefly responsible for it. Let us admit for the sake of argument that, by stimulating and combining with all the forces of discontent which must ever exist in a vast and heterogeneous country like India, ruled by an alien Power, they might succeed in regarding our position untenable. But where would they themselves be after they had brought down the fabric of British authority which has given India internal peace and external security? Has our civilization such a hold, is it likely to have for generations such a hold, upon the motley masses of India that this handful of educated Indians, who are the products of our own civilization, could hope to restrain all the fiercely primitive or fanatically reactionary elements which the British *raj* has curbed, and restore for their own purposes just so much of the fabric we have reared as might suit their fancy? The best of them know perfectly well that with us they stand or fall. Indeed, they admit as much, for they disclaim any desire to sever the ties which unite India to the Empire. Yet, consciously or unconsciously, they are loosening them in the pursuit of objects which, even if we take them at their valuation, hardly seem to be adequate. It is not, at any rate, by a merely destructive agitation in the domain of politics that they will justify their claim to a larger share in shaping the destinies of their country.

NEW POLITICAL FORCES IN INDIA

A FIELD FOR CO-OPERATION

The future of India, as of every other country in the present stage of the world's development, lies in economic progress. That is the field which to many friends of India, both native and English, offers the best and widest field for the co-operation of both races—the field of commerce and industry, including the greatest and oldest of all Indian industries, agriculture. A great impulse has already been given in the last few years to the commercial and industrial development of India. The *Swadeshi* movement, though one cannot but regret the uses to which it has been perverted, is in itself a movement in the right direction. Cannot the political leaders of Young India bring their influence to bear upon the rising generation so that they may seek to equip themselves in our schools and colleges not merely for official employment as is too often the case, or even for the liberal professions which are already overstocked, but for the higher forms of trade and industry which to-day require just as severe a course of mental training and scientific study? Cannot they take to heart the words addressed to them this winter at Benares by one of their own most distinguished fellow-countrymen, the Maharaja of Benares who, after recommending a number of practical steps in that direction, adjured them to practise “the essential virtues of self-help and mutual co-operation, and to exhibit less anti-foreign bias and more real desire to profit by the lessons which the industrial West has to teach us?” In the field of industry as well as of agriculture, His Highness declared that their own backwardness was the chief reason why India had not yet achieved a large measure of prosperity. These were wise and brave words, though they brought upon the orator no little censure in the columns of a Press which prides itself upon being “national.” One of the greatest dangers for India, not merely from the British point of view, is the growth of an intellectual proletariat. It cannot be more surely averted than by the creation of an intelligent and high-trained middle class competent to develop the vast agricultural, commercial, and industrial resources of India in the spirit of modern enterprise and science. If the National Congress party will play the leading part which belongs to them in creating it, they will then have shown cause for satisfying their political aspiration: for they will stand not merely for political doctrines in a large measure alien to India, but for great material interests rooted in India itself—interests which, at this day, can nowhere be denied their right to effective representation. (Mr. Valentine Chirol in the *London Times*)

ARTICLES ON INDIA IN OTHER REVIEWS

1. CHAMBERS'S JOURNAL (May)—The Bulwark of our Indian Empire : R. T. Halliday.
2. CONTEMPORARY REVIEW (May)—A Native Council for India : C. Sankaran Nair.
3. THE EAST AND THE WEST (April)—Hinduism and Early Christianity : G. A. Grierson.
4. EMPIRE REVIEW (May)—The Sacred Hill of Paras-nath : Alice Effie Radice.
5. GEOGRAPHICAL JOURNAL (April)—Report of the Indian Survey Committee, 1904-05.
6. PALL MALL MAGAZINE (May)—The Maharaja of Bikanir : Ian Malcolm.
7. QUARTERLY REVIEW (April)—An Indian Renaissance : T. Morison.
8. ROYAL MAGAZINE (May)—The outbreak of the Indian Mutiny : W. Wood.
9. SCRIBNER'S MAGAZINE (May)—Vanishing Indian Types : E. S. Curtis.
10. WIDE WORLD MAGAZINE (May)—The Tragedy of Manipur : H. M. Evans.
11. YOUNG MAN (May)—How we won India : Charles Aked.
12. ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW (April)—Civic Life in India : A. Yusuf Ali.
13. RAILWAY MAGAZINE (May)—The East Indian Railway : G. Huddleston.

SOME NOTABLE VIEWS OF THE MONTH

THE BEST METHOD OF BRINGING INDIA BEFORE THE BRITISH PUBLIC

The London correspondent of the *Hindu* writes :—

The modern monarch that sways supreme in the hearts of the British people is the Press. Nowadays, the press is stronger and more powerful than the platform, not to mention the pulpit. When one considers the money spent by the National Congress of India over the platform in England and India, one feels rather disconcerted to notice the little effect left on the British man in the street. When the "deputation" leaves England for India, people forget India's message to Britain, amidst the enlargements and attractions of the next week end. The man in the street here is absolutely ignorant, I may say criminally ignorant of the importance of the party of the "Congress deputation." Mr. Gokhale is a great man in India, but nobody knows him in England. Consequently, his words cannot have much effect on those who happened to hear him. There is only one man whom, if any power on earth could induce to speak on Indian questions, the British public will hear with breathless interest. He is not very eloquent, but he is a matter-of-fact man, and, above all, he has made his name in Britain, in the way that appeals to the man in the street. It is none other than the famous cricketeer of the world, Prince Ranjit Singhji. If he speaks half-a-dozen words, your cause will be won. If not, you must wait your time, till one who makes his name in Britain will champion your cause. But, in the meanwhile, there is a very efficient way of awakening the conscience of England as regards her duties to India.

I have, at my disposal, the opinions of some of the keenest and-most sympathising people of Britian, as regards India. It is that we should approach the British public through the British Press. You might point out to me the *India*. It is a weekly paper, and with an avowed definite purpose. Therefore the average man does not read it. What we should do is to make the British Press contain things about India once or twice brought before the notice of the British public week after week, constantly, ceaselessly, in season and out of season, then some substantial results might be expected. The British public has great faith in the Press. It trusts

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the Press implicitly and completely. So every effort should be made to reach the British Press from India. This seems to be the most opportune time.

Since I wrote you last, I have been making further enquiries as to the best method of bringing India before the British Public. By far the best way, as I said before, is through the press, not by the platform, as the latter does not wield such great influence now-a-days, as it once did. Our friend, the *India*, unfortunately does not appeal to the average man and woman here. It is a weekly paper for one thing and for the other it is devoted entirely to Indian subjects. As for the influence of the *India* on the British press here, I am afraid it is losing its ground, just for the reason. It is run by a limited company now. So the journalistic world here considers it an Anglo-Indian paper, favourable to the Indian interests. Sir Henry Cotton and Sir William Wedderburn are considered Anglo-Indians here, though you consider them in India to be Indian in heart and soul. *India* is considered more as a party organ than as the mouthpiece of India. The British public does not want to know so much of what the Anglo-Indian friends and well-wishers of India wish to say of India's many intricate problems, as what the people themselves wish to say about themselves. An Englishman always believes, (as long as he is in England) in a straight-forward direct appeal to him, from the person concerned. He that wears the shoe knows where it pinches. Silence generally means consent and therefore contentment. But let him cry out himself with all his might, if he has a grievance. That is the motto of John Bull, and if you wish to make the best of the situation you must take him on his own ground. However, much the English friends of India would advocate her cause, unless India herself undertakes to advocate her own cause, the labour will all be in vain. I do not for a moment wish to underrate the amount of good done by the *India* ; I could not deny the sphere of influence it has for the present. But we have to work yet harder and try to reach all nooks and corners by every possible means. Then comes the idea of how to realise this object. Perhaps the best method to adopt would be to subsidise a good newspaper of which some columns might be given to the Indian cause every week. But on enquiry I find that no respectable paper would sell its columns for hard cash. This might sound discouraging, but one should not forget there is always a "profit and loss" basis for every newspaper. What one cannot do directly, one might do indirectly. The readers of the *Hindu* are no doubt, aware that there has been in existence for some time what

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is called the "Colonial" edition of the *Daily Mail*, and it has been a profitable concern to the publishers. One might prevail upon an enterprising publisher and Editor in London that a special "Indian Edition" might be issued, containing some special articles on Indian subjects by the great Indian writers. An Editor will do this, if this method will ensure a wide circulation of the paper in India. Suppose every Friday "An Indian Edition" is struck. Then will it have a wide circulation in India? If India could take in about twenty to twenty-five thousand copies of the paper (at 1*d.* or 2*d.* each) it might strike an Editor here as an original idea to cater to the Indian tastes by putting in Indian things. Thus we shall be able to bring India before the British public. Increase of circulation of the paper, always means an increase of advertisements so the Editors even of London, cannot afford to despise the offer. But now it depends on the Indian public to decide whether they would take up this suggestion. It may not be impossible to get the required number of subscribers in India as it means only one anna or half an anna a week for the newspaper. Again, the "National Congress" and the Indian Press might recommend the paper to the public. I think this is the only possible way of approaching the subject, and I commend this, through your columns, to the consideration of the public of India. If some responsible authority would undertake to assure me of the circulation of the paper in India, I shall not hesitate to undertake the responsibility of persuading some good, up to-date editor to launch out the scheme. There are some newspapers just started here in London. It is a pity to lose such an opportunity to propose our terms to the new comers. This undertaking must have the support of the educated classes and, I for one, would, wish they would realise the importance of the subject. Meanwhile I await Indians decision.

LEADING POINTS IN THE SPEECHES ON THE FINANCIAL STATEMENT—(1906-07)

The Hon'ble Nawab Saiyid Mahammed Sahib Bahadur—

(1) Congratulates the Government on the satisfactory financial statement. (2) Notices with pleasure the success that has attended the endeavour to attain a higher standard of accuracy in estimating revenue and expenditure. (3) States that the reduction of taxation on salt has had the most beneficial effect and will ultimately lead to improve the health of the population. (4) Hopes that the Government will shortly be in a position to announce a reduction in the land-revenue. (5) Notes with gratitude that the Ryotwari Village Service Cess in the Madras Presidency has been abolished but regrets that the cess on proprietary estates has not been found possible to be abolished. (6) Notes the reference to the great Tungabhadra irrigation works in Madras. (7) Says that though the Railway Board is devoting its attention to improve the comfort and convenience of third class passengers, a great deal still remains to be done. (8) Advocates the claims of Indians to higher appointments under the Government.

The Hon'ble Nawab K. Salimullah Bahadur—(1) Congratulates the Government on the very satisfactory Budget of the year. (2) Observes that the reduction of the salt duty has been one of the greatest blessings that could be conferred on the agricultural population and trusts that the present Finance Minister may be able to announce a further reduction to their further relief. (3) States that the raising of the taxable limit of incomes has conferred another great boon on the poorer middle classes and suggests that the present minimum of Rs. 1000 a year should be excluded from all incomes up to Rs. 2000 a year. (4) Regrets that the counter-vailing duties on sugar have availed nothing to revive the dying sugar industry of India. (5) Thanks the Government for the abolition of the Dak Cess and hopes for a re-adjustment of the Road Cess in Bengal in the light of larger remissions granted to the other provinces of India. (6) Refers to the new province of Eastern Bengal and Assam of which he takes pride in being the first representative and requests the Government to make a special allotment for the education of Mahomedans in that province.

The Hon'ble Mr. Logan—(1) Restricts his remarks to the contingency of famine with special reference to the Bombay Presidency. (2) Apprehends that scarcity may become a feature of the peninsula for nearly as many years in the future as it has been in the past. (3) States that the whole of the 50 lakhs assigned to the Bombay Government for clearing the old debts has been absorbed by an accession of new debts and thus the Government of this Presidency is now practically insolvent. (4) Suggests that in future Imperial budgets full provision should be made under the head *Famine Relief and Insurance* for all anticipated famine charges, irrespective of the balances of local Governments. (5) Recommends an insurance account for the Bombay Presidency and a revision of the late settlement.

The Hon'ble Mr. Hall—(1) Congratulates the finance Member on the prosperous state of the Finances. (2) Expresses gratitude for the amelioration of the Burma Police. (3) Welcomes the grant for agricultural and veterinary development. (4) Recognises that the reasons for the abolition of *Patwari* and other cesses are sound but states that Burma cannot share in the relief as there

is no *Patwari* cess in that province. (5) Mentions that Upper Burma did not get any share of the grant made a year ago in aid of District Funds. (6) Expresses gratitude for the discontinuance of the practice of taking a contribution from Local Funds for the district post. (7) Expresses anxiety in view of the coming expiry of the current Provincial Settlement and concludes with a confident hope that in the new settlement Burma will receive due consideration.

The Hon'ble Mr. Ismay—(1) Begins by saying that his remarks are related to the Central Provinces and Berar and acknowledges the welcome relief which will be afforded to agricultural taxpayers by the abolition of the *Patwari* cess. (2) States that the provision now made in the new Provincial Contract for developing the resources of these provinces is much more liberal than has been allowed on any previous occasion. (3) Deals with the backward condition of the Central Provinces with special reference to railways, roads and buildings. (4) Recommends that the scale of pay for members of the judicial service may be raised.

The Hon'ble Mr. Apcar—(1) Congratulates the Finance Member. (2) Enters into an elaborate discussion on the working of railways which have shown almost the heaviest gain during the last year and states that to Lord Curzon belongs the credit of having opened the largest mileage. (3) Recommends a further development of railways in India. (4) Suggests that every effort should be made to facilitate the coal traffic and that the claimant needs of the existing railways in the matter of rolling stock be first attended to. (5) Desires, in the matter of Income tax, that the minimum should be raised to Rs. 1,500 and that an abatement of Rs. 1,500 be allowed up to incomes of Rs. 3,600. (6) Observes that the Calcutta Improvement Scheme is not a Municipal but an imperial matter and that a large proportion of the cost should fall on the imperial revenues.

The Hon'ble Mr. G. K. Gokhale—(1) Observes that the present Budget, for lucidity of exposition, will take high rank among the financial statements of the Government. (2) Remarks, in connection with salt duty, that the only right policy is to raise an expanding revenue on an expanding consumption under a diminishing scale of taxation. (3) Recommends a further reduction of the taxation on Salt so as to make it uniform with what it is in Burma. (4) Expresses satisfaction for the abolition of certain cesses on land and the discontinuance of certain appropriations from the funds of District and Local Boards for provincial purposes. (5) Regrets that Bombay does not participate in these benefits and suggests two directions in which the Government could assist that Presidency. (6) Suggests that in the general statements of revenue and expenditure, the figures under Railways and Irrigation should be given net; also that the income and expenditure of Local Boards should be separated from the accounts of the Government of India. (7) Makes an inquiry about the Gold Reserve Fund and the profits from coinage. (8) Enters into an elaborate protest against the inordinate growth of military expenditure which is now nearly double of what it was twenty years ago and recommends its curtailment, in view of Russia now being crippled and the Anglo-Japanese alliance concluded. (9) Characterises the whole system of military administration as being founded on a policy of regrettable distrust of the people. (10) Recommends Short Service for the Indian Army, the creation of Indian reserves, and the gradual extension of the privilege of citizen-soldiership to the people. (11) Strongly objects to the surpluses being devoted to railway construction when they are urgently needed for so many other objects vitally affecting the interests of the masses. (12) States that the three evils to be combated in

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connection with the ryot's position are his fearful poverty, his ignorance and his insanitary surroundings. (13) Advocates a reduction of the State demand on Land. (14) Says that a resolute attempt must be made to rescue the Indian agriculturist from the load of debt that overwhelms him at present. (15) Recommends the establishment of Agricultural Banks like those introduced into Egypt by Lord Cromer. (16) speaks on Irrigation and Scientific Agriculture. (17) Says that for the promotion of Industrial and technical education, India requires at least one fully equipped Technological Institute at some central place with branches in the different provinces. (18) Pleads for a free and compulsory education of the masses. (19) Desires that the Government should formulate a definite policy with regard to works of sanitary improvement which require substantial help from the State. (20) Points out the ways by which funds might be made available for undertaking the measures proposed by him. (21) Says that the improvement of the condition of the masses and the conciliation of the educated classes are the two really great problems before the Government. (22) Concludes with an eloquent appeal for a government, national in spirit, even though it may be foreign in personnel.

The Hon'ble Mr. H. A. Sim—(1) Congratulates the Government on the continuance of the policy of 'popular' relief and reform. (2) Says that the abolition of the Village Cess and the desire of the Government to set bounds to the extension of Local Taxation will be greatly appreciated by the people. (3) States that the increased provision for expenditure on Forests and the kindly mention of the Tungabhadra Irrigation Project will also receive great appreciation. (4) Advocates the necessity of Agricultural Banks like those in Egypt. (5) Expresses gratitude for grants in connection with Police, Railways, the Madras Harbour and the like. (6) Hopes to receive grants for Technical Education next year. (7) Congratulates the Central Provinces, Bengal and Assam on their Provincial Settlements and wishes that the turn of Madras had still to come. (8) Requests the Finance Member to make Famine Relief less Provincial and more Imperial. (9) Thanks the Government for the consideration shown to Madras.

The Hon'ble Mr. Hare—Congratulates the Government on the satisfactory Budget. (2) Expresses gratitude for the abolition of the Zemindary Dak Cess and observes that this relief is not to be measured merely by the comparatively small amount of tax remitted, but by the removal of the nuisance which its collection has hitherto caused.

The Hon'ble Mr. Porter—(1) Congratulates the Finance Member on his abolishing the *Patwari* Rate. (2) Hopes that the enhanced annual grant for the Police Reform will do much good. (3) Regrets that no lump grant has been made for the proper housing of superior police officers. (4) Regrets also that no special grant has been made for non-recurring expenditure. (5) Advocates the necessity of aiding municipal boards to carry out urgent sanitary reforms. (6) Gives an account of the Financial condition of the Government of the United Provinces, and states that the provincial income is insufficient for provincial needs.

The Hon'ble Rai Sri Ram Bahadur—(1) Congratulates the Hon'ble Mr. Baker on his being able to present two consecutive Budgets disclosing many pleasant features. (2) Expresses satisfaction for the beneficial policy of relieving a portion of the heavy burden on land by the abolition of the Ryotwari Village cess, the Zemindari Dak Cess, the Village Officers' Cess and the *Patwari* Cess.

(3) Deals with those portions of the Financial Statement which had a direct bearing on the United Provinces. (4) Regrets that only a very small addition has been made to the amount to be spent on technical and industrial education. (5) Dwells upon the poverty problem of India with reference to Lord Curzon's Budget speech for 1903 and states that the labouring classes are in a chronic state of poverty hardly raised above the point of starvation. (6) Submits that the problem of the unemployed in India should engage the attention of the Government. (7) Hopes that extensive improvements will shortly be effected in the agricultural method of India. (8) States that nearly two-thirds of the Indian population have been compelled to take to agriculture and hopes that industrial education and revival and creation of indigenous industries will receive a careful attention from the Government. (9) Regrets that the Army Clothing Department has sent a large order to England without giving any Indian firm a chance to submit a tender. (10) Quotes figures to suspect that many persons, who ought to have been exempted from income-tax, have either got no exemption at all or that they are being re-assessed. (11) recommends temporary grade promotions for the members of the subordinate branch of the provincial Service. (12) Speaks on the appointment of Indians to the Public Works Service of the Imperial branch. (13) Recommends that the number of third class carriages on the principal railway lines, should be largely increased.

The Hon'ble the Maharaja of Durbhanga:—(1) Takes pride in our connections with England and looks forward to the time when Mr. Morley's visions may be realised and the people may be more closely associated with the Government of the country. (2) Refers in loyal terms to the recent Royal visit. (3) Prays for the separation of Executive and Judicial functions and to the development of Agriculture. (4) Suggests that five millions a year may be cut off from the Army Expenditure for the next ten years and the fifty millions thus saved spent in developing the resources of the country. (5) States that agriculture stands pre-eminent among the resources of the country which require development, and quotes from Mr. Moreland's paper read at the last Industrial Conference at Benares. (6) Suggests that the Government should tackle the great question of agricultural finance in a much bolder spirit than they have hitherto done. (7) Makes mention of the Calcutta Improvement scheme. (8) Dwells upon the prevalence of malaria in Burdwan and other places in Bengal and discusses its relation to the construction of railways which, according to him, can exist side by side with waterways. (9) While confessing that the sums allotted to Bengal under the heads of relief to the agricultural tax-payer and of technical education should have been larger, states that the distribution of the surplus is such as to give general satisfaction. (9) Approves of the proposal to devote twenty-five lakhs for police reform and admits that the people would have been glad of a larger appropriation on account of education. (10) Concludes with respectful congratulations to H. E. Lord Minto upon the handsome surplus with which His Lordship's term of office is inaugurated.

The Hon'ble Major General Scott:—(1) States, in reference to the Hon'ble Rai Sri Ram Bahadur's remarks, that the Government in the Military Supply Department is the largest *Swadeshi* institution in the country. (2) Explains that the local purchase of socks was discontinued only in consequence of the serious complaints of their quality made by the troops. (3) Assures that if Indian Mills manufacture socks of a sufficiently good quality and at a

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price not higher than the imported article, the Army Clothing Department will place their orders with them. (4) States that the Government has appointed a commission to enquire into the 'disastrous condition' into which the artisan and industrial classes have fallen.

14. The Hon'ble Mr. J. P. Hewett—(1) States with satisfaction that the trade returns for 1905-6 are higher than in any previous year except 1904-5. (2) States that the falling-off in the total value of our exports, has been insignificant. (3) States that the exports of manufactured articles, are higher than they have ever been. (4) Admits the correctness of the argument that resources of India should be utilised for the benefit of India itself. (5) Enters into an elaborate discussion of the manner in which our resources should be developed. (6) Remarks, in reference to the Hon'ble Rai Sri Ram Bahadur's speech about the poverty of the labouring classes, that the Indian labourer, being still essentially an agriculturist can not be induced to take to industrial pursuits. (7) Strives to refute the statement that the revival of Indian industries must necessarily involve some displacement of British industry and British capital. (8) States that the first requirement for the material advancement of India, is the development of a more liberal spirit among the people themselves. (9) Says, with regard to technical education, that the difficulty lies in the fact that students prefer careers other than industrial ones so soon as their schooldays are over. (10) Refers in complimentary terms to the far-sighted views of the Late Mr. Tata, and observes that the establishment of the proposed iron and steel industry at Sini will prove a great success. (11) Refers to the activity now being shown in the development of the more important ports of India. (12) States that since the constitution of the Department of Commerce and Industry, India has entered into important commercial conventions with Japan, Bulgaria and other countries. (13) States that in order to place the administration of the Customs upon a satisfactory and consistent basis, the Government have settled all preliminaries for the inauguration of an Imperial Customs Service. (14) Assures the public that, should the revenue from the Post Office increase during the coming year in the same ratio as it has in recent years, and should the financial position remain otherwise satisfactory, the Government hope to recommend to the Secretary of State for raising the letter-weight to be carried for half-an-anna to one tola from the next session. (15) States that the reduction in the cost of internal telegraphic messages has resulted in a large increase in the traffic. (16) Expresses his opinion that the amalgamation of the Postal and Telegraphic Departments can only be justified if it can be shown that it will result in a financial saving without loss of efficiency. (17) Deals with the programme of railway administration for the coming year and assures the Hon'ble Mr. Apar that the Government has not ignored the need for increasing the rolling stock. (18) States that the matter of the improvement of arrangements for the comfort of third class railway passengers is receiving the earnest attention of the authorities. (19) Dwells upon the uniform classification of goods and the simplification of railway tariffs, the question of minima rates and that of a simpler procedure for the settlement of disputes between the public and the administrations, and the terms of the risk-note to be used on our railways. (20) Concludes to say that the Railway Board recognises no antagonism between Railways and the inland waterways and that the Commerce and Industry Department regards the improvement of the latter as of very material importance to the interests of commerce.

The Hon'ble Sir D. Ibbetson—(1) Gladly states that the distress from famine this year is less intense than that which prevailed in 1896-7 or in 1899—1900. (2) Gives a brief account of the position as it now stands and of the prospects for the coming season with special reference to the Deccan, the Punjab, the United Provinces and Rajputana. (3) Anticipates that when the *rabi* harvest has been reaped, there will be a considerable increase in the number of persons seeking for relief and states that arrangements have been made to meet the probable requirements of the situation. (4) Quotes from a speech of Lord Curzon on the Famine Statement of January, 1900. (5) Discusses, in a right official way, the two aspects of the question raised by the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale for a liberal policy in the matter of Government loans for the relief of agricultural indebtedness. (6) Refers to the subject of Co-operative Societies and says that the progress made in this direction has been quite as rapid as either rise or sale in the initial stage of what is admittedly an experiment. (7) Says that the Secretary of State has accepted, with certain reservations, the scheme for the expansion of agricultural and veterinary departments and hopes that the Hon'ble Members will appreciate the good intentions of the Government in a matter of such vital importance. (8) Says that a good progress has been made at Pusa where the whole of the arable land has been brought under cultivation. (9) Gives an account of the progress that has been made in the matter of cotton cultivation, especially in the United Provinces, the Central Provinces and Sindh. (10) In connection with Jute, deals with the deterioration of the quality of the fibre and the shortage of supply and invites the co-operation of the commercial community in the inquiries of the Government Jute Specialist. (11) Gives an account of the Forest Department referred to by the Hon'ble Mr. Sim. (12) Speaks on the introduction of the Standard Time and hopes that Calcutta will not long hold aloof from a reform of such obvious convenience. (13) Refers to the subjects of Remissions and Suspensions of Revenue in seasons of draught, of *takavi* advances to agriculturists in need of loans and of the exemption of improvements from assessment to land revenue and hopes that even the sternest critics of Lord Curzon's system will admit that much has been done to ensure leniency and liberality in the application of these resolutions. (14) Turns to the Public Works Department and says that the most important event of the year has been the acceptance of the rough programme which was formulated by the Irrigation Commission as an approximate forecast of operations and as the basis of the financial arrangements. (15) Makes special reference to the Tungabhadra scheme which is the most costly irrigation project that has yet been framed in India. (16) States that the Madaripur Bhil Route, the Tolly's Nullah scheme and the improvement of the Bhagirathi route are now under detailed examination. (17) Says that the improvement of the Port of Chittagong has occupied the attention of the Government. (18) Refers the Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Sri Ram to the supplement to the *Gazette of India* of the 15th July, 1905, in connection with his question about the admission of Indians to the Public Works Department.

The Hon'ble Sir A. Arundel—(1) Suggests that the Hon'ble Members should appeal to their Local Governments in aid of such special objects as police, agriculture, education etc. (2) Says, with reference to the Hon'ble Mr. Porter's remark on the housing of police officers, that the expenditure on police buildings is a purely provincial liability. (3) Declines to admit that the Government should finance a large scheme of municipal drainage, because plague

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exists and may continue to spread, and says that it is not all kinds of sanitary reforms that affect the spread of plague. (4) Referring to Messrs Sri Ram and Porter's demand for special grants in aid of hostels connected with secondary education, states that the obligation is essentially provincial, and the matter is one in which private liberality may fairly be expected. (5) Sympathises with the Hon'ble Nawab Bahadur of Dacca in his advocacy of improved educational facilities for the Mahamedans of Eastern Bengal and Assam, and hopes that their needs will be fully considered by Sir B. Fuller. (6) Refers to the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale's advocacy of universal free and primary education throughout India and says that the first and greatest difficulty in this connection is money and the next is the reluctance of parents of the poorer classes to send their boys to a school. (7) Remarks that the hope and aspiration of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale for primary education must meet with wide sympathy. (8) Refers to the gloomy view of the agriculturist's condition taken by the Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Sri Ram and puts in a strong word for those 'pessimists' who hold that India is steadily growing poorer. (9) Speaks from his experience of over forty years that great improvement has been brought about in the condition of the ryot in course of that time. (10) Strives to refute, from his experience as Collector of the Kistna District, the statement made by the Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Sri Ram regarding the chronic poverty of the labouring classes.

H. H. The Rt. Hon'ble Lord Kitchener.—(1) Refers to the Hon'ble the Maharaja of Durbhanga's remarks about the use of alliances and says that there are higher and more world-wide interests underlying the Japanese alliance than mere pecuniary advantages. (2) Deals with the question of military expenditure from the standpoints of efficiency and sound organisation, economy in the expenditure of the funds voted for the army and the strength of the forces. (3) Declines to believe, with reference to the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale's proposal for citizen-soldership, that the people of India would welcome the introduction of conscription with smaller scale of pay. (4) Regarding the proposed reduction of military expenditure, refers to the obligation in the relations between Master and Servant and says that he would be failing in his duty if, from pecuniary considerations, he does not adopt measures to prevent his dependants from being hampered by antiquated machinery or insufficient materials. (5) Vindicates the action of the Government in giving its soldiers the means which are essential for the performance of their dangerous duties. (6) Says that it is incumbent on the Government to see that the soldiers are not sent to the field with inferior weapons and without the necessary ammunition and other essential warlike stores. (7) Hopes, by the extension of Indian factories, to turn out guns and other equipments more cheaply than from England. (8) Trusts that the Hon'ble the Finance Member relies on His Excellency's full and cordial co-operation to prevent waste of all sorts. (9) Says that the correct appreciation of the military position of the Government necessitates long and careful examination. (10) Explains the details of the Re-organisation Scheme about which some people have a good deal of misgivings. (11) Says that the Government is trying to reduce the large deficiency in officers and building up a larger reserve for the native army as advocated by the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale. (12) Says that the Government is not indulging in military extravagances, but on the contrary is trying to obviate increases which might otherwise have been forced upon it. (13) Says that in order to secure peace and tranquility which are essential conditions of material progress and advancement

the Government must be watchful and that capitalists will not place their money in India, unless they are convinced that there is assured security. (14) Concludes with a reference to the gracious message which H. R. H. the Prince of Wales sent to the Viceroy, and assures His Excellency that the Army of India deeply appreciates the high commendation thus bestowed upon them by the future Emperor.

H. H. The Hon'ble Sir Andrew Fraser—(1) Congratulates the Government of India and the Hon'ble Mr. Baker on the satisfactory Budget. (2) Refers to the Hon'ble the Maharaja of Durbhanga's remarks and dilates upon the connection between railways and malaria. (3) Expresses the gratitude of the Government of Bengal for the terms of the new Contract. (4) Re-echoes the wish expressed by the Hon'ble the Maharaja of Durbhanga for more money to be given to the Government of Bengal. (5) Acknowledges to have received very generous terms from the Government of India and hopes now to do some useful work.

The Hon'ble Mr. Baker—(1) Expresses satisfaction for the reception accorded to the budget and for the fact that the specific proposals of the Government have met with general approval. (2) Enters into an elaborate discussion of the disappointment seemed to be felt by some that the Government has not made larger provision for expenditure on a variety of new objects and directs that all ordinary items of provincial expenditure should be defrayed by Local Governments. (3) Admits to be in sympathy with the Government of the United Provinces which have been very hard hit by the failure of the harvests, and by the heavy expenditure on famine relief. (4) Says that the Hon'ble Mr. Sri Ram's detailed comparison of the Provincial Settlement with those of other provinces is inaccurate in certain respects. (5) Says, with regard to the terms of the settlement, that it is too soon to revise it altogether, but promises to bear the matter in mind when a suitable opportunity occurs. (6) In connection with the revision of the Provincial Settlement, promises to bear in mind the appeal made by Mr. Hall on behalf of Burma. (7) Refers to the speeches of the Nawab of Dacca and the Maharaja of Durbhanga, and explains to say that Bengal has received a small share in the remission of taxation on account of her Permanent Settlement. (8) Declines to hold out any expectation for a reduction of the road-cess in Bengal. (9) Expresses his willingness to redress an injustice which is being done to Bengal in regard to her local taxation. (10) Speaks on the expenditure on famine relief referred to by Messrs Logan and Sim and assures the public that the matter shall receive his prompt attention though, according to him, the administration of famine relief should rest with the Local Government. (11) Says that the amount of the Imperial contribution, towards the improvement of Calcutta, may be increased if sufficient grounds can be shown for so doing. (12) Dwells at length upon Mr. Apcar's remarks about the income-tax, and says that he can hold out no hope about the repeal or reduction of the same. (13) Enters into an exhaustive discussion of the various reforms advocated by the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale. (14) Lays before the Council a brief retrospect of the changes that have been effected in the fiscal system during the last twenty-four years. (15) Concludes to assure the Council that it will be the aim of the Government to persevere steadfastly in the policy that has guided it in the past, to remove every avoidable impediment to the development of trade, to improve communication, to facilitate the free movement of labour, to stimulate all Indian industries and to provide for education, agriculture, public health and public safety.

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H. E. The Rt. Hon'ble Lord Minto—(1) Believes that the future prosperity of India depends largely upon the welfare of its agricultural population. (2) Lays considerable stress upon that sentence of the Hon'ble Mr. Hewett's speech, in which he assures the public that the Government of India earnestly desires to encourage Indian industries. (3) Pays a high compliment to the speech delivered by the Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Sri Ram, characterises his remarks on education as 'most valuable' and those on technical instruction as deserving of 'most careful attention.' (4) Discusses some of the points argued by the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale and greatly admires his advanced views which are said to have been eloquently represented with a patriotic desire to share in the administration of public affairs. (5) Remarks that the criticism of military expenditure is often short-sighted. (6) Refers to the recent Royal Visit and closes the Debate with a hope that ever-increasing revenues will help to solve the administrative problems which surround India and thus ensure the progress and happiness of her people.

REVIEW OF LEADING INDIAN REVIEWS

The Indian Review

The *Editorial Notes* in the May number of our Madras contemporary begin with an account of *The Servants of India Society* established by the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale. The head-quarters of this noble society are at Poona and we are at unison with Mr. Natesan when he observes that Mr. Gokhale's name 'is sufficient guarantee for economic fruitful application of funds.' Here is what the great Marhatta patriot himself says of the Society : 'Public life must be spiritualised. Love of Country must so fill the heart that all else shall appear as of little moment by its side. A fervent patriotism which rejoices at every opportunity of sacrifice for the motherland, a dauntless heart which refuses to be turned back from its object by difficulty or danger, a deep faith in the purpose of Providence that nothing can shake—equipped with these, the worker must start on his mission and reverently seek the joy which comes of spending one's self in the service of one's country.' The views of Lala Lajpat Rai on the *Swadeshi Movement* should be brought home to the mind of every supporter of that propaganda. Mr. Alfred Chatterton writes at length on the *Development of Lift Irrigation* and Mr. A. M. Sawyer deals with *The Cultivation of Para Rubber*. Mr. Hemendra Prasad Ghose gives a short account of the manner in which the imported *Aniline-Dyes* have succeeded in superseding 'the beautiful colours for which India was once famous.' We shall see if we can deal in our next issue, with Mr. Abdul Aziz Khan's article entitled *Local Self Government in India*. Mr. Swaminatha Aiyar contributes an unconscionably long paper dealing with *Mr. Tilak's Arctic Home Theory*. As usual 'Rajduari' makes some notes on *Current Events* and the number closes with a few pages devoted to educational, medical, scientific and political matters.

East and West

Mr. Malabari brings out a fair number for June. Mr. Rama Prasad Chanda leads off with the inaugural instalment of a serial article entitled *The Study of Indian Social History*. Mr. H. G. Keene, C.I.E., who has been well known to the Indian literary public for his excellent *Hand-book to Agra* contributes a nice account of *Akbar's Country House* at Fatehpur Sikri. *Indophile* discusses *The*

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Educational Policy of Lord Curzon's Administration more with the blind zeal of a designing sycophant than with the impartiality of a right-thinking critic and predicts that 'in the future no portion will evoke greater gratitude' than his Lordship's university reforms. Sirdar Jogendra Singh contributes up to the sixteenth chapter of his Romance of *Nur Jahan*. We confess we are a little bit too anxious to see the story concluded. Miss Elsie Higginbotham deals with *Some Recent Interpretations of Wagner's Music Dramas* in the next fourteen pages. Mr. Suresh Chandra Bose's biographical sketch of *Pratap Chandra Mozoomdar* will be read with pleasure and profit by the many admirers of the late leader of the New Dispensation Brahma Community. Mr. F. Barr has an interesting article on *How the East Strikes the West* which is begun with the rather soothing remark that 'life in India is the most picturesque in the world.' This is followed by a short poem by Mr. Isidore G. Ascher. Mr. Vasudeo B. Mehta writes on *The Oriental Spirit in Paul Verlaine*. Mr. J. W. Sherer, C.S.I., contributes the concluding portion of his account of *Colonel Memory*. In course of the following article entitled *India and World Politics*, Mr. K. S. Srinivasan asserts 'that there has unmistakably developed in India a sense of nationality. The *Editorial Note* deals with Mr. Morley's notion of *Sympathy*. We are bound to say that the article is evidently the outcome of sound erudition and mature thinking though we cannot subscribe ourselves to all the views expressed therein. A few notes on *Current Events* bring the number to a close.

The Mysore Review

The May number of this Review opens with an article advocating the great value of *Inoculation* from the convincing pen of Mr. P. S. Ramachandrier. Dealing with the *Economic Aspects of Swadeshim* Sir Krisnaswami Iyengar remarks 'that the last rupee of the capital existing in the country should find its investment in some industrial concern or other.' A Malayalee Lady holds out a graphic picture of the modern B. Course Graduate of average parts in course of her interesting story entitled *Scenes from Modern India*. Mr. Ramamritam Iyer's article on the *Pleasures of Literary Life* is pleasant reading and is followed by Dewan Bahadur R. Raghoonath Rao's views on *Sradham*. Some notes on the manufacture of lead pencils and steel nibs make up the last item in the number under notice.

NOTES & NEWS

GENERAL

The Government of India have decided to establish a Bacteriological Laboratory in the Nilgiris and steps are also being taken to improve and extend the Mukteswar Laboratory.

* *

The Indian Geological Department have taken measures to obtain records of the numerous shocks which followed the earthquake of the 4th April last year and which still continue in the area affected.

* *

The reputed 'granary of Bengal' has failed last season to produce a bumper crop and all the rice-producing tracts in Eastern India have followed suit. Rice is selling at about seven seers the Rupee in most parts of Eastern Bengal and the consequent distress to the people is causing very grave anxiety to their leaders as well as the government. It is a long time in the history of Lower Bengal that scarcity has again deepened into famine.

* *

News has just reached Peshawar that the railway construction authorities once again find it impossible to go on with the Loc-Shilman railway as the Mullagauri section of the local tribal clan do not look with favour on the passing of the railway in or near the territory. During the last four or five days the jirgas have been called in and matters discussed with the Mullagauris. Unless the latter come to terms it is evident that work cannot proceed.

* *

The *Calcutta Weekly Notes* states: "It may be noted that Bengal and Assam show the lowest record of crime in all India from year to year. For every ten thousand of population in those Provinces only 24 criminal cases come up before the Courts in the year. In Madras and Bombay about 30 are brought to trial, while the average for England is about 250 in 10,000. Thus it will be seen that crime is much less prevalent in India than it is in England."

* *

Murar, a cantonment at a distance of some six miles from Gwalior, has all at once become a place of pilgrimage. On the 6th

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instant, a new spring appeared near the river there, the water in it differing in colour and taste from that of the stream, which is a tributary of the Jumna. This has created an impression among the Hindus that the liquor is Ganges water, with the result that the spring is being visited by crowds of Hindu men and women in the neighbourhood.

* *

Lord Curzon, when in India, after the personal experience he had gained by his visits to Native States and intercourse with their Rulers, was anxious, it is said, to make various alterations in the relations between the representatives of the Governor-General at the native courts and the Chiefs, with the result that the susceptibilities of the Political Department were generally aroused and much apprehension was felt at the precipitancy with which changes were decided upon and to be introduced. The India Office, it is now stated, has had all these matters under consideration, with both sides of the questions at issue, and there is reason to believe that in due course the hasty attempt to introduce changes unacceptable to all concerned will be corrected.

* *

A Delhi correspondent writing to the *Paisa Akhbar*, Lahore, reports that the cocaine habit is assuming alarming proportions in that city. The evil has spread to rich and poor, Hindu and Mussulman, and even to women and children. Between 800 and 1,000 phials are sold daily in the city. Not a few young men belonging to well-to-do families are consuming from four to six phials daily. Coolies and menials have not escaped the contagion ; they spend half their earnings on cocaine and are content to be without sufficient food. Even the beggars prefer cocaine, and are heedless of bare backs and empty stomachs. Independent inquiries made by the *Civil and Military Gazette* show that these facts are substantially as stated. The matter is serious and calls for the immediate attention of the local Government.

* *

A well-known writer on Indian historical subjects, approaching recently a firm of publishers with a view to the preparation of another book, was met with a courteous but firm refusal of his offer on the ground that there are already too many Indian books on the market, more indeed than there is a demand for : and that no book on Indian History for Schools would have a chance of success as, with all the requirements of knowledge in

English, Roman and Greek History, the schools cannot pay any attention to the History of India. The visit of Their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales has led to the production of so many books on their tour by special correspondents that the British public care for nothing but pictures and journalistic writing with scraps of history thrown in for the sake of appearance.

* *

The Malabar Marriage Act has been in operation for exactly a decade now and every successive report of the Registrar-General shows, says the *Madras Mail*, that this piece of social legislation, initiated by Mr. Sankaran Nair, the foremost lawyer and reformer, has not been availed of to the extent the Government and the public were led to believe. When Mr. Sankaran Nair's Bill was before the public, it was supported by a large section of the educated community of Malabar, and it was to meet what the Government of the day were made to believe was a special need of this section that the Bill was introduced and passed. Strangely enough a very small percentage of educated Malayalis have registered marriages under it. Only two notices to register were received last year against one in the preceding year. The Act is being gradually reduced to a dead letter, notwithstanding the fact that education among the Nairs has made great strides in the past ten years. If the failure of this enactment shows one thing more than another, it is that a measure of reform, carried into law by means of legislation, when the mass of the community is not prepared to accept it, cannot succeed in its practical working merely because it has received the imprimatur of State assent.—(*The Statesman*)

INDUSTRIAL & COMMERCIAL

A Swadeshi oil and general mills company will shortly be started at Ludhiana, with a capital of 2½ lacs.

* *

The cocoanut industry of Travancore seems to be in a flourishing condition. Last year the State exported cocoanut oil to the value of Rs. 13,77,620, coir of Rs. 38,10,076, fibre of Rs. 7,904 and cocoanut to the value of Rs. 3,87,679.

* *

Glass bangles are now being manufactured by some Tarapur artisans under the supervision of a Mahratta gentleman. The orga-

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niser of this enterprise is confident of being able to manufacture over two hundred different patterns.

* * *

Bengal has been connected with Burmah by a *Swadeshi* Steamer Service and now we find another similar service connecting India with Geylon. When shall we see *Swadeshi* Steamship lines plying for passenger and goods traffic in the Bengal rivers and canals ?

* * *

Drought is going a long way to drive the oil-seed crop out of cultivation in the Western Presidency. About a tenth of all the oil-seed grown in India is usually raised in Bombay, but the final memorandum just to hand states that the lin-seed crop is estimated to yield 3,200 tons of oil-seed, or about one-sixth of the average outturn. Rape-seed has done better, and the out-turn comes to 21,000 tons.

* * *

The most important Indian product exported from Calcutta still continues to be raw jute and jute manufactures : combined they represented 41.66 of the total export trade. The aggregate value was nearly 28 crores, an advance of 36.6 per cent. The chief features of the past year are stated to have been a scarcity of the raw material as compared with the requirements of the trade, and the very high prices that have ruled in consequence.

* * *

It is to be regretted, says a Rangoon correspondent, that natives of this province do not take to the manufacturing of cane and bamboo furniture, for there is a large demand for it in the Straits and China. The raw material we have in abundance and cane and rattans are exported by Chinese traders to the Straits by almost every steamer. The profits from manufacturing it into furniture are thus lost to Burma, although with a little care and trouble there is no doubt the Burmese could turn out as good articles of cane as are made in Singapore, which are often brought to Burma and sold at remunerative prices.

* * *

The Geological authorities have discussed at various times the influence of the salt works at Sambhar Lake on the total volume of sodium chloride in the lake. It does not appear that there is much reason to fear the exhaustion of the salt deposits. Some 122,000 tons are removed from the upper layers of silt each year, but

this makes little or no impression on the total stock of salt in the lake mud. The latest estimate by the Geological Survey is to the effect that there are about 18,607,000 tons of sodium chloride in the upper 4-foot layer of lake-silt over the area of 68 square miles, and this proportion of salt can safely be assumed for a depth of at least 12 feet.

* *

It affords us great pleasure to announce that the shares of the Bengal Luxmi Cotton Mills, Ltd., have all been subscribed for and that the Mills, under its new proprietors, will commence work at once. The Bengal Luxmi Cotton Mills will spin as well as weave, and the Directors have promised to give their best attention to produce goods specially required for the wear and use of the Bengalee people. This is the first cotton mill to be owned and managed by the people of these provinces, and the business capacity of the Bengalees in a new line of industry will therefore be put to a very severe test by this enterprise. We hope the experiment will redound to the credit of Bengal and the glory of *Swadeshi* patriotism.

* *

The kerosine oil traffic on the Indian Railways increased from 506,663 tons carried in 1904, to 537,326 tons carried in 1905, being an improvement of 30,663 tons. The earnings from this traffic amounted to Rs. 37,53,129 last year, against Rs. 35,42,021 in 1904, being an increase of Rs. 2,11,108. The largest quantity was carried by the Eastern Bengal State Railway which has direct connection with the Budge-Budge petroleum depots. The tonnage conveyed over that line in 1905 was 145,340 tons, or nearly one fourth of the whole quantity; and the earnings amounted to Rs. 3,12,607. The East Indian Railway carried a smaller quantity, 88,751 tons, the earnings from which, however, amounted to the large sum of Rs. 7,99,655. The Great Indian Peninsula Railway carried only 55,998 tons, but the earnings were nearly as large as the East Indian Railway, namely, Rs. 7,69,924, as it is mostly long-led traffic.

* *

The Report on the Maritime Trade of Bengal, during 1905, is thus summed up: "High as was the aggregate total value of the previous year's trade of the Presidency of Bengal, it has been surpassed by the past year by 74 per cent. The trade has been large both in the foreign and in the coasting trade; in the former the rise was 5·5 per cent. and in the latter 19·8 per cent. In the foreign trade,

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imports of *gold* and *silver* and exports of foreign merchandise and *silver* contracted in value, but all else expanded considerably. In the coasting trade the fluctuations were on smaller scale ; there was a falling-off in imports of foreign merchandise and *gold*, but all descriptions of exports were large. In the foreign trade, Calcutta absorbed 97·2 per cent. of the total value; Chittagong 2·5 per cent. and the remaining ports 3 per cent. Calcutta appropriated 60·3 per cent. of the total coasting trade ; Chittagong 6·7 per cent. and Narayanganj and the Orissa ports 3 per cent. Combining both the foreign and the coasting trade the appropriation by Calcutta of the total aggregate trade was 96·18 per cent. ; Chittagong 3·15 per cent. ; Balasore 43 ; Cuttack 18 ; Puri 0·2 ; and Narayanganj 0·4 per cent."

* * *

Under the auspices of several men of light and leading, a polytechnic college has just been established in Calcutta, with Dr. Nilratan Sircar and Mr. B. L. Chowdhury as Secretaries, under the name of 'The Bengal Technical Institute.' The Institute will have a primary as well as a secondary department which will respectively include teaching and practical work on (a) hardware, (b) smithery, (c) carpentry, (d) electro-plating, (e) gilding and so forth and (i) mechanical engineering, (b) electrical engineering, (c) sheet-metal industry and casting, (d) textile industries, (e) technological chemistry and (f) commercial course. The technological chemistry in the secondary department will deal with (1) pharmacy, (2) ceramics, (3) tanning, (g) paint, polish and varnish-making, (4) dyeing and bleaching and (5) soaps, candles, oils, fats and perfume industries. The course of instruction will extend to two and three years and provisions have been made to equip the College with necessary factories, workshops and laboratories. It is an open secret that Mr. T. Palit has already subscribed 3 lakhs of Rupees in aid of this College and Dr. Rashbehary Ghose has promised a large donation. A palatial house, with extensive grounds, has been taken on lease where classes will open in a couple of week's time. This is the *most* important outcome of the *Swadeshi* movement in Bengal, and the promoters of the Institute, notably Mr. Palit, deserve public congratulation upon their patriotic endeavour. We also wish the College a long career of activity and usefulness.

* * *

The annual administration report for Indian Railways (calendar year 1905), has been issued by the Railway Board. It states that 709 miles were opened for traffic, bringing the total up to 28,295,

while 3,297 miles are under construction or sanctioned. The total outlay during the year was 27 crores and 56 lakhs. The gross earnings exceeded those of the previous year by 203 lakhs, and net earnings increased by 86 lakhs. The return on capital outlay was six per cent, or about the same as in 1904. The development of passenger traffic was noticed in the last report. The report continuing states that during the year a larger number of pilgrims, native marriages, Parsee visitors to fairs, etc., were carried by railways. The visit of the Prince and Princess of Wales also contributed to this development. The total number carried was 248 millions against 227 millions, and earnings therefrom 1,273 lakhs against 1,176 lakhs. The number of third class passengers carried was more by 18·76 millions, and the earnings therefrom by 79 lakhs. Other classes also showed satisfactory increases. The aggregate tonnage of goods lifted during the year and earnings therefrom were 54·94 millions tons and 2,620 lakhs respectively, an improvement over the previous year of 2·89 million tons and 101 lakhs. The financial result of the working of the State and guaranteed Railways was a net gain to the State of 263·85 lakhs of rupees, the largest yet obtained in any year, after meeting in addition to the expenses of working charges for interest on capital outlay by the State and on capital raised by companies, and also annuity payments for railways purchased by the State, including both interest and portion that represents redemption of capital. This is the sixth year in succession in which there has been a surplus. This surplus amounted to 362·13 lakhs.

* *

There appears to be a good deal of misconception and ignorance prevalent as to what are known as hemp-producing plants. "Hemp" is a general term in the trade applied to the fibre of many species of plants. Thus we have Manilla hemp, which is the fibre of a species of plantain (*Musa textilis*) ; "Sun" hemp, the product of the common Indian plant known botanically as *Crotalaria Juncea* ; Raigarh Hemp and Jubbulpore Hemp are yielded by two varieties of the common "Bhindie" plant, a variety of which affords us a pleasant culinary dish in the summer months. Botanically this is *abelmoschus esculentis*. Then we have the several hems produced by the *Agave* family. The best known and most valuable of these is called Sisal Hemp, which is the fibre of *Agava Sisalama* ; Mauritius Hemp, the product of *Fourcroya Gigantea* ; Bowstring Hemp, the fibre of *Sansiviera Zeylanica*. We refer to these to-day with the object of drawing the attention of the Calcutta commercial

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community to the possibilities of the Agave fibre industry. In India we have a large number of species and varieties of Agaves that yield most excellent fibre, which commands a high price at home as well as on the Continent of Europe. Samples of these fibres sent home have been valued at anything between £27 to £37 per ton. The highest price was for a sample of fibre from the Agave Sp. Saharanpur No. 1, viz, £37 per ton. The trade at home and on the Continent are ready to buy any quantity at this price, provided a continuity of supply can be guaranteed. A few weeks ago a German fibre-broker came to Calcutta and offered to purchase the whole year's produce of this fibre from a private syndicate at £34 per ton, but the offer was declined as a London firm had offered £37 per ton. We are informed by an expert on this subject that the profits on the working of Agave fibres are higher than those of any other industrial product on the market at the present moment. It seems extraordinary that Calcutta commercial firms should neglect such a profitable undertaking. The obstacle in the way of working Agave fibre so far was the absence of a really efficient decorticating machine, but there is one now being turned out by a local firm that does its work excellently, turning out half a ton of clean, dry fibre in a working day of ten hours ; and the cost of this machine is about a third of that of the huge decorticating machines of American origin, which do not turn out more fibre in the same time. The demand for Agave fibres is unlimited, and those who enter the field first should reap a rich harvest. Once let Indian Agave fibres get on the London and Continental markets, and a continuity of supply guaranteed, and there is a fortune in the undertaking for dozens of concerns. Those who possess an accurate knowledge of the trade assert that in the near future one of the great industries of India will be that of Agave fibres. But in starting Agave fibre factories it is essential that competent experts should be engaged to work the concerns. There are not many such at present ; but those now available should be secured by intending investors. (*The Englishman*)

DIARY

FOR THE MONTH OF MAY

1906

Date

1. Mr. Surendranath Banerjee's motion was directed by the Calcutta High Court to be filed as an appeal in the District Judge's Court at Barisal.

2. Replying to a question on the Defence of India put by Mr. Lynch in the House of Commons, Mr. Morley said that proposals for further railway construction towards Afghanistan would receive most careful consideration.

A destructive fire broke out at Cawnpur.

5. Heavy rain and high wind is reported from the Sibsagar district of Assam.

6. Murderous election riots at Pondicherry.

7. Referring to a query made by Mr. O'Donnell, Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman stated in the House of Commons that Mr. Morley was closely watching the proceedings in Bengal and there seemed to be no emergency justifying an early discussion of the matter.

10. Mr. Morley stated that he would bring to the notice of the Government of India the suggestion for extending the time for debate on the Budget in the Viceroy's Council.

12. The Lieutenant-Governor of Burma orders a punitive police to be stationed at Yamethin.

14. A terrible dust storm, followed by a heavy shower of rain, passed over Gorakhpur.

15. Replying to Mr. O'Grady, who suggested a measure for the self-government of India, Mr. Morley said in the House of Commons that he fully understood the spirit of the question, but was not prepared to initiate the vast changes indicated.

17. On the occasion of the Guildhall Dinner, H. R. H. the Prince of Wales reviewed the details of his Indian tour and pleaded for wider sympathy in the administration of this country.

19. Scarcity is reported from Gurgaon.

20. A smart shock of earthquake was felt at Lahore.

The seventh session of the Tangail Social Gathering opened under the presidency of the Hon'ble Mr. J. Chaudhuri.

21. Students' strike in the Punjab Medical College.

22. An important Government resolution on the matter of providing quarters for professors of the Indian Colleges is published at Simla.

23. A destructive fire breaks out at Jamsetji Bunder, Calaba.

24. H. E. Lord Minto holds a Levee at Simla preceded by the customary state dinner.

25. Empire-day celebrations at Patiala, Bangalore, Darjeeling, Karachi, Simla and other places.

26. Heavy rain with thunder-storm at Allahabad.

28. Severe hostilities are reported from Dir on the Frontier.

29. A big blaze breaks out at Bombay.

Reflections on Men and Things

By the Editor

BRITISH RULE IN INDIA "It becomes very difficult even for those who have no little sympathy with the legitimate aspirations of educated Indians to discriminate between the authorised programme of the Congress, as expounded, for instance, by Mr. Gokhale, and the unauthorised programme of the extremists. We may or may not agree with the former. Demands for an increased representation of native opinion on the counsels of Government, for a larger share in the administration and for more effective control over public expenditure are, at any rate, not in themselves unreasonable demands and certainly need not be taken to imply disloyalty. They amount, in fact, to little more than a quickening of the pace at which Government has for a long time past been moving in the proposed direction. But when we find at the back of that authorised programme an unauthorised programme of scarcely disguised lawlessness and intimidation, we are entitled to ask that, before we take the former into consideration, its authors should show some disposition to repudiate and discountenance the latter. Constructive work might be possible on the basis of the former. The latter can bear no fruits save for destructive purposes, which must be equally prejudicial to the best interests of Indians and of Britons."

The above passage occurs in a remarkable article which Mr. Valentine Chirol has contributed to the *London Times* on the political aspirations of the educated Indians and it sums up our situation with admirable precision and accuracy.

There is no denying the fact that side by side with the sober and constitutional representations of a law-abiding and peace-loving community there has appeared in India an angry outburst of a disloyal spirit which seems determined to carry everything before it. The 'authorised programme' of the Congress which seeks to establish *better government in India* has got mixed up with the 'unauthorised programme' which seeks *to do away with British rule* and, strangely enough, they seem to lend support to each other and run on parallel lines. Mr. Chirol is right in holding that this state of affairs is 'equally prejudicial to the best interests of Indians and of Britons.' But has he ever cared to inquire who is responsible for having brought this about, and the reasons that have helped the party of 'lawlessness and intimidation' getting the better of the situation?

The inquiry is worth making ; it is also worth while to point out how far the situation can be improved by accepting a policy of 'give and take' on the part of the Government and the people.

It is a historical truism that England has established her dominion in this country not by right of conquest but by the *sufferance of the people*. The consolidation of the Indian Empire has also proceeded upon that strength, and the administration of 300,000,000 people by less than 100,000 white birds of passage has also been

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feasible only on that ground. And as Lord Curzon said very recently before an English audience, the tranquility in India is due not to military force but to 'respect for, and confidence in, the law.'

Whatever may have been the methods adopted by Clive and Warren Hastings in founding this Empire, there can be no manner of doubt that a spirit of righteousness and generosity has characterised the administrative policy of most of the Governors-General who have ruled India since the days of Lord Cornwallis. The abolition of bribery and corruption among the Company's servants, the discontinuance of all high-handed and oppressive proceedings in the country, the Permanent Settlement of Bengal, the impartial administration of justice, the foundation of schools and colleges for the education of the people of the soil, the granting of liberty of speech and writing, the establishment of Supreme Courts at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, and the throwing of the Indian Civil Service open to general competition are some of the measures which endeared the East India Company's rule to the people of this country and generated among them trust and confidence in their white rulers. The abolition of *sati* and infanticide, the suppression of Thuggee, and the clearing of the Augean stables at the Native Courts also indicated in no mistakable way the trend of policy which guided John Company's rule in India. The Indian people could never be so blind as not to see the effects of all these benefits and blessings, and the yoke of the foreigner consequently began to be *tolerated* and *even liked*. If the movements of an impersonal Government sometime failed to impress the people with the benevolence and righteousness of the administration, the magnetic personality and wide sympathies of an Elphinstone and a Malcolm, a Munro and a Lawrence, sufficiently made amends for that deficiency. So, British rule in the first half of the nineteenth century was 'broad-based on the people's will' and was continued *by the people's sufferance*.

At this time there came a sudden reversal of the domestic policy of our white rulers. That *first* superior pro-consul, Lord Dalhousie, was anxious to colour the map of India red, and began vigorously to annex, in spite of solemn promises to the contrary, all native states and principalities which could produce no direct heirs to their thrones. This gave a rude awakening to the people: confidence began to give way to suspicion till at last the unfortunate 'greased cartridge' affair prompted the Indian Sepoys to rise against all white population in Hindusthan. Yet then, even in the dark days of the Sepoy Revolt, the people did not think that the British were past praying for and that their dominion should be brought to an end. That's

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why some of the leading Princes and Noblemen of India and the educated people of those days did not fan the flame of the revolt in the army and embarrass the position of the Government. Excepting the mutineers, the bulk of the people of India still loyally clung to British rule, preferring it to native misrule and despotism, and British administration was again allowed to continue by the *sufferance of the people*.

The Sepoy Revolt was suppressed and a generous policy of sympathy and conciliation was again confirmed—this time not by a company of merchants nor by the local representatives of the Sovereign but by the Sovereign herself. The Queen's Proclamation of 1858 may not be the *Magna Carta* of the Indian people it is believed to be, but there can be no doubt that it gave abundant proof of the Crown's intention to deal justly and fairly with India. Annexation of the territories of Native States was heard of no more ; the greased cartridges had gone for good ; the equality of Indians with Europeans was asserted, and all the principles of justice and sympathy were affirmed. Thanks to Earl Canning, people at once found out that England meant to practise what its Sovereign had preached, and that no departure from the principles enunciated by Queen Victoria was intended by those who were entrusted with the administration of her Eastern Dependency. The people, therefore, felt no hesitation in transferring to the English Parliament the allegiance they had hitherto paid to the Company Bahadur.

Confidence began to be steadily restored in British rule till by an Act of Parliament, passed in 1870, the principle was laid down that almost all offices in India were to be thrown open to ' natives of proved merit and ability.' Ten years after this came Lord Ripon to initiate a policy of peace, retrenchment, and confidence in the people, and conferred upon the people the boon of local self-government, restored Mysore to its Native Kings and placed an Indian at the head of the judiciary in Bengal. All these could not fail to strike the foundation of British rule deep down in the hearts of the people, and, before Lord Ripon left the shores of India, that noble Viceroy was universally acclaimed by the Indian people as the prototype of India's best and greatest prince—the noble Rama Chandra of classic fame. His successor, Lord Dufferin, followed in his footsteps and continued his policy of beneficence for a long time, till an unfortunate misunderstanding prompted him to renounce all sympathies with the advanced classes in India.

That was an unhappy day for India—when Lord Dufferin broke

away with the educated Indians and cried them down in a post-prandial oration in the Town Hall of Calcutta. Since that moment, the pendulum of administrative policy has violently swung back, and over the portals of the Government of India and all the Provincial Governments the word 'Prestige' is now to be found writ large where the word 'Righteousness' was inscribed before. Distrust of the Indians has been the key-note of the administration all this time and repression the order of the day with the white Brahmins of India. The long series of administrative, executive and legislative measures which have been taken and passed in pursuance of a policy of reaction and repression since the close of Lord Dufferin's Viceroyalty have gone a great way to shake the confidence of the people in British justice, law and righteousness. The recommendations of the Indian Public Service Commission have been deliberately set at naught, the beneficent spirit of the Queen's Proclamation has been disregarded, the Resolution of the House of Commons on the simultaneous examination of the Indian Civil Service in England and in this country has been ignored, the administration of criminal justice has been interfered with by the promulgation of such a principle as 'no conviction, no promotion,' the High Courts have been sought to be terrorised by the heads of Governments, a system of vexatious espionage and shadowing of all public men has been introduced, the princes and the zemindars have been set against the educated men and Mahometans against Hindus, people have been sent to prison without any charge being preferred against them, whole communities have been persecuted for treason on the reports of policemen, the separation of judicial and executive functions has been stoutly resisted, the meshes of the sedition clause of the Indian Penal Code have been made wide enough to get hold of all the unagreeables in the country, the liberties of the Press have been restricted, an Act has been passed to penalise the leakage of 'official secrets,' throwing the onus of proof upon the suspects, the scope of popular representation in the metropolitan municipality has been curtailed, most of the District Boards have been robbed of their independence, the Universities have been officialised, the higher grades of the reconstituted Police Service, along with those of all the other minor public services, have been shut against Indians, the Indian Chiefs have been reduced from allies of the Sovereign to vassals of the State, their freedom of travel has been brought within the discretionary jurisdiction of the Foreign Office, they were even denied the courtesy of a return visit from the Viceroy at the great pageant at Delhi, the native soldiers have been

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kept out from the commissioned ranks in the army and all careers of honourable usefulness have been closed against them, a countervailing excise duty has been imposed upon all cotton fabrics manufactured in the power-mills of India, the native peasant has had the right of alienating his land taken out from him in one or two provinces, a heavy indirect taxation has been imposed upon the agricultural population by closing the Indian mints against the free coinage of silver, a jingo show of imperial pomp has been bossed by a superior pro-consul at the expense of a starving population, the character and classics of the Indian people have been traduced, the 'articulate' opinion of the educated people has been systematically flouted, the province of Bengal has been dismembered, a crusade has been raised against the cry of *Bande Mataram* and, above everything, a harmless and inoffensive public meeting has been dispersed on the flimsiest of all pretexts at a time when the profoundest peace has prevailed in the country. This is a long enough catalogue of blunders to put the *sufferance* of any people in the world to the *severest* strain. Not that no beneficent steps have been taken by the British in India all this time—popular representation has been partially introduced into the Councils of the Empire, famine has been humanely combated, irrigation has been widely extended, the salt-tax has been reduced, and all ancient buildings have been conserved and renovated at state expense—but the good done is often overlooked and it is only the *wrongs* that men generally brood over and want to be revenged upon. After having goaded a people to disaffection and shaken their 'respect for, and confidence in, the law,' there is no good regretting their *unwillingness to let you govern them by their sufferance any more*. If, therefore, the disloyal agitator is found to be abroad, the Englishman must thank himself for having given him *his* occupation and the opportunity which he is turning to so effective an account.

Our rulers have *created* all the difficulties of the situation and now find themselves in an awkward fix. Being anxious to give the Congress and its 'authorised programme' a cold shoulder, it has raised, on the other hand, the frankenstein of disloyalty in the country. Very likely the Government may now wish the Congressmen to stand between progress and anarchy. There was indeed a time when the Congressman effectively stood between settled government and a disloyal movement and kept all 'extremists' at arm's length. But the position and prestige of the Congressman have been studiously compromised by the powers that be, and since Lord Lansdowne left India it has been the fashion everywhere to hold him up to ridicule and to put him down at all costs and

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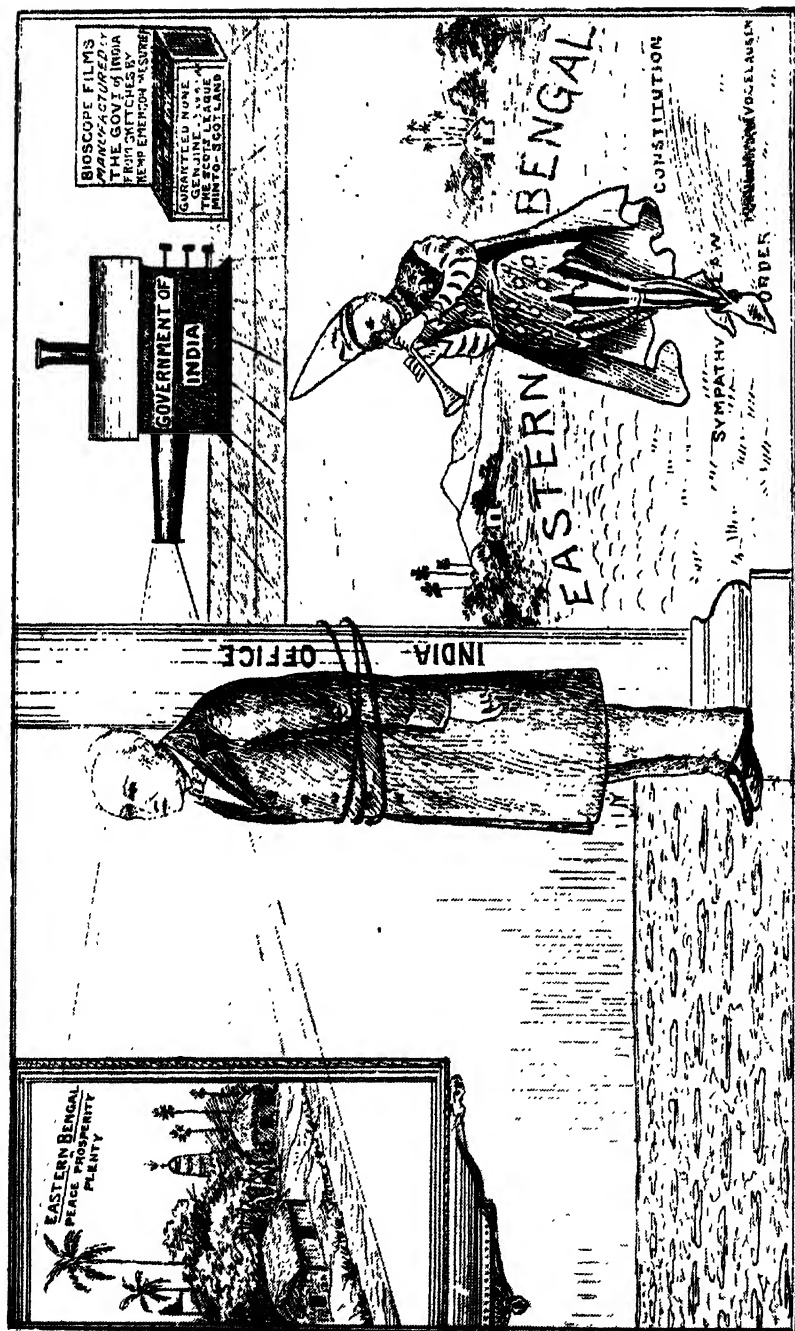
under all circumstances. The people have all this time kept careful notes of how Congressmen have been treated by their rulers, particularly by the *second* superior pro-consul, Lord Curzon, inside the Council Chambers and outside of them, and with what scant courtesy the Government have received their representations for the better administration of this country. Consequently, this attitude of our rulers towards the just aspirations of the Congress is cited by the 'extremists' themselves as one of the strongest reasons why justice can no *more* be expected of them, how *futile* it is to expect it, and why British administration should not be allowed to continue any more *by the sufferance of the people*. The 'authorised programme of the Congress', therefore, stands condemned and discredited both by the people and the Government—more so by the people than by the Government. It would be now late in the day to invoke the aid of the 'authorised programme' to save the situation.

But we venture to think it is not *yet* too late. The Congress party may be under a cloud just at present but the cloud is bound to pass away, in spite of the 'extremists' and the Government. The Government is already beginning to see the errors of its ways and should lose no further time in coming to a definite compact and understanding with the Congress party. If our rulers should take Congressmen into their confidence, treat their representations with consideration and courtesy, sympathise with their legitimate aspirations, meet their wishes so far as practicable, frankly recognise them as the spokesmen and representatives of the Indian people and receive them with the deference due to their position, as shown by Lord Dufferin in 1886 and by Earl Connemara in 1887 and by Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick in 1893—half the difficulties of Indian administration will have been solved. These *have* to be done—put off the evil day as further as you can, but the sooner the better—for you cannot govern an alien people of 300,000,000 heads with 75,000 white soldiers without *their sufferance*. England must take note of that fact if her interests are to be safeguarded in India.

And as for India—a more critical time in her history it has not fallen to the lot of the present generation to witness. The situation requires courage to grapple with it and knowledge and wisdom. Those men to whom the Congress to-day looks forward to guide the patriotic impulses of the people and give to public opinion a healthy tone must resist the flowing tide as best as they can and give to all disloyal sentiments and movements a wide berth. For, after all, our progress and prosperity as a people are indissolubly bound up with the continuance, for some long time yet, of

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British supremacy in India. Under the *Pax Britannica*, we have just begun to take our first lessons in imperial, as opposed to village and communal, patriotism, the multitudinous races and peoples inhabiting this large continent are just trying to be welded into one nationality and we are just learning to forget the feuds and jealousies of rival creeds and castes that have for endless centuries raged round this unhappy land. Our war with dense ignorance and crass superstition has barely commenced, rationalism has scarcely begun to dawn upon us, the appreciation of the exact sciences has permeated only a microscopic minority, we have not yet acquired the courage of our convictions or the strength to cope with the thousand and one social evils that have exposed Indian mankind to the mercy of the foreign invader and tyrant since the days of Alexander the Great, we have yet had not much intellectual or physical discipline as a people, not much training for combined or concerted action, organisation as an art has as yet been unknown to us, and the value of sacrifice for a common good or end has just begun to be realised by our people. In all the above, we require a strong European agency to help us in our progress and our struggles, and who so good and great as the English, in spite of his intense selfishness and his jingo ideas? Under these circumstances, he would be a great *enemy* of his country and his people who would desire the bond between England and India to be snapped at once or at an early date. True patriotism demands us to be loyal to the best interests of the country and not to the false hopes generated by a mischievous hankering for national independence. National independence is a very good ideal and is the goal of all self-respecting and self-reliant peoples, but it is conveniently forgotten that many stages of evolution and training have to be passed and got through before that goal can be finally attained. Revolution is not the ladder to get at national independence nor violent declamations the only lessons to fit a nation for freedom. America and Italy have had to pass through long training and through ordeals of fire before they could aspire to independence. Japan has not been great as soon as it wanted to be great. China is patiently abiding her time and has placed herself under a severe schooling. Why should then India be invited to take a leap in the dark,—a jump into the unknown? It, therefore, behoves all well-wishers of India to explain the situation to our less-enlightened countrymen and to repudiate, openly and clearly, as Mr. Valentine Chirol suggests, all principles that encourage 'lawlessness and



MR. MORLEY AT THE INDIA OFFICE

Man, according to Plato, generally sees things as they are reflected before him on a mirror and is unconscious of the realities outside

Intimidation' and strike at the root of our national progress. For the sake of the Congress and constitutional agitation, for the sake of good government, for the best interests of the country, we would urge every patriotic Congressman not to rush headlong after imaginary blessings, not to identify himself with silly and malignant movements, not to open sores that have healed up, not to create dissensions where harmony prevails, not to ignore difficulties that you cannot overcome, not to invite hostilities which you cannot meet, but to equip yourself as the Japanese has done, to gain strength and conserve energy, and proceed as slowly and cautiously as the circumstances may warrant. True patriotism would lie that way—in fitting and training our people in self-government, fusing the heterogeneous population of India into one nationality, taking the fullest advantage of the circumstances Providence has placed us under, in creating the opportunities that lead a people to greatness and, in the meantime, possessing our souls with patience.

Three very important statements have recently been made by Mr. Secretary Morley in the British Parliament in reply to some questions on India. In one he says that there is no 'unrest' in Bengal, and in another he states that he has 'no official information' which leads him to think that "the mass of the population of Eastern Bengal regard the recent administrative change (meaning the partition of Bengal) with dissatisfaction." In the third we are told that there is no difference between the laws, and the manner in, and the *personnel* by, which they are administered in Eastern Bengal and those of the old province. All these statements are mere half-truths and are worse than direct 'terminological inexactitudes.' It is a pity that Mr. Morley in spite of frequent interviews with the Hon. Mr. Gokhale, should be always found pinned down to the official version in every important case that agitates the public mind this side of the country, and never care to look behind the Government of India and see things as they are. How can a reasonable man of the world believe that there is no 'unrest' in a country where its ruler tramples down upon law, constitution, order and sympathy, all at the same time, passes our comprehension. This sort of logic may deceive statesmen and politicians and suit their policy, but cannot deceive men who have their eyes wide open. Mr. Morley's reliance upon all reports supplied to him by 'men on the spot' is best described in the cartoon which we print on the opposite page. As regards the laws of Eastern Bengal, it is no doubt true that

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they are substantially the same as they are in the older province,—but there is a world of difference in the mode of their administration in the two provinces. As the poet said :—

“For forms of Government let fools contest,
Whate’er is best administer’d is best.”

It is in the administration of the laws that lies all the difference between a *good* and a *bad* Government. While Sir Andrew Fraser has wisely abstained from setting the machinery of the law in motion against public meetings and the *swadeshi* movement and the cry of *Bande Mataram*, the Government of Sir Bumptious Fuller has taken advantage of its position in dispersing public meetings and sending to prison, or otherwise harassing and injuring, all *swadeshi* agitators. Offences which Sir Andrew Fraser, or for the matter of that any other Provincial Government of India, takes no cognisance of and would completely ignore, Sir Fuller has magnified as enormous and unpardonable. Insignificant trials have been dignified into state prosecutions and young school-boys have had the machinery of the law set against them, the result being widespread discontent and exasperation among the people, and a complete realisation of the effects of the partition of Bengal in the dismembered province. While, therefore, there is quiet and peace in the older province, there is sullen dissatisfaction in the new one. We publish below a list of cases, which have been tried in Eastern Bengal since the partition of Bengal was given effect to, from which our readers will be able to gather that the Penal Code and the Police Act were brought into requisition whenever it was sought to suppress the *Swadeshi* movement and put down the cry of *Bande Mataram* and with what it savage severity these laws have been administered in that part of the country. No doubt there have been indiscretions following the over-zealous activities of the *Swadeshi* propagandists, but the offences were mostly of a technical nature and *never* serious enough to be anything like a menace to private security or public peace. But the worst feature of these trials exhibit itself in the fact that while very *severe*, sometime even very *harsh*, punishments have been meted out in the courts of Eastern Bengal to persons against whom some sort of a charge was made out by the Police, the cases brought by private parties against the Police have invariably been *dismissed*, excepting in the Serajgunge assault case where it was *compromised* at the instance of the sub-divisional officer. What does all this point out to and what all this is likely to lead to, will Mr. Morley have the courage to speak out ?

A List of Swadeshi Cases tried in Eastern Bengal from November, 1905, to June, 1906

No.	DISTRICT OR VILLAGE	ACCUSED	AGE OF ACCUSED	OFFENCE	RESULT OF TRIAL	APPEAL IF ANY & RESULT	REMARKS
1	Rungpur	23 Leading Gentlemen		Empanelled as special constables for identifying closely with the <i>Swadeshi</i> movement and refusing to serve as such (Prosecution under Sec. 19 of the Act of 1861)			Prosecution withdrawn at the direction of the Chief Justice
2	Balla (Mymensingh)	Rajendra Lal Saha	16 Years	Picketing	Two weeks' rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 60 (convicted under secs. 147 and 379 of the Indian Penal Code)	Appeal dismissed by the Dist. Judge. Pending revision before the High Court	
3	Madaripore (Faridpur)	Ananta Mohan Das	16 Years	For having thrown a brickbat at an European who came to beat a number of boys	Two weeks' rigorous imprisonment (convicted for assault under sec. 152 of I.P.C.)		

SWADESHI CASES—(contd.)

No.	DISTRICT OR VILLAGE	ACCUSED	AGE OF ACCUSED	OFFENCE	RESULT OF TRIAL	APPEAL IF ANY & RESULT	REMARKS
4	Mymensingh	1. Khogendra Jebon Ray 2. Meghnath Das 3. Surendramohan Ghose 4. Surendranath Choudhury 5. Lalit Chunder De 6. Dharendra Nath Ray 7. Hurkishen Dhar	Students	Picketing and the Police creating a disturbance with them	15 days' rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 300 upon 1, 2, 4, 6 and 7. Accused No. 3 and 5 :—a fine of Rs. 100 each (convicted under section 147 of I. P. C. : unlawful assembly)		
5	Mymensingh	Bepin Behari Das Gupta Head Master, Edward Institution		Omitting to produce a document (school register) before the D. S. P.	A fine of Rs. 50 and five days' simple imprisonment (convicted under sec. 175 I. P. C.)	Conviction set aside	
6	Jalpaiguri	1. Adyanath Misra 2. Durgadas Chukerburty 3. Chandidas Chukerburty	16 Years 17 Years 14 Years	Picketing and disturbance with the Police	1. 14 days' imprisonment 2. 14 days' imprisonment 3. Fine of Rs. 50 (Convicted under secs. 186 and 225 of I.P.C.)	Conviction set aside on reference to the Hon'ble Judges of the High Court	
7	Bhola (Backergunge)	1. Mohendranath Ray, B. L. 2. Nobin Chandra Das, B. L.		Throwing away foreign salt	1. One month's imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 1000 2. Ten days' imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 400 (Convicted under sec. 506 of I.P.C.)	Conviction reduced to only fine on appeal	

8	Habibpur (Backergunge)	1. Bepin Chander Guha 2. Lalit Mohan Guha 3. Indra Chander Guha	Shouting <i>Bande-Mata-ram</i> and throwing away foreign salt from a shop	1 month's imprisonment for disobeying the Lyon Circular of Nov. 8, 1906 (convicted under sec. 188 of I. P. C.)	Appeal Dismissed
9	Rajbari (Faridpur)	Mohor Molla	For having asked certain sellers of foreign salt to open their stalls in a certain spot assigned for the purpose in a market under his lease	Fined Rs. 50 under secs. 352 and 379 of the I. P. C.	
10	Barisal	The Gurkhas stationed at Barisal	For severely assaulting Shyamacharan Dutt (Pleader) for having taken up a case against the Gurkhas	Case Dismissed	
11	Jalpaiguri	Prafulla Chander Mitter	Shouting <i>Bande-Mata-ram</i>	Do.	
12	Seraigunje (Pabna)	The Local Police	For assaulting Dr. Sasidhar Neogi		Case compromised by the Police
13	Narsinghdi (Dacca)	Laloo Badyakar Raj Kumar Chakerburty	Refusing to allow foreign salt to be sold in a particular market under their control	1. Six months' imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 100 2. 3 months' rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 300 (Convicted under secs. 144, 147 and 322 of I. P. C.)	Sentence reduced to fine only of Rs. 25 and 50 respectively

SWADESHI CASES—(contd.)

No.	DISTRICT OR VILLAGE	ACCUSED	AGE OF ACCUSED	OFFENCE	RESULT OF TRIAL	APPEAL IF ANY & RESULT	REMARKS
14	Nalchity (Backergunge)	Montajaly Yakub Ali		Refusing to allow foreign salt to be sold in a particular market under their control	1 month's rigorous imprisonment each		
15	Madhabpasa (Backergunge)	Bilash Chander Kunjabilya		Shouting <i>Bande-Mataram</i> before a Settlement officer	Two months' rigorous imprisonment and a recognisance bond of Rs. 150		
16	Tarigail (Mymensingh)	Jagadish Chander Buksbi Jitendra Nath Bose	School boys	Picketing	Bound to keep the peace with two sureties for Rs. 500 each (convicted under sec. 107 of I. P. C.)	Appeal pending	
17	Barisal	Surendra Nath Banerjee		For leading the escort of the President of the Barisal Conference	Fine of Rs. 200 (convicted under sec. 188 of the Police Act)		Prosecution withdrawn by the Government
18	Do.	The Barisal Police		For assaulting Phani-bhusan Bannerji and two others for accompanying the procession of the President of the Barisal Conference	Case pending trial		Case originally dismissed by the Barisal Magistrate and ordered for re-trial by the High Court

19	Barisal	District Superintendent of Police	For dispersing the Bengal Provincial Conference at Barisal	Case pending trial
20	Kurigram (Rungpore)	1. Krishna Dutt (Muktear) 2. Poresb 3. An Ooriya Cook	For having taken a foreign cloth from one Ishan Chandra Das with his consent and setting fire to it.	Convicted under Secs. 379 and 448 of the I. P. C. as below :— 1. Two week's rigorous imprisonment and fine of Rs. 25 2. Fine of Rs. 50 3. Fine of Rs. 30

KIDNEYS INJURED BY AN ACCIDENT

Mr. W. J. Moore, 11, Pakefield-street, Pakefield, Lowestoft, England, is well known and respected. Although only 25 years of age, he has been connected with religious work for many years, and on most Sundays during the past 6½ years he has ably occupied some village pulpit.

Some months back, Mr. Moore wrote us a grateful letter, telling of the good Doan's Backache Kidney Pills had done him, and inviting us to send our representative to get full particulars. This we have now done, and our readers will see that the case teems with interest:—

"It was when the electric tramway was being laid in Lowestoft," Mr. Moore began, "and I was at the wharf getting a load of cement, when suddenly and without warning, several tons of cement slipped, and before I knew what had happened, a bag struck me a glancing blow on the back. It was the worst pain I've ever known, just as though my back was broken in two. They took me to the hospital, where for 27 weeks I lay hovering between life and death. The doctor said my kidneys were bruised, and at length he gave up my case as hopeless, and I was taken home.

"Not one of my friends thought I could live. The pains I suffered in my back and hips were just as though you took out your pocket-knife and kept sticking the blade into me. I used to get dizzy and exhausted with the pains, and I suffered agonies from rheumatism, as well as gravel and urinary trouble. *I plastered my back until it was green*, but no relief could I get, and at last became so weak with the constant suffering that I couldn't keep down a morsel of food. A watery swelling came about my eyes, and *for a fortnight I couldn't see*.

"I told you in my letter," Mr. Moore went on, "how Doan's Backache Kidney Pills did me good from the start, and now they have, thank Providence, cured me, and I'm glad to have the opportunity of endorsing my letter with my own lips. Doan's Pills have made me my old self again, and I'm as well to-day as ever I was; there's no pain or trouble at all. I'm so well, in fact, that for some time I've been regularly following my new occupation as Insurance Agent, and," the grateful man went on, "I cycle ~~over~~ 100 miles every week, and generally walk from 10 to 12 miles on a Sunday in connection with my preaching. That will show you what a sound and lasting cure mine is!

"I have recommended Doan's Pills to several people," Mr. Moore concluded, "but my cure is the best recommendation that could be, for everyone round here knows how I suffered, and how splendidly Doan's Backache Kidney Pills have cured me."

Doan's Backache Kidney Pills are Rs. 2 a box, or 6 boxes for Rs. 10. Of all chemists and druggists, or direct from the proprietors, the Foster-McClellan Co., 8, Wells Street, Oxford Street, London, England, post free on receipt of price.

